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THE HEXATEUCH

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THE HEXATEUCH

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EDITED

WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, MARGINAL REFERENCES
AND SYNOPTICAL TABLES

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

Gen 2^{4} (text and note) *read* 2^{4a}.

Gen 13^{12} *read* ^{12a} *before* 'Abraham' P.

Page 21 line 1 *read* ^{12b} *before* 'and moved his tent' J.

Gen 23^{1} *bracket* [these were], *for* b 188^{a} *read* b 182.

Gen 32^{4} *remove* ^{d} *from before* 'sojourned.'

Ex 4^{6h} *add* cp Lev 14^{2} ℌ.

Ex 8^{10N} line 2 *for* 7^{17b} *read* 7^{17a}.

Ex 13^{3e} *for* $^{D}26^{b}$ *read* $^{D}28^{b}$.

Ex $22^{28c'}$ *for* $^{P}126$ *read* $^{P}131$.

Ex 30^{28} *transfer* ^{28} *to follow* 'and the altar of incense.'

Lev 16^{21} *for* p 45 *read* p 44.

Lev 20^{2aN} line 5 *for* 17^{7} *read* 17^{8} *and add* ('so that ^{2a} above may be P^{h}').

Lev 25^{8} margin *for* $^{8-18}$ *read* $^{8-17}$.

Lev 26^{40} *for* q 45 *read* q 44.

Deut 1^{21} *dele* $^{e'}$ *and* $^{e'}$ 64.

Deut 10^{8} margin *for* ^{L}11*id read c.*

Deut 17^{9} margin *for* ^{l}11*ig read d.*

Deut 22^{9bN} *for* Num 17^{32} *read* 16^{37}.

Deut 25^{2d} *add* Neh 5^{8}.

GENESIS

J	P	
	2^{4} ^{Na}THESE ARE THE GENERATIONS of the heaven and of the earth when they were ^{b}created.	a 77ª b 48
a Is 34^{11} Jer 4^{23}† *b* 7^{11} 8^{2} *c* Deut 32^{11}† *d* Cp 6 9 11 14 20 24 26 *e* Cp 7 9 11 15 24 30 *f* Cp 10 12 18 21 25 31 *g* Cp 8 10	1^{1} ^{N}In the beginning God ^{b}created the heaven and the earth. ^{2} And the earth was ^{a}waste and void^{a}; and darkness was upon the face of the ^{b}deep: and the spirit of God ^{Mc}moved upon the face of the waters. ^{3} And God ^{d}said, Let there be light: and there ^{e}was light. ^{4} And God ^{f}saw the light, that it was good: and God ^{c}divided the light from the darkness. ^{5} And God ^{g}called	c 53

2^{4} It has long been recognized that the Book of Genesis is primarily based upon a document containing a series of sections introduced by the formula 'These are the generations of . . .' cp $^{P}77$ (*Introd* chap XIII 1 p 121). To this document Ewald gave the name of the 'Book of Origins,' and it was also occasionally designated the *Grundschrift*, the ground-work or foundation-document. Beginning with a survey of the creation of the heavens and the earth, it proceeds to trace the descendants of Adam through Seth to Noah 5^{1}. . After narrating the Flood, it describes three great groups of nations, under the names Japheth, Ham, and Shem 10^{1}. ., and then follows a special line from Shem through Arpachshad to Terah. At this point the writer's view concentrates itself on Abraham, from whom are derived Ishmael and Isaac. A summary enumeration of the tribes of Ishmael prepares the way for the division of the posterity of Isaac under the names of Esau and Jacob. The recital of Esau's marriage-alliances with their results finally enables the author to dismiss Edom from view, and limit himself to the children of Israel. At each stage of advance towards the main crisis of the narrative—the revelation of El Shaddai to Moses by the name Yahweh—the historic connexion is effected by the method of genealogical filiation, which does not wholly disappear till the family history of the founder of the priesthood has been related Num 3^{1}. The *tol^{e}dhoth* formula of Gen 2^{4a} is not appropriate to the narrative which follows it in 2^{4b}. ., for this says nothing about the creation of the heavens or the earth, but deals with the formation of the first man after they were made. On the other hand its form and substance are both congruous with the account of the creation of the universe in 1^{1}–2^{3}. In other sections, however, the formula always precedes the matter which it designates. It is probable, therefore, that it originally stood before 1^{1}, and was transposed by the editor who combined the two documents, to serve as the link of combination. Bacon (*Genesis* 97) conjectures that the title originally read 'These are the generations of the heavens and the earth in the beginning of their creation. 1^{1} God created,' &c. But the words 'when they were created' may have been added by the compiler, as other similar formulae do not present analogous expressions. Ball (in Haupt's *SBOT*) reads 'This is the book of the generations' with ⅋ here as at 5^{1}: but does not attempt to decide 'whether this formula originally stood also, or only, at the head of 1.'

1^{1} The historical introduction to the Priestly Code fitly commences with a survey of the 'origins' of the world. The account of the creation of the heavens and the earth with all the multiplicity of their contents is marked by a stately order and precision partially reflected in the careful descriptions, the detailed enumerations, and the numerous identities of phrase. Each step in the series of creative acts is preceded by a creative utterance 3 6 9 11 14 20 24 26 in which the divine Thought at once announces and executes its purpose. The entire process is distributed into eight stages, which apparently fall into two groups of four, having a certain harmony in their constituent members:—

(1) Light 3–4	(5) The Heavenly bodies 14–18
(2) The Firmament 6–7	(6) Fishes and birds 20–22
(3) The Earth 9–10	(7) Land animals 24–25
(4) Plants 11–12	(8) Man 26–27.

It has been often conjectured (cp Dillmann, *Genesis* i 49–50) that an earlier story presented these two series in clearer sequence, and that they were subsequently adapted to the scheme of the creative week with its six days of work, by throwing the related pairs (3–4) and (7–8) each into a single day. It may be surmised that originally each creative utterance was accompanied by the record of its execution and of the divine approval. The corresponding formulae, however, now appear only seven times 3 7 9 11 15 24 30 and 4 10 12 18 21 25 31. The source of this representation it is difficult to determine. In many other portions of his narrative **P** seems to be founded on prior materials: is he wholly fresh and independent in his presentation of the creation? Analogies with the Babylonian tablets have often been pointed out, and some eminent Assyriologists have recognized in Gen 1 distinct traces of the influence of Babylonian ideas (cp G Smith, *Chald Genesis* 73; Jensen, *Kosmol der Babylonier* 301–306; Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos* 114; Sayce, *Expos Times* vii 206 ff; cp *Introd* 135). Was that influence exerted direct, or did it pass through other channels on the way? The question belongs rather to a commentary than to analysis, and can only be answered here on grounds of general probability. It will be indicated hereafter that the narrative of the Flood assigned to J^{8} (cp *Introd* chap XI 6*a* p 108) cannot be derived from the author of the story of Eden and the first pair. Was it, however, an isolated fragment, or was it originally part of a primaeval history, which had its own account of the origin of the world and its inhabitants? In the latter case may not this narrative (J^{8}) have served in its turn as the antecedent of **P**? The suggestion was first made by Budde, *Urgeschichte* 486, and has been widely adopted (cp Holzinger, *Gen* 23, and *Encyclopaedia Biblica* art 'Creation'). See Ex 20^{11N}.

[2] **M** Or, *was brooding upon.*

J P

the light Day, and the darkness he called Night. [h]And there was evening and there was morning, one day.

6 And God said, Let there be a [Md]firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it [c]divide the waters from the waters. 7 And God made the [d]firmament, and [c]divided the waters which were under the firmament from the waters which were above the firmament: and it was so. 8 And God called the firmament Heaven. And there was evening and there was morning, a second day.

9 And God said, Let the waters under the heaven be [e]gathered together unto one place, and let the dry land appear: and it was so. 10 And God called the dry land Earth; and the [e]gathering together of the waters called he Seas: and God saw that it was good. 11 And God said, Let the earth [i]put forth grass, herb [j]yielding seed, [and] fruit tree bearing fruit [f]after its kind, wherein is the seed thereof, upon the earth: and it was so. 12 And the earth brought forth grass, herb [j]yielding seed [f]after its kind, and tree bearing fruit, wherein is the seed thereof, after its kind: and God saw that it was good. 13 And there was evening and there was morning, a third day.

14 And God said, Let there be [g]lights in the [d]firmament of the heaven to [c]divide the day from the night; and let them [h]be for [i]signs, and for [j]seasons, and for days and years: 15 and let them [h]be for [g]lights in the [d]firmament of the heaven to [k]give light upon the earth: and it was so. 16 And God made the two great [g]lights; the greater light to [l]rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night: [he made] the stars also. 17 And God set them in the [d]firmament of the heaven to give light upon the earth, 18 and to rule over the day and over the night, and to [c]divide the light from the darkness: and God saw that it was good. 19 And there was evening and there was morning, a fourth day.

20 And God said, Let the waters [Mk]bring forth abundantly the [k]moving creature that hath life, and let fowl [m]fly above the earth [Ml]in the open [d]firmament of heaven. 21 And God [b]created the great [n]sea-monsters, and every living creature that [m]moveth, which the waters [k]brought forth abundantly, [f]after their kinds, and every winged fowl after its kind: and God saw that it was good. 22 And God [n]blessed them, saying, [o]Be fruitful, and multiply, and [c]fill the waters in the seas, and let fowl multiply in the earth. 23 And there was evening and there was morning, a fifth day.

24 And God said, Let the earth bring forth the living creature [f]after its kind, cattle, and [m]creeping thing, and [p]beast of the earth [f]after its kind: and it was so. 25 And God made the [p]beast of the earth [f]after its kind, and the cattle after their kind, and every thing that [m]creepeth upon the ground after its kind: and God saw that it was good. 26 And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our [p]likeness: and let them have [q]dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every [m]creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth. 27 And God [b]created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; [r]male and female created he them. 28 And God [n]blessed them: and God said unto them, Be [o]fruitful, and multiply, and [o]replenish the earth, and [q]subdue it; and have [q]dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that [Mm]moveth upon the earth. 29 [L]And God said, Behold, I have given you every herb [j]yielding seed, which is upon the face of all the earth, and every tree, in the which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed; to you it shall [h]be for [s]meat: 30 and to every [p]beast of the earth, and to every fowl of the air, and to every thing that [m]creepeth upon the earth, wherein there is [N]life, [I have given] every [r]green

h Cp 8 13 19 23 31
i ℌ†
j 12 Lev 12[2] ℌ† cp 29
k Ex 25[37] Num 8[2]
l ℌ* Ps 136[8]
m Ct Deut 4[17] ℌ*
n Ex 7[9. 12] Deut 32[33]*
o Cp 28 ℌ = *fill* 9[1]
p 5[1 3]* Ezek (15)
q Num 32[22 29] Josh 18[1]*
29 16a*f*
r 9[3]†

d 70
e 74
f 18[k]
g 104
h 27
i 142
j 111[c]
k 157
l 64
m 49
n 33
o 73
p 29
q 136
r 107[a]
s 110

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1 [6] **M** ℌ *expanse.*
[20a] **M** ℌ *swarm with swarms of living creatures.*
[20b] **M** ℌ *On the face of the expanse of the heaven.*
28 **M** Or, *creepeth*
30 **M** ℌ *a living soul.*

J

P

herb for [s]meat: and it was so. 31 And God [s]saw every thing that he had made, and, [s]behold, it was very good. And there was evening and there was morning, the sixth day.

2^{1} And the heaven and the earth were finished, and all the [a]host of them. 2 [L]And on the seventh day God [b]finished his [a]work which he had made; and he [b]rested on the seventh day from all his work which he had made. 3 And God [c]blessed the seventh day, and [d]hallowed it: because that in it he [b]rested from all his [a]work which God had [e]created and made.

. . . 2^{4b} [N]In the day that [M]Yahweh [N]God [c]made earth and heaven. [J s] 5 And no [d]plant of the field was [f]yet in the earth, and no herb of the field had [f]yet sprung up: for Yahweh God had not caused it to [g]rain upon the earth, and there was not a man to [e]till the ground[e]; 6 but there went up a [f]mist from the earth, and [h]watered the whole [i]face of the ground. 7 And Yahweh God [g]formed man of the [h]dust of the ground, and [i]breathed into his nostrils the [j]breath of life[j]; and man became a living soul. 8 And Yahweh God [k]planted a [j]garden [k]eastward, in Eden; and there he [l]put the man whom he had [g]formed. 9 And out of the ground made Yahweh God to [l]grow every tree that is [m]pleasant to the sight, and good for food; the [N]tree of life also in the midst of the [j]garden, and the tree of the knowledge of [n]good and evil.

10 [N]And a river went out of Eden to [h]water the [j]garden; and from thence it was [m]parted, and became four heads. 11 The name of the first is Pishon: that is it which compasseth the whole land of Havilah, where there is gold; 12 and the gold of that land is good: there is bdellium and the [M]onyx stone. 13 And the name of the second river is Gihon:

2^{4} The story of the 'generations of the heaven and of the earth' is followed by a second narrative which cannot be ascribed to the same source, and is marked by striking differences both in substance and in style. The character of its opening is somewhat obscured by grammatical peculiarities which an English version cannot exactly reproduce. In ^{4b} the making of earth and heaven (this order occurs only in Ps 148^{13}) is assumed without further description; the condition of an earth without vegetation or man is indicated in a series of dependent clauses ^{5}., constituting really a long parenthesis which might be rendered 'when no plant . . .,' and the writer passes on to the first main fact ^{7}, the formation of a man out of the dust of the ground. The beginning of the narrative has apparently, therefore, been removed by the compiler in favour of the *tol[c]dhoth* section of **P**, and at the junction some compression may have taken place to prevent needless repetition. In what follows, accordingly, there is no analysis of the parts of the universe, nor any determination of their several functions, and the order of production on the earth is quite different. Whereas in 1^{26}.. the creation of man, male and female together, marks the climax of the series of divine acts, a single man is formed in 2^{7} before either trees or animals: none of the beasts proves a suitable mate for him; and finally a woman is 'built' ^{22} out of one of his ribs $^{18-25}$. To these diversities of material fact correspond other varieties both in thought and phrase. The story is distinguished by the entry of a new divine name, Yahweh (on the combination 'Yahweh Elohîm,' see below). No attempt is made to adapt the creative process to a week of six days' labour followed by a seventh day of rest. The recurring formulae defining the divisions of the divine acts, and recording the divine inspection and approval, are all absent. Fresh terms are employed to describe the modes of production: Yahweh *makes* earth and heaven ^{4b}, *forms* a man ^{7}. with beast and bird ^{19}, *breathes* into the man's nostrils ^{7}, *plants* a garden ^{8}, *takes* the man, and *puts* him into it ^{15} (cp the 'building' of the woman ^{21}., and ct the creation of male and female in God's image 1^{27}). These divergences can only be explained by the assumption that a new document is here introduced. The assumption is justified by the narratives which follow, for corresponding groups of differences may be noted through the whole series of stories of the early history of mankind. Each document, **J** and **P**, had its account of the origin of the race, and traced the connexion between the first Man and the ancestors of the people of Israel. Cp *Introd* XI.

^{4b} **M** ℌ *Jehovah*, as in other places where LORD is put in capitals.—See vol i preface.

^{4c} The juxtaposition of these two names, Yahweh and God (*Elohîm*), is very rare in the Old Testament. In the Hexateuch, after Gen 2-3 where it appears twenty times, it occurs only in Ex 9^{30}: elsewhere it is found in 2 Sam $7^{22\ 25}$ 1 Chron 17^{16} 2 Chron 6^{41} Ps $84^{8\ 11}$ Jonah 4^{6}†. The combination, begun in 2^{4b}, ceases at 3^{23}, and in 4^{1} 'Yahweh' is read alone, though 𝔊 employs 'the Lord God' down to 8^{21} and even in 9^{12}. It is commonly supposed to be due to the compiler, who desired thus to show that the 'Yahweh' of the second story was identical with the 'Elohîm' of the first (cp Dillmann, *Genesis* i 97). Klostermann has suggested that it was an instruction to the reader, when 1^{1}–3^{24} was regarded as one section, to pronounce the same divine name (*Elohîm*) throughout, cp *der Pentateuch* 37.

^{9} Some difficulty attaches to the mention of two trees in this verse. In 3^{3} the divine prohibition appears limited to one tree, described as 'the tree which is in the midst of the garden.' From the sequel (cp 2^{17}) it is plain that the words really designate the 'tree of the knowledge of good and evil,' and not (as in ^{9}) the tree of life. The permission in 3^{2}. (as in 2^{16}) really extends to the tree of life, whereas in 3^{22} the danger that its fruit also may be eaten is only averted by the expulsion of the first pair from the garden. Budde, accordingly, has conjectured that the original Eden-story contained but one tree; a later hand incorporated the second from another source; and he thus accounts for the somewhat awkward order of 2^{9b}. This leads also to the suggestion that in ^{17} the tree was originally distinguished as 'the tree that is in the midst of the garden.' See further on 3^{22}.

^{10} It was surmised by Ewald that the Four Rivers $^{10-14}$ had no place in the ancient conception of Eden. At what time, and from what source, this passage was introduced into the text, it is not possible to determine. But it does not contribute to the development of the story: the account of the divine action in $^{9\ 15}$ is somewhat suddenly interrupted to give it room: the geographical and antiquarian details which it contains have no connexion with anything else in the narrative: and it may be regarded with great probability as a secondary addition.

^{12} **M** Or, *beryl*.

J | J[s] | P

the same is it that compasseth the whole land of Cush. [14] And the
n 4[16]* name of the third river is [M]Hiddekel: that is it which goeth [M]in [n]front of
Assyria. And the fourth river is Euphrates.
[15] And Yahweh God took the man, and put him into the [j]garden of
Eden to dress it and to keep it. [16] And Yahweh God commanded the
man, saying, Of every tree of the garden thou mayest [o]freely eat: [17] but o 237
of the tree of the knowledge of [n]good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it:
for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt [o]surely die.
18-25 J1ha [18] [L]And Yahweh God said, It is not good that the man should be [p]alone; p 125
o 2[20] 3[1 14] ct 1[24] I will make him an help [M]meet for him. [19] And out of the ground
p Ct 1[21] Yahweh God [q]formed every [o]beast of the field[o], and every [p]fowl of the
air; and brought them unto the man to see what he would call them:
and whatsoever the man called [N]every living creature, that was the name
thereof. [20] And the man gave names to all cattle, and to the fowl of the
air, and to every [o]beast of the field; but for [M]man there was not [q]found q 157
q 15[12]* an help meet for him. [21] And Yahweh God caused a [q]deep sleep to fall
r 7[16] cp 209 upon the man, and he slept; and he took one of his ribs, and [r]closed up
the flesh instead thereof: [22] and the rib, which Yahweh God had taken
from the man, [M]made he a woman, and brought her unto the man.
s 29[14] [23] And the man said, This is [r]now [s]bone of my bones, and [t]flesh of my r 62
t 37[27] flesh: she shall be called [M]Woman, because she was taken out of [M]Man.
u 34[3] [24] Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall [u]cleave
unto his wife: and they shall be one flesh. [25] And they were both
v 3[7 10] [v]naked, the man and his wife, and were not [w]ashamed.
w ℌ†
a ℌ* [3[1]] Now the [a]serpent was more [a]subtil than any [b]beast of the field a 206
b 2[19] which Yahweh God had made. And he said unto the woman, Yea, hath
God said, Ye shall not eat of [M]any tree of the [b]garden? [2] And the b 37
woman said unto the serpent, Of the fruit of the trees of the garden
we may eat: [3] but of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of
the garden, God hath said, Ye shall not eat of it, neither shall ye touch
it, lest ye die. [4] And the serpent said unto the woman, Ye shall not
c 2[17] [c]surely die: [5] for God doth know that [c]in the day ye eat thereof, then c 237
d 5[7] 21[19] your [d]eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as [M]God, knowing [d]good and d 165
evil. [6] And when the woman saw that the tree was good for food,
and that it was a [e]delight to the eyes, and that the tree was [M]to be e 152
desired to make one wise, she took of the fruit thereof, and did eat;
and she gave [f]also unto her husband with her, and he did eat. [7] And f 126
the [d]eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they were
e 2[25] [e]naked; and they [f]sewed fig leaves together, and made themselves
f ℌ* [M]aprons. [8] And they heard the [M]voice of Yahweh God walking in the
g 8[10] 31[27] ℌ garden in the [M]cool of the day: and the man and his wife [g]hid
themselves from the presence of Yahweh God amongst the trees of
the garden. [9] And Yahweh God [g]called unto the man, and said unto g 139
him, [h]Where art thou? [10] And he said, I heard thy [M]voice in the h 90
garden, and I was afraid, because I was [e]naked; and I [g]hid myself.
[11] And he said, Who [i]told thee that thou wast naked? Hast thou i 218
eaten of the tree, whereof I commanded thee that thou shouldest [j]not j 61
eat? [12] And the man said, The woman whom thou gavest to be with
me, she gave me of the tree, and I did eat. [13] And Yahweh God said
unto the woman, [k]What is this thou hast done? And the woman k 146[d]

2[14a] **M** That is, *Tigris.*
[14b] **M** Or, *toward the east of.*
[18] **M** Or, *answering to.*—ℌ†
[19] The awkward order of ℌ 'and whatsoever the man called it, a living creature,' suggests that the last words were a later addition for purposes of editorial definition.
[20] **M** Or, *Adam.*—ℌ may be read 'for (to) the man,' which should perhaps be substituted for 'Adam' in 3[17 21].
[22] **M** ℌ *builded he into.*
[23a] **M** ℌ *Isshah.* [23b] **M** ℌ *Ish.*
3 [1] **M** Or, *all the trees.*
[5] **M** Or, *gods.*
[6] **M** Or, *desirable to look upon.*
[7] **M** Or, *girdles.*—ℌ*
[8a] **M** Or, *sound.*—Cp 236. [8b] **M** ℌ *wind.*
[10] **M** Or, *sound.*

J	J[s]	P
said, The serpent [h]beguiled me, and I did eat. [14] And Yahweh God said unto the serpent, Because thou hast [l]done this, [m]cursed art thou [N]above all cattle, and [N]above every [b]beast of the field; upon thy [i]belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat [j]all the days of thy life: [15] and I will [n]put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed: it shall [N]bruise thy head, and thou shalt [N]bruise his [k]heel. [16] Unto the woman he said, I will [cl]greatly multiply thy [o]sorrow and thy [m]conception; in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children; and thy [n]desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall [o]rule over thee. [17] And unto [N]Adam he said, Because thou hast [p]hearkened unto the voice of thy wife, and hast eaten of the tree, of which I commanded thee, saying, [p]Thou shalt not eat of it: [m]cursed is the [q]ground for thy [r]sake; in [MO]toil shalt thou eat of it [j]all the days of thy life; [18] [q]thorns [r]also and thistles[q] shall it [r]bring forth to thee; and thou shalt eat the [s]herb of the field; [19] in the [m]sweat of thy face shalt thou [t]eat bread, till thou return unto the [q]ground; for out of it wast thou taken: for [s]dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return. [20] [N]*And the man [t]called his wife's name Eve* [ℌ *Havvah*, that is, *Living*, or *Life*]; *because she was the mother of all living.* [21] And Yahweh God made for [u]Adam and for his wife coats of skins, and clothed them.		l 146[a] m 24 n 194 o 79 p 44 q 40 r 71 s 46 t 149[a]
[22] [N]And Yahweh God said, Behold, the man is become as one of us, to know [d]good and evil; and [u]now, lest he [v]put forth his hand, and take [f]also of the tree of life, and eat, and live for ever . . .		u 187[b] v 205[b]
[23] [T]And Yahweh God sent him forth from the [b]garden of Eden, to [v]till the [q]ground from whence he was taken.		
[24] [T]And he [w]drove out the man; and he placed at the [x]east of the garden of Eden the Cherubim, and the [m]flame of a sword which turned every way, to keep the way of the tree of life.		w 148 x 27
4[1] [N]And the man [a]knew [a]*Eve* his wife; and she [b]conceived, and bare Cain, and said, I have gotten [ℌ *Kanah*, to get] a man with [the help of] Yahweh.		a 59 b 21

3[14] **M** Or, *from among.*

15 **M** Or, *lie in wait for.*—Job 9[17] Ps 139[11]†.

17[a] See note on 2[20]; cp 21.

17[b] **M** Or, *sorrow.*

20 This verse seems inserted here prematurely: the man has already given his wife a name 2[23], and the new designation would hardly seem appropriate till after the record of the birth of a son. Did it once follow 4[1]? Many scholars regard it as an interpolation, but whether it was an early addition from an annotator's hand or was an after-thought of the writer himself, cannot be determined. In 4[1] 'Eve' is probably redactorial: similar formulae in 4[17 25] contain no name.

22 The sequence of verses [22–24] seems to contain repetitions implying a combination of passages. The statement in [24] 'and he drove out the man' appears superfluous after the expulsion of [23] 'and Yahweh sent him forth,' and reads like a doublet from another source. But [23] plainly belongs to [19], and is the natural sequel of the doom there pronounced. On the other hand [22] supplies a different reason in the divine apprehension lest the man should eat of a fruit that had not been prohibited and stood unguarded, and might thus acquire immortality. This incongruity confirms Budde's conjecture that the original story of Eden contained but one tree cp 2[9N]. In that view [22] and [24] were incorporated into the recital of the events following the Fall when the second tree was received into the narrative. On Budde's further conjecture that 6[3] originally followed 3[21] see 6[3N].

23 **T** *therefore*, ℌ *and.*

24 **T** *so*, ℌ *and.*

4[1] The distinction between the two accounts of the origins of the world and man is unmistakable; but the group of narratives which follow the expulsion from Eden presents many difficulties. The document relating the generations of the heaven and the earth in 1–2[4a] is resumed with the 'generations of Adam' in 5, and the line of pre-diluvian patriarchs is carried down to Noah, the hero of the Flood. After the great destruction, the earth is peopled with a new race derived from him, and the survey of human history is then narrowed to the descent of Abraham from Shem. When these sections of **P** are arranged in their natural order, can the residue be all ascribed to **J**? Does it form a complete and homogeneous story, allowing for occasional omissions through the process of compilation? The tendency of recent investigation is to answer this question in the negative. Broadly speaking, the passages which remain are marked by the general phraseology and modes of thought already noted in 2[4b–3]. They may be ascribed, therefore, with the greatest probability to the school of writers represented by the symbol **J**. Yet they show incongruities of conception which make it also probable that they are not all from the same hand, or at any rate are not all derived from the same source. Any collection of ancient materials must contain elements of various dates. But the question here is whether these different strata were arranged in their present order by a single writer, or whether they show such traces of manipulation as would lead to the conclusion that independent narratives have been editorially combined within the group designated as **J**. Thus, for example, in 4 three themes may be discriminated, [1–16] the murder of Abel by Cain, [17–24] the origin of the early arts among Cain's posterity, [25–26] the beginning of a new line from Adam through Seth. (In this last passage it is noticeable that 'Adam' [Man] appears as a proper name for the first time, ct 4[1] and the usage 'the man' in 2[7–3 24].) The assumptions underlying these three sections are by no means uniform. Thus in [1 3–5] the name of Yahweh is familiarly known, and his cultus is practised: but in [26] it is affirmed that the worship of Yahweh only began after the birth of Enosh, while 𝔊 actually attributes its introduction to him. The complaint of Cain in [14] implies the existence of a population of which nothing has yet been said, while in [17] Cain begets a son, though as yet the only recorded human beings beside himself are Adam, Eve, and the dead

J	J[s]	P
	. . . [2a N]And [c]again she bare his brother Abel. And Abel was a [d]keeper of sheep.	c 123 d 208
b 2[5] 3 L 7a[a] c 𝔊=*at the end of days* cp 24[55] 40[4] 4 L 8c[a] d 𝔊=*present* 32[13]· 43[11].. ct P 118[h] e Ex 5[9]* f Cp Jer 3[12] g 29[2] 49[9 14 25] Ex 23[5] Num 22[27] Deut 22[6] 29[20] 33[13]* h 3[16] 8–15 L 2h[a] i 11[2] 35[17. 22] 38[28] cp 127[b] j 3[9] k 18[21] 19[13] l Num 16[30 32] Deut 11[6]* m 14 Ex 20[18] 𝔊* n 𝔊 *nād** o 3[24] p 24[12] 31[43] 41[9]	[2b N]And Cain was a [b]tiller of the [e]ground. [3 L]And in [c]process of time it came to pass, that Cain brought of the fruit of the [e]ground an [d]offering unto Yahweh. [4] And Abel, he [f]also brought of the firstlings of his flock and of the fat thereof. And Yahweh [c]had respect unto Abel and to his offering: [5] but unto Cain and to his offering he had not [e]respect. And Cain was very [g]wroth, and his countenance [f]fell. [6] And Yahweh said unto Cain, [h]Why art thou [g]wroth? and why is thy countenance [f]fallen? [7] If thou [i]doest well, [M]shalt thou not be accepted? and if thou doest not well, sin [g]coucheth at the door: and unto thee [M]shall be his [h]desire, and thou shalt [h]rule over him. [8 L]And Cain [M]told Abel his brother. And [i]it came to pass, [i]when they were in the field, that Cain rose up against Abel his brother, and [j]slew him. [9] And Yahweh said unto Cain, [j]Where is Abel thy brother? And he said, I know not: am I my brother's keeper? [10] And he said, [k]What hast thou done? the voice of thy brother's blood [l]crieth [k]unto me from the ground. [11] And now [m]cursed art thou from the ground, which hath [l]opened her mouth to receive thy brother's blood from thy hand; [12 N]when thou [b]tillest the ground, it shall not [e]henceforth yield unto thee her strength; a [m]fugitive and a [n]wanderer shalt thou be in the earth. [13] And Cain said unto Yahweh, [M]My punishment is greater [M]than I can bear. [14] Behold, thou hast [o]driven me out [p]this day from the [e]face of the ground; and from thy face shall I be	g 233[b] h 228 i 38 j 210 k 146[d] l 141 m 24

Abel. Moreover, the city-builder of [17] can hardly be the Cain already doomed to the nomad life; the founder of organized communities, the progenitor of the fathers of civilization, is quite a different type from the accursed and fugitive fratricide. Once more, why should the lineage begun in [25]. be so abruptly closed? This question is partly answered by the extract from the 'Book of the Generations of Adam' in 5[1]··. This opens with Seth and Enos in the same order as in 4[25]., but it further contains names found in the list of Cain's descendants—Enoch 5[18–24] cp 4[17], Lamech 5[25–31] cp 4[18–23]—while Methuselah 5[21–27] seems connected with Methusael 4[18]. The editor, however, inserts in 5[29] a precious fragment from **J**'s account of the descent of Noah, which justifies the belief that the Noachic line through Seth has been abruptly cut short at 4[26] to make room for **P**'s fuller genealogy, compiled apparently from both Cainite and Sethite lists. There seem thus to be three sets of material, (1) the story of Cain and Abel, (2) the progress of the arts among the descendants of Cain, (3) the lineage of Noah from Adam through Seth. Among these, the main portions of (1) and (3) plainly belong to **J**, as they recognize the worship of Yahweh. It may, however, be doubted if they are altogether homogeneous, as the incongruity of [26] with [1 3]·· points to distinct diversity of view: nor can this be overcome by the suggestion that [25]· formerly stood before [1]·· in a simpler form (Dillmann, *Gen* i 182). 'The man' of 4[1] is converted in [25] into the proper name Adam, and these passages are probably, therefore, from different hands, [1] being derived from the same source as 2[4b–3]. In [7] an independent use seems made of the language of 3[16], and [15] appears to be founded on [24] which would 'more readily' (Dillm) read, 'If Cain takes vengeance sevenfold, then Lamech seventy-seven fold': [3–16a] would then be secondary in relation to 2[4b]–4[1] and also to 4[17–24], while [25–26] would be secondary in relation to both. To what source, then, is the Cainite line in [17–24] to be ascribed, and why should a Sethite list have been needed at all? Dillmann is inclined to turn to **E** for the fragment on primitive civilization which he would like to connect with the 'Phenician circle of legend' (*Gen* i 181), but the usage of language (see the Margins) does not lend any support to the ascription in the midst of the numerous parallels with **J**. It will, however, be noticed that the account of the rise of the various crafts in [17–22] is entirely independent of the catastrophe which subsequently submerged all the race but Noah and his family. Were all the arts then concentrated in the ark, or did any of them need rediscovery afterwards? A clue to the answer to this query is found in the narrative in Gen 11[1–9]. After a survey of the distribution of the nations according to their languages in 10, the earth is still of one speech 11[1]. Who are the people that are there journeying in the East? May they not be the posterity of Cain 4[16], still in possession of the builder's skill? In that case, one group of traditions traced the early history of mankind without a Flood. When the narrative of the Deluge was adopted into the cycle of Israel's ancestral beliefs, some modifications were inevitable in the process of welding together stories which were not based on the same conceptions of the past. The details of these changes, omissions, curtailments, cannot now be recovered with any certainty, and the indications of the text must be regarded as probabilities only. If [3–16a] and [17–24] belong to different cycles grouped together by the redactor of **J**, it is possible that Abel (הבל) and Jabal (יבל) who were both breeders of animals, had some original connexion. Cp the Introductions of Cornill and König, together with Stade's article *ZATW* (1894) especially pp 254–83. Most readers will endorse a former remark of Dillmann's, that no theory has yet been propounded which satisfactorily solves all the difficulties arising out of Gen 4. On **J**[s] cp *Introd* i 108.

4[2a] The story of Abel has perhaps been fitted in with the idiom ויהוסף, or this may be the continuation of a previous narrative which has been eliminated. It is noticeable that Abel's name does not receive any explanation like Cain's in [1].

[2b] **T** *but.* The conjunction is the same as in [2a]. On the use of היה here, see Budde, *Urgesch* 217, who compares [17 20. 22em] 10[9] 25[27] and adds 16[12] 3[5] 9[20].

[7a] **M** Or, *shall it not be lifted up.*

[7b] **M** Or, *is its desire, but thou shouldest rule over it.*—The reminiscence of 3[16] seems here unmistakable, but the difference in imagery and application rather suggests diversity of authorship.

[8] **M** 𝔊 *said unto.* Many ancient authorities have, *said unto Abel his brother, Let us go into the field.*

[12] The critics who regard this section as part of a later stratum in **J**'s early history of mankind, find in this passage a slightly different point of view compared with 3[17–19]. Cain's occupation as a tiller of the ground is not in any way connected with the primaeval curse: and the refusal of its strength in the future rather implies that it had been bountiful to him in the past.

[13a] **M** Or, *mine iniquity.*—Cp 19[15] 44[16] Ex 34[7] Num 14[18] *al.*

[13b] **M** Or, *than can be forgiven.*

J J[s] P

[q] hid; and I shall be a [m]fugitive and a [n]wanderer in the earth; and it shall come to pass, that whosoever [n]findeth me shall [j]slay me. [15] And Yahweh said unto him, Therefore whosoever slayeth Cain, [r]vengeance shall be taken on him sevenfold. And Yahweh appointed a sign for Cain, [o]lest any finding him should smite him. [16] And Cain went out from the presence [face [14]] of Yahweh.

[16b] [N]And [he] dwelt in the land of [M]Nod, [M]on the [s]east of Eden. [17] And Cain [a]knew his wife; and she [b]conceived, and bare Enoch: and he [t]builded a city, and [u]called the name of the city, after the name of his son, Enoch. [18] And [v]unto Enoch was born Irad: and Irad [p]begat Mehujael: and Mehujael begat Methushael: and Methushael begat Lamech. [19] And Lamech [q]took unto him two wives: the [w]name of the one was Adah, and the name of the other Zillah. [20] And Adah bare Jabal: he was the father of such as dwell in [r]tents and [have] [s]cattle. [21] And his [t]brother's name was Jubal: he was the father of all such as handle the [x]harp and [y]pipe. [22] And Zillah, she [f]also bare Tubal-cain, [M]the [z]forger of every cutting instrument of [M]brass and iron: and the sister of Tubal-cain was Naamah. [23] [L]And Lamech said unto his wives:

Adah and Zillah, hear my voice;
Ye wives of Lamech, hearken unto my [a']speech:
For [M]I have [j]slain a man [M]for [b']wounding me,
And a [n]young man for [b']bruising me:
[24] If Cain shall be [r]avenged sevenfold,
Truly Lamech seventy and sevenfold.

[25] And Adam [a]knew his wife [N]*again*; and she bare a son, and [u]called his name Seth [ℌ *Sheth*]: For [said she] God hath [v]appointed [ℌ *Shath*] me another seed *instead of Abel; [N]for Cain slew him.* [26] And to Seth, to him [f]also there was [c']born a son; and he called his name Enosh: then [w]began men to [x]call upon the name of Yahweh. . .

5[1] [Na]THIS IS THE [x]BOOK OF THE [b]GENERATIONS of Adam.

In the day that God [c]created [a]man, in the [b]likeness of God made he him; [2] [d]male and female [c]created he them; and [c]blessed them, and called their name Adam [Man], in the day [d]when they were created. [3] And Adam lived an [e]hundred and thirty years, and [f]begat [a son] in his own [b]likeness, after his [e]image; and called his name Seth: [4] and the days of Adam after he [f]begat Seth were eight hundred years: and he begat sons and daughters. [5] And all the [g]days that Adam lived were nine hundred and thirty years: and he died. [6] And Seth lived an [e]hundred and five years, and [f]begat Enosh: [7] and

q 3[19] ℌ cp 16 3[8] *face=presence* ℌ
r 15 2[4] Ex 21[21] ℌ Hoph†
s 2[14]*
t 10[11] 11[4] Ex 1[11] cp 137
u 1[17] 26 3[20]
v Cp 26 10[1] *al*
w 10[25]
x 3[127]*
y Job 21[12] 30[31] Ps 150[4]†
z ℌ*
23. [L]ℌ*a*
a' Deut 32[2]
b' Ex 1[25]*
c' 6[1] 10[21 25] 24[15] *al* ℌ.
a Cp 1[27]
b 1[26]
c 1[28]
d 2[4a]
e 1[27]

n 157
o 61
p 7
q 82
r 220
s 18
t 14
u 234
v 194
w 8
x 15
a 188[b]
b 77
c 48
d 107
e 93
f 30
g 181

4[16a] The story which assigns to Cain a particular country east of Eden in which he married and built a city, does not seem homogeneous with that which represents him as doomed to a life of constant wandering. The traditional name Nod has apparently suggested the employment of the term *nād* (wanderer) in 4[14] by one of the assonances or word-plays characteristic especially of **J**.

16b **M** That is, *Wandering.* 16c **M** Or, *in front of.*

22a **M** Or, *an instructor of every artificer.*

22b **M** Or, *copper*, and so elsewhere.

23a **M** Or, *I will slay.*

23b **M** Or, *to my wounding, and a young man to my hurt.*

25a This word is perhaps due to the compiler who has linked the stories together, or even to still later editorial transcription. 𝔊 omits it.

25b An explanation by the annotator of the combined narratives. Other traces of the same hand may possibly be found in the clause '*another* seed *instead of Abel.*' In reality, however, it was the line of Cain that was replaced by the Sethite genealogy, the ancestry of Israel being traced through Noah and Shem, while the progeny of Cain perished in the Flood.

5[1a] The 'generations of man' form the obvious sequel to the narrative of the 'generations of the heaven and the earth' in 1–2[4a]. A new subject, the line of ten patriarchs from Adam to Noah, is marked by fresh phrases. Each step in the series is narrated in the same bare outline. Compared with the vivid presentments of **J** in 4, these abstractions seem only to have a numerical significance. On the coincidences of names, cp 4[1N]. The structure of the description '*And* Seth *lived* an hundred and five *years and begat* Enosh: *and* Seth *lived after he begat* Enosh eight hundred and seven *years and begat sons and daughters: and all the days* of Seth *were* nine hundred and twelve *years, and he died*' recurs with rhythmic regularity. The interruptions are indicated in 24N and 29N. It will be observed that the age of Noah at the birth of Shem is much greater than the corresponding ages of his predecessors. A combination of the numbers in 26 28 32 and 7[6] indicates the reason. The chronological adjustments close the life of Methuselah with the year of the Flood (cp *Introd* XIII 2δ i 122–3). On the differences of the numbers in Sam and 𝔊 cp Dillm *Gen* i 217–21.

1b Holzinger observes that this is the title of a book rather than of a section, and suggests that **P** may once have begun without a creation-story. The lengthy phrases of 1–2, the double occurrence of 'in the day' (which Holzinger supposes to be borrowed from 2[4b]), and the incongruities of the pronoun which vibrates from sing to pl (though this occurs also in 1[27]), may be due to editorial expansion after the union of **P** and **J**.

J P

Seth lived after he begat Enosh eight hundred and seven years, and begat sons and daughters: [8] and all the [g]days of Seth were nine hundred and twelve years: and he died.

[9] And Enosh lived ninety years, and begat Kenan: [10] and Enosh lived after he begat Kenan eight hundred and fifteen years, and begat sons and daughters: [11] and all the days of Enosh were nine hundred and five years: and he died.

[12] And Kenan lived seventy years, and begat Mahalalel: [13] and Kenan lived after he begat Mahalalel eight hundred and forty years, and begat sons and daughters: [14] and all the days of Kenan were nine hundred and ten years: and he died.

[15] And Mahalalel lived sixty and five years, and begat Jared: [16] and Mahalalel lived after he begat Jared eight hundred and thirty years, and begat sons and daughters: [17] and all the days of Mahalalel were eight hundred ninety and five years: and he died.

[18] And Jared lived an hundred sixty and two years, and begat Enoch: [19] and Jared lived after he begat Enoch eight hundred years, and begat sons and daughters: [20] and all the days of Jared were nine hundred sixty and two years: and he died.

[21] And Enoch lived sixty and five years, and begat Methuselah: [22] [N]and Enoch [f]walked with God after he begat Methuselah three hundred years, and begat sons and daughters: [23] and all the days of Enoch were three hundred sixty and five years: [24] and Enoch [f]walked with God: and he was not; for God took him.

[25] And Methuselah lived an hundred eighty and seven years, and begat Lamech: [26] and Methuselah lived after he begat Lamech seven hundred eighty and two years, and begat sons and daughters: [27] and all the days of Methuselah were nine hundred sixty and nine years: and he died.

[28] And Lamech lived an hundred eighty and two years, and begat . . .

. . . [N]a son: [29] And he [g]called his name Noah, saying, This same shall [Mh]comfort us for our work and for the [i]toil of our hands,[M] because of the [j]ground which Yahweh hath [h]cursed.

[30] And Lamech lived after he begat Noah five hundred ninety and five years, and begat sons and daughters: [31] and all the days of Lamech were seven hundred seventy and seven years: and he died.

[32] And Noah was five hundred years [k]old: and Noah begat Shem, Ham, and Japheth.

6[1] [N]And [a]it came to pass, when men [b]began to multiply on the [c]face of the ground, and daughters [a]were born unto them, [2] that the [b]sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair; and they [d]took them wives of all that they chose. [3] [N]And Yahweh said, My spirit shall not [M]strive with man for ever, [M]for that he [e]also is flesh: [M]yet shall his days

f 6[9] cp 17[1]
g 3[20]
h 3[17]
h 20[a]
i 79
j 40
k 119[a]
a 4[26]
b Job 1[6] 2[1] 38[7]† cp Ps 29[1] 89[7] ℌ.
a 3[a]
b 8
c 40
d 82
e 126

5[22] The recurrence of these words in [24], the awkwardness of their introduction here, as if Enoch had not walked with God before Methuselah was begotten, and the indications in ℌ that the original formula 'lived' still lingered on, all point to some editorial manipulation. Budde conjectures that in the source which **P** here employed, the story ran that Enoch 'walked before Yahweh' cp 24[40] 48[15].

[28] The uniformity of **P**'s style leads us to expect here the name of Noah. The compiler, however, wishing apparently to utilize **J**'s explanation of it, has inserted it at this point, having no doubt found it in the list which traced Noah's descent through Seth 4[25]. That pedigree has apparently been rejected by the editor in favour of the more highly systematized scheme of **P**, but the attempt to give significance to Noah's name is preserved: cp 3[20] 4[1]. The prediction prepares the way for the account of the vine-culture in 9[20], by which the ground under the curse is made to yield comfort.

[29a] **M** ℌ *nahem*, to comfort.

[29b] **M** Or, which cometh *from the ground*.

6[1-4] A passage of great obscurity, apparently designed to explain the origin of an ancient race of giant stature. The story, with its unusual terms, 'sons of Elohim,' 'Nephilim,' 'mighty men of old,' 'men of renown,' seems to have been drawn from some unknown cycle of antique legends, and incorporated into the **J** series.

[3a] In a well-known conjecture Budde has suggested that this verse originally recorded Yahweh's sentence on 'the man' who was expelled from Eden lest he should eat of the tree of life, so that its proper place was after 3[21]. Its present position certainly seems to interrupt [2] and [4]. But difficulties both of text and interpretation render Budde's proposal in the highest degree precarious. Further discussion belongs rather to a commentary than to this analysis.

[3b] **M** Or, *rule in*. Or, according to many ancient versions, *abide in* [involving a change of a letter].

[3c] **M** Or, *in their going astray they are flesh*.

[3d] **M** Or, *therefore*.

J	J[E]	P
be an hundred and twenty years. [4] The [MC]Nephilim were in the earth [d]in those days, [N]and also after that, when the sons of God [f]came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children to them: [N]the same were the [g]mighty men which were [e]of old, the [f]men of renown.		f 163 g 184
. . . [5] [N]And Yahweh saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every [g]imagination of the [h]thoughts of his heart was [h]only evil [i]continually. [6] And it [i]repented Yahweh that he had made man on the earth, and it [j]grieved him at his [j]heart. [7] And Yahweh said, I will [Tk]blot out man [N]*whom I have* [k]*created* from the [e]face of the ground; *both man, and* [l]*beast, and* [m]*creeping thing, and fowl of the air*; for it [i]repenteth me that I have made them. [8] But Noah [l]found grace in the eyes of Yahweh.		h 189 i 20[b] j 79 k 135 l 31[a]
[9] [m]THESE ARE THE GENERATIONS[m] of Noah. Noah was a [n]righteous man, [and] [MO]perfect in his [n]generations: Noah [p]walked with God. [10] And Noah [o]begat three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth. [11] And the earth was		m 188 n 76 o 30

c Num 13^{33}†
d Ex 2^{11}
e Cp 1 Sam 27^{8}
f Cp Num 16^{2}
g 8^{21} Deut 31^{21}*
h Ct Ex 31^{4} 35^{32}. 35 ℌ*
i ℌ=*all the day* Deut 28^{32} cp [D]13^{3a}
j Cp 8^{21} 24^{45} 27^{41} Ex 4^{14}
k Cp [P]48
l ℌ=*cattle* 20 7^{23} 8^{17}
m Cp [P]49[b]
n 7^{1}
o 17^{1} Ex 12^{5} *al*
p 5^{24}

6^{4a} **M** Or, *giants.*

^{4b} A perplexing clause which may perhaps be regarded as a later note to explain the fact that the Nephilim reappear in the tradition of the Wanderings. They did not, therefore, all perish in the flood.

^{4c} Another addition, probably, to the original tale; but whether due to the compiler of the **J** series, or to a later redactor, can hardly be determined.

^{5} At this point the increase of human wickedness draws down on man the sentence that Yahweh will 'blot him out' from the face of the ground ^{7}. In ^{11} a similar condition of universal corruption is again portrayed with varying terminology. 'All flesh' are guilty before Elohim $^{11.}$ ct ^{5}. There is no parallel in **P** to Yahweh's repentance for having called man into being $^{6.}$, but his destruction is solemnly announced $^{13.}$ These duplicate explanations are really independent introductions to the narrative of the flood which follows, and they suggest that it may be woven out of two strands. This is really rendered certain by subsequent repetitions and inconsistencies. Some of these can perhaps be most readily apprehended by exhibiting them in parallel columns.

P	J
(1) 6^{19} Elohim commands Noah to take one pair of each kind of animal into the ark.	7^{2} Yahweh enjoins Noah to take seven pairs of clean beasts, and only one pair of the unclean.
(In the record of the actual entry of the animals into the ark $7^{8.}$ the editor has combined **J**'s distinction of clean and unclean with **P**'s record of Noah's obedience to the divine instruction.)	
(2) ^{17} Elohim announces that he will 'bring the flood.'	^{4} Yahweh warns Noah that he will 'cause it to rain' [JE]^{12} 95. The catastrophe is brought about by forty days' rain.
(3) $7^{11\ 17}$ The fountains of the great deep are broken up, and the windows of heaven are opened, and the flood comes.	$^{4\ 10}$ Seven days pass before the rain begins; this lasts forty days $^{4\ 12}$ cp 8^{6}; and after two (or three) periods (cp 8^{8N}) of seven days each, the ground is apparently dry enough for Noah to leave the ark.
(4) No fixed duration is predicted for the flood by Elohim: but the waters increase for 150 days ^{24}, and a combination of the dates in ^{11} $8^{3.}$ $^{13.}$ makes it probable that the writer intended the flood and its consequences to occupy 365 days, or a solar year (cp 5^{23}).	
(5) Elohim blesses Noah and his offspring, and covenants with the race never again to destroy all flesh with a flood 9^{1-17}.	Yahweh receives from Noah a sacrifice of each kind of clean beast and bird, and declares that he will not again smite every living thing 8^{20-22}.

These differences of substance are accompanied by corresponding differences in form and phrase: from among those indicated in the margins the following may be noted :—

P	J
(1) Elohim throughout.	Yahweh throughout.
(2) 6^{12} All flesh had corrupted his way.	6^{5} Every imagination . . . evil continually.
(3) $^{13\ 17}$ $9^{11\ 15}$ destroy.	$7^{4\ 23}$ blot out.
(4) 6^{17} Behold, I bring the flood.	7^{4} I will cause it to rain.
(5) ^{17} All flesh wherein is the breath of life.	^{4} Every living thing that I have made.
(6) ^{17} From under heaven.	^{4} From off the face of the ground.
(7) ^{18} Thou and thy sons . . . with thee.	^{1} Thou and all thy house.
(8) ^{19} Every living thing of all flesh, two of every sort.	^{2} Of every clean beast seven and seven, and of the beasts that are not clean, two.
(9) ^{19} Male and female.	^{2} Man and his wife ℌ.
(10) ^{20} Fowl after their kind . . . two of every sort.	^{3} Fowl of the air . . seven and seven.
(11) ^{20} To keep them alive.	^{3} To keep seed alive.
(12) ^{22} Thus did Noah . . . so did he.	^{5} And Noah did according. . . .
(13) $7^{11.}$ Fountains of the great deep broken up, windows of heaven opened.	^{12} Rain upon the earth.
(14) $^{18.}$ ^{24} The waters prevailed, . . . prevailed exceedingly.	^{17b} The waters increased.
(15) ^{21} All flesh gave up the ghost (גוע).	^{22} All in whose nostrils . . . died (מות).
(16) 8^{2a} The windows of heaven were stopped.	8^{2b} The rain was restrained.
(17) ^{3b} The waters decreased.	^{3a} The waters returned.
(18) ^{14} The earth was dry.	^{13b} The face of the ground was dried (ℌ different).

The Elohim document, connected by many links of conception and phrase with the creation story in $1-2^{4a}$ and the pedigree in 5, has been made the basis of the combined narrative and has been preserved with substantial completeness. When it is withdrawn it becomes apparent that the Yahweh passages must originally have themselves constituted a whole. They cannot be regarded as merely supplementary, for they sometimes relate the same incident, e. g. the directions about the animals, and their entry into the ark, in incompatible terms, that is, they contradict, instead of merely developing, the statements amid which they are inserted. They are derived, therefore, from an independent source which has not been fully retained. For instance in 7^{1} the ark is evidently already made; but **J**'s account of its construction has been set aside in favour of **P**'s $6^{14..}$, which was probably the more elaborate. Similarly the erection of the altar in 8^{20} implies a previous description of the departure from the ark, which **P**'s statement in $^{18.}$ rendered superfluous.

^{7a} So ℌ **M**. **T** *destroy.*

^{7b} This verse seems to show phraseological traces of redaction in the style of **P**.

^{9} **M** Or, *blameless.*

J P

corrupt before God, and the earth was filled with violence. [12] And God [q]saw the earth, and, behold, it was corrupt; for [p]all flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth.

[13] And God said unto Noah, The [r]end of [p]all flesh is [r]come before me; for the earth is filled with violence through them; and, [s]behold, I will [t]destroy them with the earth. [14] [u]Make thee an ark of [v]gopher wood; [M]rooms shalt thou make in the ark, and shalt [v]pitch it [w]within and without with pitch. [15] And this is how thou shalt make it: the [x]length of the ark three hundred cubits, the breadth of it fifty cubits, and the height of it thirty cubits. [16] A [My]light shalt thou make to the ark, and to a cubit shalt thou finish it [Mq]upward; and the door of the ark shalt thou set in the side thereof; with lower, second, and third stories shalt thou make it. [17] [z]And [r]I, [s]behold, I do [a']bring the [N]flood [of] waters upon the earth, to [t]destroy [p]all flesh, [b']wherein is the breath of life, from under heaven; every thing that is in the earth shall [s]die. [18] But I will [t]establish my covenant with thee; and thou shalt [c']come into the ark, thou, and [d']thy sons, and thy wife, and thy sons' wives [u]with thee. [19] And of [e']every living thing of [p]all flesh, two of every sort shalt thou bring into the ark, to keep them alive with thee; they shall be [v]male and [f']female. [20] [N]Of the [l]fowl after their [w]kind, and of the cattle after their kind, of every [x]creeping thing of the [g']ground after its kind, two of every sort shall come unto thee, to [h']keep them alive. [21] [i']And take thou unto thee of all food that is eaten, and gather it to thee; and it shall be for [y]food for thee, and for them. [22] [z]Thus did Noah; [j']according to all that God commanded him, so did he[z].

J J^s

7[1] And Yahweh said unto Noah, Come [a]thou and all thy house into the ark; for thee have I seen [a]righteous before me in this [b]generation. [2] [L]Of every [c]clean beast thou shalt take to thee seven and seven, the [d]male and his female; and of the beasts that are not clean two, the [d]male and his female; [3] of the fowl also of the air, seven and seven, [N]*male and female*: to [e]keep seed alive[e] upon the [f]face of all the earth. [4] For yet [g]seven days, and I will [h]cause it to rain upon the earth [i]forty days and forty nights; and every [j]living thing that I have made will I [Tb]blot out from off the [c]face of the ground. [5] [k]And Noah did according unto all that Yahweh commanded him.

[6] And Noah was [l]six hundred years [d]old when the [m]flood [of] waters was upon the earth.

[7] [N]And Noah went in, *and his sons, and his wife, and his sons' wives* [e]*with him,*

6^{14} **M** ℌ *nests.*

16^{a} **M** Or, *roof.*

16^{b} **M** Or, *from above.*

17 Literally, 'the flood, waters,' in apposition, cp 7^{6}. 'Waters' defines the ancient word for flood, *hammabbul*, and is possibly an explanatory insertion. **J** inverts the phrase, 'waters of the flood' $7^{7\ 10}$.

20 A slight difference in the representation here suggests the possibility of later expansion: the animals, instead of being collected by Noah, will spontaneously assemble. Moreover, the last clause does not quite fit its predecessor, as it implies a different subject, and seems to be borrowed from 19.

7^{3} This pair of words seems borrowed from **P**, cp [P]107, as in 6^{19} 7^{16} &c, and has been inserted here by the harmonizing editor. Sam ⅋ ⅀, however, read 'the clean fowl,' and ⅋ adds the further clause 'and of all the fowl that are not clean, two and two, male and female.'

7–9 These verses present a mixed text, taking the place of **J**'s account of the entry into the ark. The elements probably

J	J[s]	P	
n 10 ct 6[17] but cp 9[11]	into the ark, because of the [n]waters of the flood. [8] *Of* [c]*clean beasts, and of beasts that are not* [c]*clean, and of fowls, and of every thing that* [f]*creepeth upon the ground,* [9] there went in *two and two* unto Noah into		f [P]49
o ℑ Sam ℒ *Yahweh*	the ark, *male and female,* as [o]God commanded Noah;— [16b] [N]and Yahweh		
p ℌ=*closed* 2[21] 19[6 10] Josh 2[7]	[p]shut him in.— [10] And it came to pass after the [g]seven days, that the [n]waters of the flood were upon the earth.		
q Num 33[38] ℌ*		[11] In the six hundredth [q]year of Noah's life, in the [g]second month, on the seventeenth day of the month, on the same day were all the [r]fountains of the great [s]deep broken up, and the [t]windows of heaven were opened.	g 183
r 8[2] cp Lev 11[36] Josh 15[9] 18[15]* *s* 1[2] *t* 8[2]*			
u Cp 4	[12] And the [u]rain was upon the earth [i]forty days and forty nights.		
v ℌ=*went in* ct 7		[13] In the [h]selfsame day [v]entered Noah, and Shem, and Ham, and Japheth, the sons of Noah, and Noah's wife, and the three wives of his sons [o]with them, into the ark; [14] they, and every [w]beast after its [i]kind, and all the cattle after their [i]kind, and every [j]creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth after its kind, and every fowl after its kind, every bird of every [N]sort. [15] And they went in unto Noah into the ark, [x]two and two of [k]all flesh [y]wherein is the breath of life. [16a] And they that went in, went in [l]male and female of [k]all flesh, as God commanded him. [17a] And the flood was [N]*forty* days upon the earth;	h 138
w 21 cp 1[24].			i 18[k]
x 6[19.] ct 2			j 49[b]
y 6[17]			k 21[b]
			l 107[a]
z Ct 'prevailed' 18-20 24	[17b] And the waters [z]increased, and bare up the ark, and it was lift up above the earth.		
a' 20 24 ct 'increased' 17*b*		[18] And the waters [a']prevailed, and increased greatly upon the earth; and the ark went upon the face of the waters. [19] And the waters [a']prevailed [m]exceedingly upon the earth; and all the high mountains that were under the whole heaven were covered. [20] [N]Fifteen cubits [b']upward did the waters [a']prevail; and the mountains were covered. [21] And [k]all flesh [n]died that [f]moved upon the earth, [o]both fowl, and cattle, and [v]beast, and every [Tp]swarm-	m 63
b' 6[18]			n 51
			o 35
			p 157

derived by R[p] from P are indicated in smaller type, [7] cp 6[18] 8[16 18]; [8] the distinction between clean and unclean belongs to J 7[2.], but is accommodated to P 6[19.]; [9] 'two and two,' i e one pair of each, as in P 6[19] 7[15]. [9] 'male and female,' cp R in [3] and 6[19].

7[16b] This clause must have preceded the arrival of the waters of the flood [10], and is the natural close of J's account of Noah's entry into the ark. But in combining J and P, the addition of P's version of the same incident [13–16a] necessitated the transposition of the recital of Yahweh's protecting care in fastening the aperture.

[14] M ℌ *wing.*

[17] Regarded by some critics as an attempt to bring P's narrative into accord with J [12], whereas P really makes the duration of the flood much longer 7[24] 8[3b–5]. Others ascribe the whole of [17] to J. But J does not speak of 'the flood' by itself, and [17b] follows quite naturally on [10 12].

[2)] This number seems related to the height of the ark, thirty cubits 6[15]. The ark was apparently regarded as immersed up to half its height: accordingly, when the waters begin to decrease, it can just touch the summit of the loftiest mountain 8[4]. Cp *Introd* XIII 2ϵ i 125.

[21] T Or, *creeping thing that creepeth.*

J	J[s]	P	
		ing thing that swarmeth upon the earth, and every man,	
c′ 2[7]	. . . [22] all in whose [c′]nostrils was the [N]breath of *the [c′]spirit of* life, of all		
d′ מוח ct גוע 21	that was in the [q]dry land [d′]died. [23] [M]And every [f]living thing was [Tb]blotted out which was upon the [c]face of the ground, [N]*both man, and cattle, and* [f]*creeping thing, and fowl of the heaven; and they were* [Tb]*blotted out from the earth;*		q 25
e′ 4[23] Ex 10[23] cp 69	and Noah only was [e′]left, and they that were with him in the ark.		
		[24] And the waters [a′]prevailed upon the earth an [r]hundred and fifty days.	r 93
a ℌ=*beast* 7[14]		8[1] And God [a]remembered Noah, and every [a]living thing, and all the cattle that were with him in the ark: and God made a wind to pass over the earth, and the waters [b]assuaged; [2a] the [c]fountains also of the deep and the windows of heaven were [d]stopped,	a 135
b Cp Num 17[5] ℌ*			
c 7[11] ct 2[b]			
d ℌ*			
e Cp 4[3] 41[1] Num 13[25]	—[6a] [N]And it came to pass [e]at the end		
f 7[12]	of [f]forty days—[2b] that the [f]rain from heaven was restrained; [3a] and the waters returned from off the earth		
g ℌ[3] 7 12[9] 26[13]	[g]continually.		
h 7[24]		[3b] and after the end of [h]an [b]hundred and fifty days the waters decreased.	b 93
		[4] And the ark rested in the [c]seventh month, on the seventeenth day of the month, upon the mountains of Ararat. [5] And the waters decreased continually until the [c]tenth month: in the tenth month, on the first day of the month, were the tops of the mountains seen.	c 183
i 26[3] Josh 2[15 18 21]*	[6b] And Noah opened the [i]window of the ark which he had made: [7] and he [d]sent forth a raven, and it went forth [g]to and fro, until the waters were dried up from off the earth. [8] [N]And he sent forth a dove from him, to see if the waters were		d 205
j 11 cp 16[4]. ℌ*	[j]abated from off the [e]face of the ground; [9] but the dove [f]found no		e 40
k Deut 28[65]*	[k]rest for the sole of her foot, and she returned unto him to the ark,		f 157
l 7[3]	for the waters were on the [l]face of the whole earth[l]: and he put forth his hand, and took her, and brought		

7[22] A composite phrase occurring nowhere else. R[p] has apparently tried to unite J's terminology 'all in whose nostrils was the *nishmath* of life' with P's 'all in whom was the *ruah* of life,' cp 6[17]. The process results in the unique combination 'the *nishmath* of the *ruah* of life.'

[23a] **M** Or, *and he blotted out every living thing.*—Cp 6[7].

[23b] R[p] following 6[20] 7[14 21]. The idiom 'both . . . and' is the same as in 6[7], ct 7[21].

8[6a] This clause, standing in the text at the opening of [6], probably preceded [2b], fixing the date of the cessation of the rain 7[12]. In combining this passage with P's longer duration of the flood, R has transposed the clause, but in doing so deprived it of its meaning, for after [5] what is the starting-point of the reckoning?

[8] The formula at the opening of [10 12] implies a preceding period of seven days' waiting not now found in the text. The conjecture that some words have here dropped out, such as 'and he stayed seven days,' has been widely adopted. So Olshausen, Schrader, Delitzsch, Budde, Dillmann, &c.

J	J^s	P	
	her in unto him into the ark. [10]And he [N]stayed yet other seven days; and [g]again he sent forth the dove out of the ark; [11] and the dove came in to him at [h]eventide; and, lo, in her mouth [N]an olive leaf [m]pluckt off: so Noah knew that the waters were [i]abated from off the earth. [12] And he [d]stayed yet other seven days; and sent forth the dove; and she returned not [g]again unto him any more.		g 123 h 236
		[13a] And it came to pass in the six hundred and first year, in the [c]first month, the first day of the month, the waters were [n]dried up from off the earth.	
	[13b] And Noah [l]removed the [o]covering of the ark, and [j]looked, and, behold, the [e]face of the ground was [k]dried [N]. . .		i 224[b] j 55 k 25
		[14] And in the [c]second month, on the seven and twentieth day of the month, was the earth [p]dry.	
		[15] And God [l]spake unto Noah, saying, [16] Go forth of the ark, [q]thou, and thy wife, and thy sons, and thy sons' wives [m]with thee. [17] Bring forth with thee every [a]living thing that is with thee of [n]all flesh, [o]both fowl, and cattle, and every [p]creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth; that they may [q]breed abundantly in the earth, and be [r]fruitful, and multiply[r] upon the earth. [18] And Noah went forth, and his sons, and his wife, and his sons' wives [m]with him: [19] every [a]beast, every [p]creeping thing, and every fowl, whatsoever [p]moveth upon the earth, [s]after their families, went forth out of the ark.	l 185 m 176 n 21[b] o 35 p 49 q 157 r 73 s 18[c]
	[20] [NL]And Noah [t]builded an altar unto Yahweh; [r]and took of every [r]clean beast, [L]and of every clean fowl, and [u]offered burnt offerings on the altar. [21] And Yahweh [v]smelled the sweet savour; and Yahweh [v]said in his heart, [N]I will not [g]again [u]curse the ground any more [w]for man's [N]sake, for that the [v]imagination of man's heart is evil [w]from his youth;		t 137 u 110 v 45 w 71

n Ct 7 ℌ cp 7[22]
o Cp [P]47[1]
p Ct 7 cp 1[9].
q 6[18]
20[a] [L]10d[a]
20[b] [L]61[a]
r 7[2]
20[c] [L]7b[a]
s ct [P]11[8] ℌ
t Cp 27[27] Lev 26[31] ct [P]158
u Cp 3[17]
v 6[5]
w 46[34]*

8[10] יחל should be corrected to ויחל as in [12], ℌ*.

[11] **M** Or, *a fresh olive leaf.*

[13] This was probably followed in J by Noah's departure from the ark, now related in P [15–19].

[20] The cultus of Yahweh, already established in 4 according to J, is not yet revealed according to P. Yahweh's promise not to smite every living thing again [21]. stands in contrast with the covenant established by Elohim with Noah and his posterity, 9[8–17].

[21a] This reference to the curse pronounced on the ground after the first transgression seems open to some suspicion, if the narrative of the deluge be from a different hand, J^s. It may be noticed that the word 'curse' is not that employed in 3[17], and is an unusual one in the person of Yahweh; moreover (𝔊 omits the particle 'and' in the next clause, as if each began 'I will not again. . . .' There is reason therefore to ascribe the allusion to the curse to an early compiler already acquainted with 3[17] and 6[5], i e RJ. Cp Holzinger, *Gen* 82.

[21b] **M** Or, *sake; for the.*

J J[s] P

neither will I [g]again smite any more every thing living, as I have done. [22] While the earth remaineth, seed-time and harvest, and [m]cold and [x]heat, and [d]summer and [d]winter, and day and night shall not [y]cease.

x 8[21] ℌ*
y ℌ = *rest* ct 2[2]

[9][1] And God [a]blessed Noah and his sons, and said unto them, [a]Be fruitful, and multiply[a], and replenish the earth[a]. [2] And the [b]fear of you and the [c]dread of you shall be upon every [b]beast of the earth, and upon every fowl of the air; [c]with all wherewith the ground [Kd]teemeth, and all the fishes of the sea, into your hand are they delivered. [3] [L]Every [e]moving thing that liveth shall be [f]food for you; as the [d]green herb have I given you all. [4] [LN]But flesh [c]with the life thereof, [which is] the blood thereof, shall ye not eat. [5] [L]And surely your blood, [the blood] of your lives, will I require; at the hand of every beast will I require it: and at the hand of man, even at the hand of [g]every man's brother, will I require the life of man. [6] Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed: for in the [e]image of God made he man. [7] And you, [a]be ye fruitful, and multiply; [h]bring forth abundantly in the earth, and multiply therein.

[8] And God [i]spake unto Noah, and to his sons [j]with him, saying, [9] [f]And [k]I, behold, I [l]establish my covenant with [m]you, and with your seed after you[m]; [10] and with every living creature that is with you, [c]the fowl, the cattle, and every [b]beast of the earth with you; [n]of all that go out of the ark, [K]even every [b]beast of the earth. [11] And I will [l]establish my covenant with you; neither shall [o]all flesh be [p]cut off any more by the [q]waters of the flood; neither shall there any more be a flood to [h]destroy the earth. [12] And God said, [q]This is the token of the covenant which [k]I make between me and you and every living creature that is with you, for [r]perpetual generations[r]: [13] [M]I do set my [i]bow in the cloud, and it shall [s]be for a token of a covenant between me and the earth. [14] And it shall come to pass, when I [j]bring a cloud[j] over the earth, that the bow shall be seen in the cloud, [15] and I will [t]remember my covenant, which is between me and you and every living creature of [o]all flesh; and the waters shall no more [h]become a flood to [h]destroy [o]all flesh. [16] And the bow shall be in the cloud; and I will look upon it, that I may [t]remember the [u]everlasting covenant between [l]God and every living creature of [o]all flesh that is upon the earth. [17] And God said unto Noah, [q]This is the token of the covenant which I have [l]established between me and [o]all flesh that is upon the earth.

a 1[28]
b Cp Deut 11[25]
c Job 41[25]†
3 L6a*i*
d 1[30]
4 L6e*h*
5 L2h*k*
e 1[26].
f 6[17]
g 7[7]
h 6[13]
i Ezek 1[28]
j ℌ†
k Cp 27
l ℌ *me*

a 73
b 29
c 35
d 49[a]
e 49[b]
f 110
g 184
h 157
i 185
j 176
k 94
l 60[a]
m 162
n 21[a]
o 21[b]
p 50
q 188[b]
r 62[b]
s 27
t 135
u 62[a]

[18] [N]And the sons of Noah, that went forth of the ark, were Shem, and Ham, and Japheth: *and Ham is the father of Canaan*. [19] These three were the sons of Noah: and of these was the whole earth [m]overspread.
[20] [N]And Noah [v]began to be an husbandman, and [n]planted a vineyard:

m cp JE 7[2]
n 2[8]

v 8

9[2] **M** Or, *creepeth*.

[4] Holzinger *Gen* 74 points out that the prohibition of eating with the blood [4] is elsewhere closely connected with regulations of sacrifice, which according to **P**[g] was not instituted till the Mosaic age. He suggests, therefore, that its insertion here is due to **P**[s]. The awkwardness of אך[4] followed by ואת[5] may be explained by the conjecture that [5.] is later still. In that case [7] is the editorial close reproduced from [1], cp Ex 6[12] and [30].

[10] These words seem due to later legal effort at precision (for the preposition ל cp Driver, *LOT*[6] 132). The clause is absent from ⑤, and the usage of the term 'beast of the earth' to include the whole animal world differs from that earlier in the verse where it denotes wild animals in contrast to domesticated cattle.

[13] **M** Or, *I have set*.

[18] This verse is assigned to **J**[s] as the sequel of the flood story. It does not appear to belong to **P**, who has already named Noah's sons 5[32] 6[10] 7[13]. The last clause is probably the editorial preparation for the episode which follows [20–27]. But [19] is independent of this, and makes for the account of the dispersion in 10.

[20] The story of the invention of vine-culture and its consequences does not seem to belong to the same cycle as the flood. It has its analogies rather with the sketch of the growth of the arts and crafts in 4[17–22], cp 4[1N], and is here regarded as belonging to the group of early materials gathered by **J** before the incorporation of the Deluge narrative. The opening words 'and Noah the husbandman began and planted a vineyard' (Dillm, Strack, Kautzsch and Socin, Spurrell) suggest its connexion with other stories in which he had already appeared in that character. But in its present form it is supposed that it has been adapted to the later scheme of Noah's three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth. The writer intends to account for the enslaved condition of the Canaanites in after times; and the explanation implies that Canaan really played the part attributed

J | J^s | P

21 and he [o]drank of the wine, and [p]was drunken; and he [q]was uncovered within his [w]tent. 22 And *Ham, the father of* Canaan, saw the nakedness of his father, and [x]told his two brethren without. 23 And Shem and Japheth took a [y]garment, and [z]laid it upon both their shoulders, and went backward, and covered the nakedness of their father; and their faces were backward, and they saw not their father's nakedness. 24 And Noah [r]awoke from his wine, and knew what his [M]youngest son had [a']done unto him. 25 And he said,

[b']Cursed be Canaan;
A [c']servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren.

26 And he said,

[d']Blessed be Yahweh, the [e']God of Shem;
And let Canaan be [M]his servant.

27 God [s]enlarge Japheth,
And [M]let him [t]dwell in the [w]tents of Shem;
And let Canaan be [M]his servant.

28 And Noah [u]lived [v]after the flood three hundred and fifty years. 29 And all the [f']days of Noah were nine hundred and fifty years: and he died.

10[1] [TN]AND [a]THESE ARE THE GENERATIONS[a] of the sons of Noah, Shem, Ham, and Japheth.

...[1b] [N]And [a]unto them were sons born after the flood. . .

2 [b]The sons of Japheth; Gomer, and Magog, and Madai, and Javan, and Tubal, and Meshech, and Tiras. 3 And [b]the sons of Gomer; Ashkenaz, and [M]Riphath, and Togarmah. 4 And [b]the sons of Javan; Elishah, and Tarshish, Kittim, and [M]Dodanim. 5 [c]Of these were the [M]isles of the nations [d]divided [e]in their lands, every one [b]after his tongue; [c]after their families, [d]in their nations.

6 And [b]the sons of Ham; Cush, and Mizraim, and Put, and Canaan. 7 And [b]the sons of Cush; Seba, and Havilah, and Sabtah, and Raamah, and Sabteca: and [b]the sons of Raamah; Sheba, and Dedan.

o 27[25]
p 43[34] Deut 32[42]*
q Prov 18[2] ℌt
r 28[16] 41[4 7 21]*
s ℌt cp 26[22]
t 16[12] 26[2] 35[22] 49[13] Num 23[9] Deut 33[12] *al* ct [P]54
u Cp 5[7]...
v 7[6]
a 21 25 4[18 26]
b 3. 8. 22. cp 46[6]..
c Cp 20 31
d 32 13[11] cp 2[10]
e 20 31

w 220
x 218
y 161
z 193
a' 146[b]
b' 24
c' 207
d' 10[c]
e' 120
f' 181
a 77
b 18
c 65
d 35

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to Ham. From [24] it appears that the act of filial dishonour was committed by Noah's youngest son; whereas Ham is always enumerated in the second place. Further, the curse does not alight on Ham, but on Canaan [25], 'brother' of Shem and Japheth, which has led to the conjecture (Wellh, Budde, Kuen, and others) that according to the original narrative the three sons were Shem, Japheth, and Canaan. In that case, the words in [22a] *Ham the father of* belong to the later harmonist.

9[24] **M** Or, *younger*.—Cp 27[15 42] 29[16 18].
[26] **M** Or, *their*.
[27a] **M** Or, *he shall*. [27b] **M** Or, *their*.

10[1a] **T** *now*, ℌ *and*. The framework of the Table of Nations in 10 consists of a *tol[e]dhoth* section concerning the three Sons of Noah, cp 6[9] 5[1] 2[4a]. The descendants of each progenitor are briefly enumerated, the survey beginning from Japheth and finally contracting to Shem, the ancestor of Abraham, cp 11[10]. . Each group opens and closes with the recurring formulae so frequent in **P**. But the compiler has incorporated material in a totally different style. At [8] attention is at once arrested by the form of the word 'begat,' ct [P]30. The passage thus opened soon shows other linguistic peculiarities (see margin [8].) and contains a quantity of detail by no means consonant with what has just preceded, e g the descendants of Mizraim [13]. . and Canaan [15]..., which have apparently replaced the parallel statements of **P**, Mizraim, Put, and Canaan having there no recorded offspring. Similarly the line of Shem [21] through Arpachshad [24]. . is traced in a manner wholly unlike **P**'s genealogy in 11[10]. . (cp the two pedigrees in 4 and 5); Sheba [28] Havilah [29] are Cushite [7] not Joktanite and [25–30] is phraseologically connected with [8–19]. The use of the name Yahweh [9], the proverbial citation [9], the historic reminiscence [10]., the geographical detail [19 30], the derivation [25] are all in the manner of **J**. It may be doubted, however, whether the portions thus recovered for **J** are quite homogeneous; see [1b 9 16 24].

[1b] It is not the method of **P** to insert such a clause after his *tol[e]dhoth* formula by means of the copula: moreover this bears the form of the **J** sections in this chapter, and of corresponding passages previously. It is possible that it originally followed 9[18a], and was transposed when [19b] was editorially inserted.

[3] **M** In 1 Chron 1[6], *Diphath*.
[4] **M** In 1 Chron 1[7], *Rodanim*.
[5] **M** Or, *coastlands*.

J

J[s]

P

[8] And Cush [e]begat Nimrod: he [f]began to be a [g]mighty one in the earth. [9] [N]*He was a [g]mighty [h]hunter before Yahweh: [i]wherefore it is said, Like Nimrod a mighty hunter before Yahweh.* [10] And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of [f]Shinar. [11] Out of that land [M]he went forth into Assyria, and [g]builded Nineveh, and Rehoboth-Ir, and Calah, [12] and Resen between Nineveh and Calah (*the same is the great city*). [13] And Mizraim [e]begat Ludim, and Anamim, and Lehabim, and Naphtuhim, [14] and Pathrusim, and Casluhim (*whence went forth [M]the Philistines*), and Caphtorim.

[15] And Canaan [e]begat Zidon his firstborn, and Heth; [16] [N]*and the Jebusite, and the Amorite, and the Girgashite;* [17] *and the Hivite, and the Arkite, and the Sinite;* [18] *and the Arvadite, and the Zemarite, and the Hamathite*: and afterward were the families of the [j]Canaanite [h]spread abroad. [19] And the border of the [j]Canaanite was from Zidon, [k]as thou goest toward Gerar, unto Gaza; as thou goest toward Sodom and Gomorrah and Admah and Zeboiim, unto Lasha.

[20] [l]These are the sons of Ham, [c]after their families, [b]after their tongues, [e]in their lands, [d]in their nations.

[21] And unto Shem, [N]the father of all the children of Eber, [M]the elder brother of Japheth, to him [m]also [i]were children born. . .

[22] [b]The sons of Shem; Elam, and Asshur, and Arpachshad, and Lud, and Aram. [23] And [b]the sons of Aram; Uz, and Hul, and Gether, and Mash.

[24] [N]And Arpachshad [M][e]begat Shelah; and Shelah [e]begat Eber. [25] And [a]unto Eber [i]were born two sons:

f 11[2] 14[1, 9] Josh 7[21*]
g 4[17]
h Cp [JE]72
i 4[26] ℌ

e 7
f 8
g 184
h ℌ 172
i 85
j 17
k 5
l 188
m 126

10[9] The description of Nimrod in [8] as a mighty one (*Gibbor*) suggests power and dominion such as is indicated in [10] by the mention of his kingdom. The intervening statement that he was a 'mighty one at hunting' implies some different connexion (unless it is simply founded on the proverb cited in [9b]), and is apparently attached to its context only by the occurrence of the term *gibbor*.

[11] **M** Or, *went forth Asshur*.

[14] **M** ℌ *Pelishtim*.—This clause seems to be a misplaced gloss belonging to the word Caphtorim, cp Am 9[7] Deut 2[23] Jer 47[4].

[16] This long enumeration of Canaanite tribes seems inconsistent with the subsequent affirmation in [18b], for it implies the very dispersion there said to have taken place 'afterwards.' The peculiar forms of the names are unlike other names in this table, but resemble lists elsewhere, e g 15[19–21], which have often the air of additions to the text.

[21a] The words 'father of all the children of Eber' have been sometimes regarded as a harmonizing addition. Or the original may have run 'father of Eber.'

[21b] **M** Or, *the brother of Japheth the elder*.

[24a] The origin of this verse is uncertain. Dillmann regards it as really derived by the compiler from 11[10–14] and inserted here to connect Shem [21] with Eber [25]. But if so, why did not the borrower transfer also P's customary form for *beget* [P]30, i e 'cause to bear,' instead of adopting the unusual application of the word 'to bear'? The comparison of the genealogies in 4 and 5 suggests that in 11[10]. also P worked upon previous material, of which a trace may have been here preserved.

[24b] **M** ⑤ reads, *begat Cainan, and Cainan begat Shelah*.

J J[s] P

j Cp 4[19]
k ‖ 1 Chron 1[19] ℌ†

[j]the name of the one was [M]Peleg; for in his days was the earth [k]divided; and his [n]brother's name was Joktan. [26] And Joktan [e]begat Almodad, and Sheleph, and Hazarmaveth, and Jerah; [27] and Hadoram, and Uzal, and Diklah; [28] and [M]Obal, and Abimael, and Sheba; [29] and Ophir, and Havilah, and Jobab: all these were the sons of Joktan. [30] And their [l]dwelling was from Mesha, [k]as thou goest toward Sephar, the [M]mountain of the east.

n 14

l 27[39] Num 24[21]

[31] [P]These are the sons of Shem, [e]after their families, [b]after their tongues, [e]in their lands, [o]after their nations.

o 18[n]

[32] [p]These are the families of the sons of Noah, [q]after their generations, [d]in their nations: and of these were the nations [d]divided in the earth after the flood.

p 188
q 77[c]

a 4[8]
b 12[9] 13[11] 20[1] 35[21] 46[1] *al*
c 10[10]
d 14[10] Ex 2[3]†
e Ex 1[14]*
f 5 8 4[17]
g ℌ*
h Cp 8. 7[3]
i 18[21]

11[1] [N]And the whole earth was of one [M]language and of one [M]speech. [2] And [a]it came to pass, [a]as they [b]journeyed [Ma]east, that they [b]found a plain in the land of [c]Shinar; and they dwelt there. [3] And they said [c]one to another, [d]Go to, let us [e]make brick, and burn them throughly. And they had brick for stone, and [Md]slime had they for [e]mortar. [4] And they said, [d]Go to, let us [f]build us a city, and a [g]tower, whose top [may reach] unto heaven, and let us make us a name; lest we be [f]scattered abroad upon the [h]face of the whole earth. [5] And Yahweh [g]came down to [i]see the city and the tower, which the children of men builded. [6] And Yahweh said, Behold, they are one people, and they have all one language; and this is what they [h]begin to do: and [i]now nothing will be [j]withholden from them, which they [k]purpose to do. [7] [d]Go to, let us [g]go down, and there [l]confound their language, that they may not understand [c]one another's speech. [8] So Yahweh [f]scattered them abroad from thence upon the [h]face of all the earth: and they [j]left off to build the city. [9] [k]Therefore was the name of it called Babel; because Yahweh did there [M]confound the language of all the earth: and from thence did Yahweh [f]scatter them abroad upon the [h]face of all the earth.

a 27
b 157
c 112[b]
d 164
e 13
f 72
g 19
h 8
i 187
j 140
k 15[b]

j Job 42[2] ℌ†
k Deut 19[19]*
l ℌ=*mingle* Ex 29[2]

[10] [NI]THESE ARE THE GENERATIONS of Shem. Shem was an [m]hundred years [n]old, and [o]begat Arpachshad [N]two years after the flood: [11] and [m]Shem lived after he begat Arpachshad five hundred years, and begat sons and daughters. [12] And Arpachshad lived five and thirty years, and begat Shelah: [13] and

l 77
m 93
n 119[a]
o 30

m Cp 5[7 10] &c

10[25] **M** That is, *Division*.—The following clause may be a later gloss.

[28] **M** In 1 Chron 1[22], *Ebal*.

[30] **M** Or, *hill country*.

11[1a] This story is plainly derived from a cycle of traditions independent of those now contained in 10. It is excluded from **P** by the share assigned in it to Yahweh, as well as by its general contents. But it further appears incompatible with the representation of the dispersion of the new race derived from Noah in **J**[s]. That was the issue of a natural process of migration; here, the ambition of youthful humanity draws down upon it a divine doom. The description of the united population of the earth speaking one language and travelling nomad-fashion eastward cannot therefore apply to the peoples who have already taken up their geographical positions; it seems rather to fit the race whose advance is sketched in 4[16]‥. They had already learned the art of city-building; and the tower in the land of Shinar apparently belongs to an earlier group of stories before the historical glimpses in 10[10–12]. But in the process of incorporation into **J**'s series, the narrative has received the impress of his style.

[1b] **M** ℌ *lip*.—[1 6. 9] ct 10[5].

[1c] **M** ℌ *words*.

[2] **M** Or, *in the east*.

[3] **M** That is, *bitumen*.

[9] **M** ℌ *balal*, to confound.

[10a] The sequel of the *tol*[e]*dhoth* of the sons of Noah 10[1]. From among the sons of Shem 10[22] the line of Israel's ancestry is now traced through Arpachshad. For the forms of recurring phrases see 5.

[10b] As it is difficult to reconcile this figure with other numerical data in **P**, the words are possibly a later addition. After completing his 500th year Noah begets Shem 5[32], whose birth may be therefore assigned to Noah's 501st. The flood arrives in Noah's 600th 7[11], i e Shem's ninety-ninth, and lasts till Noah's 601st 8[13]; i e Shem's 100th. Two years 'after the flood,' therefore—the phrase denotes not its beginning but its end cp 9[28]—Shem would be in his 102nd year, or 101 years old. The error appears to arise from neglect of the year occupied by the flood.

J

P

Arpachshad lived after he begat Shelah four hundred and three years, and begat sons and daughters.
14 And Shelah lived thirty years, and begat Eber: 15 and Shelah lived after he begat Eber four hundred and three years, and begat sons and daughters.
16 And Eber lived four and thirty years, and begat Peleg: 17 and Eber lived after he begat Peleg four hundred and thirty years, and begat sons and daughters.
18 And Peleg lived thirty years, and begat Reu: 19 and Peleg lived after he begat Reu two hundred and nine years, and begat sons and daughters.
20 And Reu lived two and thirty years, and begat Serug: 21 and Reu lived after he begat Serug two hundred and seven years, and begat sons and daughters.
22 And Serug lived thirty years, and begat Nahor: 23 and Serug lived after he begat Nahor two hundred years, and begat sons and daughters.
24 And Nahor lived nine and twenty years, and begat Terah: 25 and Nahor lived after he begat Terah an [m]hundred and nineteen years, and begat sons and daughters.
26 And Terah lived seventy years, and begat Abram, Nahor, and Haran.
27 [T]AND [1]THESE ARE THE GENERATIONS of Terah. Terah [o]begat Abram, Nahor, and Haran; and Haran begat Lot.

...28 [N]And Haran died in the presence of his father Terah in the land of his [p]nativity, [N]*in* [n]*Ur of the Chaldees.* 29 And Abram and Nahor [q]took them wives: the name of Abram's wife was Sarai; and the name of Nahor's wife, Milcah, the daughter of Haran, the father of Milcah, and the father of Iscah. 30 And Sarai was [o]barren; she had no [p]child.

31 [N]And Terah [q]took Abram his son, and Lot the son of Haran, his son's son, and Sarai his daughter in law, his son Abram's wife; and they [q]went forth with them from [n]Ur of the Chaldees, to go into the land of [r]Canaan; and they came unto [r]Haran, and dwelt there. 32 And the [s]days of Terah were two hundred and five years: and Terah died in Haran.

12[1] [N]Now Yahweh said unto Abram, [a]Get thee out of thy [b]country, and from

n 28 31 15[7] Neh 9[8]†
o 25[21] 29[31] Ex 23[26] Deut 7[14]*
p Cp 2 Sam 6[23]†
q 12[5]
r 12[4].
a 22[2] ℌ* ct 11[31]
b 24[4] 30[25] 32[9] Num 10[30]

p 60
q 82
r 4
s 181

11[27] **T** *Now.* ℌ as in 10[1].

28a The descent of Abram in **J** has apparently been omitted in favour of the more elaborate genealogy in **P** (cp Noah in 4–5). But the fragment in 28–30, obviously not homogeneous with **P**, is naturally referred to it, as the phraseological indications all belong to **J**.

28b It is doubtful whether the reference to Ur of the Chaldees is original in this verse. Ur is named three times in Gen as the original home of Abram, cp 31 15[7]. But a difficulty arises about its locality. It is prevailingly identified with the modern Mugheir on the right bank of the Euphrates in southern Babylonia. But other statements in **J** imply that Abram's birthplace was by no means so far south. In 27[43] 28[10] 29[5] Abraham's kindred 22[20]. . are all at Haran, and this apparently is the 'land of his nativity' 24[7 10] whence Yahweh brought him. Dillmann therefore supposes that the allusions to Ur in **J** have been inserted by the compiler, from some unknown source. Similar reasoning is applied by him to the occurrence of the name 31 in **P**. The general references in 8[4] 11[10–26] connect the line of Terah with northern Mesopotamia, cp 25[20] 28[2]; the intrusion of a southern name, therefore, must be due to an effort to incorporate a different tradition. But of this further source Dillmann does not produce any other trace, and the suggestion of triple interpolation seems rather forced. Assuming the correctness of the geographical identification, it is possible to account for the name on the hypothesis that it belongs to the cycle of the flood story, the Babylonian prototype of which was located in the south. Or it is conceivable that there was more than one Ur, and that this must be sought in some other district. Chesed, the eponymous ancestor of Chasdim (the Chaldees), is not mentioned till 22[22].

31 The minuteness of description in 31a is quite after the manner of **P**, cp 7[13] 8[18] &c. The emigration-formula in 31b harmonizes with that in 12[5] and its parallels, while 32 follows **P**'s well-known method of numerical precision. The announcement of Terah's death might seem to prepare the way for 'these are the generations of Abram.' But if that title ever existed, cp 11[27] 25[19], it has disappeared in the process of combining **J** and **P**.

12[1] The regularity of **P**'s plan suggests that the *tol[e]dhoth* of Terah 27 led to a similar section for Abram, its introductory formula having been removed in the process of compilation. The group of narratives in which Abraham is the chief figure 12–26 is found on analysis to be of mixed nature.

J

thy [a]kindred, and from thy [b]father's house, unto the land that I will shew thee: [2] and I will [c]make of thee a great nation, and I will [d]bless thee, and [c]make thy name [c]great: and be thou a blessing: [3] and I will bless them that bless thee, and him that [e]curseth thee will I [f]curse: and in thee shall all the [g]families of the earth be [d]blessed. [4a] So Abram went, [h]as Yahweh had spoken unto him; and Lot went with him.

P

[5] [i]And Abram took Sarai his wife, and [j]Lot his brother's son, and all their [e]substance that they had [e]gathered, and the [f]souls that they had gotten in [j]Haran; and they [j]went forth to go into the [g]land of Canaan; and into the [g]land of Canaan they came.—[4b] [N]And Abram was seventy and five years [h]old when he [r]went forth out of [j]Haran.—

[6] And Abram passed through the land unto the place of [k]Shechem, unto the [Ml]oak of Moreh. [N]*And the [i]Canaanite was then in the land.* [7] [L]And Yahweh appeared unto Abram, and said, Unto thy seed will I [m]give this land: and there [j]builded he an altar unto Yahweh, [n]who appeared unto him. [8] [L]And he [o]removed from thence unto the mountain [k]on the east of [p]Beth-el, and [q]pitched his [l]tent, having Beth-el on the west, and [r]Ai on the east: and there he [j]builded an altar unto Yahweh, and [m]called upon the name of Yahweh. [9] [N]*And Abram [s]journeyed, [t]going on still toward the [N]South.*

[10] [Nu]And there was a famine in the land: and Abram [v]went down into Egypt to [w]sojourn there; for the [n]famine was sore in the land. [11] [o]And it came to pass, when he was [x]come near to enter into Egypt, that he said unto Sarai his wife, [p]Behold now, I know that thou art a [q]fair woman to look upon: [12] and [y]it shall come to pass, [y]when the Egyptians shall see thee, that they shall say, This is his wife: and they will [r]kill me, but they will [s]save thee alive. [13] Say, [s]I pray thee, thou art my sister: that it may [a']be well with me [t]for thy sake, and that my soul may live [b']because of thee. [14] [Lu]And it came to pass, that, when Abram was come into Egypt, the Egyptians beheld the woman that she was very fair. [15] And the [v]princes of Pharaoh saw her, and [c']praised her to Pharaoh: and the woman was taken into Pharaoh's house. [16] And he [w]entreated Abram well [t]for her sake: [a']and he had [x]sheep, and oxen[x], and he-asses, and menservants, and [y]maidservants, and she-

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In their combination much has been curtailed, and in fitting the separate stories unconnected by dates into the more precise chronological framework of **P**, some dislocations have been inevitable, and occasional fragments may be detected in the text, the exact connexion of which now seems lost beyond recall. [1–4] continues 11[28–30], 'now' = ℌ 'and.'

12[4b] The mention of Abram's age on his migration from Haran must plainly follow the account of the migration itself; it owes its position in the text to **R** who used it as the link between [4a] and [5].—**T** *departed*, ℌ as in [5] 'went forth to go into the land of Canaan.'

[6a] **M** Or, *terebinth*.

[6b] Cp 13[7]. Many critics regard these as editorial notes.

[9a] This verse may be due to the compiler who has attached the Egyptian episode [10–20] by its means.

[9b] **M** ℌ *Negeb*, the southern tract of Judah.

[10] The narrative in [10–20] shows the general style and language of **J** (cp [17]). But it is in reality the first of three, dealing with a common incident, cp [18] 20[9] 26[10], 'she is my sister' [19] 20[5] 26[9]. The second, in 20[1–17], locates it at the court of Abimelech, king of Gerar. In the third the scene remains unchanged, but Isaac and Rebekah replace Abraham and Sarah 26[7–11]. Are all these stories told by the same writer? The second will be found to belong to the document designated **E** (cp *Introd* XII); the first and last apparently belong to **J**. The difficulty, however, reappears; did the same hand produce them both? The greater simplicity of 26[7–11] suggests that it belongs to an earlier stratum of tradition; in 12 the court of Pharaoh with its princes [15], the wealth and dignity of Abram [16], are described with more elaboration; the transaction is carried further, for Sarai is actually taken into Pharaoh's palace, and great plagues descend on Pharaoh and his house. The narrative, therefore, may be assigned to the secondary elements of **J** (cp *Introd* XI 6β i 109). It will be noticed that Lot is not mentioned in it.

	J	P	
e' 2 Kings 15[5] 2 Chron 26[20] ℌ†	asses, and [z]camels. 17 And Yahweh [e']plagued Pharaoh and his house with great [f']plagues [g']because of Sarai Abram's wife. 18 And Pharaoh [a']called Abram, and said, [b']What is this that thou hast done unto me? why didst thou not [c']tell me that she was thy wife? 19 Why saidst thou, She is my sister? so that I [h']took her to be my wife: [d']now therefore behold thy wife, [i']take her, and [e']go thy way. 20 And Pharaoh gave men charge concerning him: and they [f']brought him on the way, and his wife, and [g']all that he had.		z 16 a' 139 b' 146[d] c' 218 d' 187 e' 162 f' 205[c] g' 124
f' Ex 11[1] ct Lev 13[3].. *g'* 20[11 18] 43[18] Ex 8[12] ℌ *h'* Cp 11[29] *i'* 24[51]	13[1] [N]And Abram [a]went up out of Egypt, he, and his wife, and [a]all that he had, *and Lot with him,* into the [b]South.		a 124
a 50[5 7] *b* 12[9]			
c 24[35 53] Num 22[18] *d* Ct Ex 17[1] Num 10[12]	2 And Abram was very [b]rich in [c]cattle, in [c]silver, and in [c]gold.		b 78 c 18
e 12[8]	3 [N] *And he [d]went on his journeys from the [b]South even to [e]Beth-el, unto the place where his [d]tent had been at the [e]beginning, between Beth-el and Ai;* 4 *unto the place of the [f]altar, which he had made there at the first: and there Abram [g]called on the name of Yahweh.*		d 220 e 8[b] f 137 g 15[a]
f 12[4]	5 And Lot [h]also, which [f]went with Abram, had [i]flocks, and herds, and [d]tents,		h 126 i 33
g 36[7]		6a [N]And the [g]land was not able to bear them, that they might dwell together: for their [j]substance was great,	j 155
	6b and they could not dwell together.		
h 26[20]	7 And there was a [h]strife between the [k]herdmen of Abram's [c]cattle and the herdmen of Lot's cattle: [N]*and the [l]Canaanite and the Perizzite dwelled then in the land.* 8 And Abram said unto Lot, Let there be no strife, [m]I pray thee, between me and thee, and between my [k]herdmen and thy herdmen; for we are [i]brethren.		k 208 l 17[b] m 186
i Cp 24[48] 29[12] *j* Cp 20[15] 34[10 21] 47[6]. *k* 2[10] *l* Cp 24[49]	9 Is not the whole land [j]before thee? [k]separate thyself, [m]I pray thee, from me: if [thou wilt take] the [l]left hand, then I will go to the right; or if [thou take] the [l]right hand, then I will go to the left. 10 And Lot [n]lifted up his eyes, and beheld all the [M]Plain of Jordan, that it was well [m]watered every where, before Yahweh [n]destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, like the [o]garden of Yahweh, like the land of Egypt, [p]as thou goest unto [o]Zoar. 11a So Lot chose him all the Plain of Jordan; and Lot [p]journeyed [q]east:		n 176[a]
m ℌ cp 225 *n* 19[13]			
o 19[22]			o 37 p 5
p 11[2] *q* 10[5]		11b and they [q]separated themselves the [r]one from the other. 12 Abram dwelled in the [s]land of Canaan, and Lot dwelled in the cities of the Plain[N]. [→19[29]]	q 27 r 184 s 4

13[1] In combining the later story of the visit to Egypt with the narrative of the separation of Abram and Lot, it was necessary to relate Abram's return to middle Canaan, where tradition placed the parting. As nothing was said of Lot's presence in Egypt 12[10–20], it is believed that the words 'and Lot with him' are due to the harmonist. But the whole verse may be really his.

3–4 The editorial connexion of 12[10–13][1] with the account of Lot's choice.

6 **P** summarizes the incident, in his usual method in cases which he does not select for expansion (cp the reference to Isaac's marriage 25[20] with 24). With similar brevity the separation of Esau from Jacob is narrated in corresponding terms in 36[6].

7 Probably another editorial note, cp 12[6].

10 **M** Or, *Circle.*—Cp 19[17] Deut 34[3].

12 The brief statement concerning Abram and Lot may have been originally followed by the conclusion of the latter's share in the narrative 19[29], now awkwardly appended to **J**'s account of his escape on occasion of the overthrow 19[12–28].

J

and [t]moved his tent as far as Sodom.
[13] Now the men of Sodom were wicked
and sinners against Yahweh exceedingly.
[14] And Yahweh said unto Abram, after that
Lot was separated from him, [n]Lift up [m]now thine
eyes, and look from the place where thou art,
[r]northward and southward and eastward and
westward[r]: [15] for all the land which thou seest,
to thee will I [s]give it, and to thy seed for ever.
[16] And I will [u]make thy [v]seed as the dust of the
earth: so that if a man can number the dust of
the earth, then shall thy seed [h]also be num-
bered. [17] [w]Arise, walk through the land in the
length of it and in the breadth of it; for unto
thee will I [s]give it.
[18] [L]And Abram [t]moved his tent, and
came and dwelt by the [Mt]oaks of [u]Mamre,
which are in Hebron, and [f]built there
an altar unto Yahweh.

P

t 220[b]
u 193
v 204
w 128

r 28[14]†
s 12[7]
18 [L]10d
t 14[13] 18[1]
u Cp 23[19]

14[1] [N]And it came to pass in the days of Amraphel king of [a]Shinar, Arioch king of Ellasar, Chedorlaomer king of [b]Elam, and Tidal king of [M]Goiim, [2] that they [c]made war with Bera king of [d]Sodom, and with Birsha king of [d]Gomorrah, Shinab king of [d]Admah, and Shemeber king of [d]Zeboiim, and the king of [e]Bela (*the same is Zoar*). [3] All these [Mf]joined together in the [g]vale of [e]Siddim (*the same is the [h]Salt Sea*). [4] Twelve years they [i]served Chedorlaomer, and in the thirteenth year they [j]rebelled. [5] And in the fourteenth year came Chedorlaomer, and the kings that were with him, and smote the [k]Rephaim in [l]Ashteroth-karnaim, and the [m]Zuzim in [e]Ham, and the [n]Emim in [Mc]Shaveh-[p]kiriathaim, [6] and the [q]Horites in their mount Seir, unto [e]El-paran, which is by the wilderness. [7] And they returned, and came to [e]En-mishpat (*the same is [r]Kadesh*), and smote all the [M]country of the [s]Amalekites, and [a]also the [b]Amorites, that dwelt in [t]Hazazon-tamar. [8] And there went out the king of Sodom, and the king of Gomorrah, and the king of Admah, and the king of Zeboiim, and the king of Bela (*the same is Zoar*); and they set the battle in array against them in the vale of Siddim; [9] against Chedorlaomer king of Elam, and Tidal king of Goiim, and Amraphel king of Shinar, and Arioch king of Ellasar; four kings against the five. [10] Now the vale of Siddim was full of [Mt]slime pits; and the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah fled, and they fell there, and they that remained fled to the mountain. [11] And they took all the [c]goods of Sodom and Gomorrah, and all their victuals, and went their way. [12] And they took Lot, [v]Abram's brother's son, who dwelt in [w]Sodom, and his [c]goods, and departed. [13] And there came one that had [x]escaped, and [d]told [e]Abram the Hebrew[e]: now he dwelt by the [M]oaks of [v]Mamre the [b]Amorite, brother of [z]Eshcol, and brother of [e]Aner; and these were [e]confederate with Abram. [14] And when Abram heard that his brother was taken [a']captive, he [b']led forth his trained men, [c']born in his house[c'], three hundred and eighteen, and pursued as far as [d']Dan. [15] And he [e']divided himself against them by [f]night, he and his [g]servants, and smote them, and pursued them unto [e]Hobah, which is on the [M]left hand of Damascus. [16] And he brought back all the [c]goods, and [a]also brought again his brother Lot, and his [c]goods, and the women [a]also, and the people. [17] And the king of Sodom went out to [h]meet him, after his return from the slaughter of Chedorlaomer and the kings that were with him, at the vale of Shaveh (*the same is the [e]King's Vale[e]*). [18] [N]And Melchizedek king of [f']Salem brought forth bread and wine: and he was priest of [M]God [g']Most High. [19] And he blessed him, and said, [i]Blessed be Abram of [M]God Most High, [Me]possessor of heaven

a 10[10]
b 10[22]
c Josh 11[18]*
d 10[19]
e †
f ℌ†
g 37[14] Num 14[25] *al*
h Deut 3[17]. Num 34[3]
i Cp JE207
j Num 14[9] Josh 22[16 18. 29]*
k Cp D5
l Deut 1[4]
m Cp Deut 2[20]
n Deut 2[10]
o 17†
p Num 32[37]
q 36[20]. Deut 2[12 22]
r 16[14] 20[1] Num 13[26] 20[1] *al*
s 36[12] Ex 17[8] *al*
t 2 Chron 20[2]†
u 11[3]
v 11[31]
w 13[12]
x Josh 8[22] cp Num 21[29]
y 24 13[18]
z 24 Num 13[23].
a' 34[29] Num 21[1] *al*
b' 42[35] Ex 15[9] Lev 26[33]*
c' 17[12. 23 27] Lev 22[11] P*
d' Josh 19[47] Judg 18[29]
e' 1 Kings 16[21]
f' Ps 76[2] cp Gen 33[18]
g' 18–20 22 Num 24[16] Deut 32[8]* God Most High Ps 78[35]†

a JE126
b JE96
c P155
d JE218
e JE107
f JE236
g JE207
h JE183
i JE10[c]

13[18] **M** Or, *terebinths.*—The local definition 'which are in Hebron' may be a later gloss.

14[1a] Cp *Introd* XIV 1, XV 6, where the reasons for regarding this narrative as a late addition to the text are set forth.

1b **M** Or, *nations.*
3 **M** Or, *joined themselves together against.*
5 **M** Or, *the plain of Kiriathaim.* 7 **M** ℌ *field.*
10 **M** That is, *bitumen pits.* 13 **M** Or, *terebinths.*
15 **M** Or, *north.*
18 The episode of Melchizedek 18–20 unexpectedly interrupts the interview between Abram and the king of Sodom 17 21, who is anxious to recover the captives but desires Abram to keep the 'goods' cp 16. Had these 'goods' been already tithed 20? It is possible that 18–20 was a subsequent addition to the story ('very largely revised by R,' Kittel, *Hist of the Hebr* i 179).
18 19a **M** ℌ *El Elyon.* 19b **M** Or, *maker.*

and earth[e]: [20] and [l]blessed be [M]God Most High, which hath [h']delivered thine enemies into thy hand. [L]And he gave him a [i']tenth of all. [21] And the king of Sodom said unto Abram, Give me the [j]persons, and take the [c]goods to thyself. [22] And Abram said to the king of Sodom, I have [j']lift up mine hand unto [N]*Yahweh*, [M]God Most High, [M]possessor of heaven and earth, [23] that I will not take a [e]thread nor a shoelatchet[c] nor [k]aught that is thine, lest thou shouldest say, I have made Abram [k']rich: [24] [M]save [l]only that which the [m]young men have eaten, and the portion of the men which went with me; [e]Aner, [z]Eshcol, and [y]Mamre, let them take their portion.

J	E	JE	J	E	P
		. . . 15[1] [Na]After these things the [a]word of Yahweh came unto Abram in a [b]vision, saying, [b]Fear not, Abram: I am thy [c]shield, [M][and] thy [d]exceeding great[d] [e]reward. [2] And Abram said, O [f]Lord Yahweh, what wilt thou give me, seeing I [M]go [g]childless, and he that shall be [h]possessor of my house is [M]Dammesek Eliezer?			a 95 b 154
		[3] [N]And Abram said, Behold, to me thou hast given no seed: and, lo, [i]one born in my house is mine heir. [4] And, behold, the [a]word of Yahweh came unto him, saying, This man shall not be thine heir; but he that shall come forth out of thine own [j]bowels shall be thine heir.			
		[5] And he brought him forth [k]abroad, and said, [c]Look [d]now toward heaven, and [l]tell the [m]stars, if thou be able to tell them: and he said unto him, [e]So shall thy [f]seed be.			c 179 d 186 e 222[a]
		[6] And he [n]believed in Yahweh; and he [o]counted it to him for [g]righteousness.			f 204 g 199[c]
		. . . [7N]And he said unto him, [p]I am Yahweh that brought thee out[q] of [q]Ur of the Chaldees, to [r]give thee this land to [s]inherit it. [8] And he said, O [f]Lord Yahweh, whereby shall I know that I shall inherit it? [9] [L]And he said unto him, Take me an heifer of [t]three years old, and a she-goat of three years old, and a ram of three years old, and a turtledove, and a young [u]pigeon. [10] And he took him all these, and [v]divided them in the midst, and laid [h]each half [i]over against the other: but the birds [v]divided he not. [11] And the			h 112[b] i 183

[h'] Hos 11[8] Prov 4[9]†
[20] [L]8d[f]
[i'] Cp 28[22]
[j'] Deut 32[40] cp Ex 17[16]
[k'] ℌ*
[a] [4] cp 1[N]
[b] Num 24[4. 16] Ezek 13[7]† cp 46[2] Num 12[6]
[c] Deut 33[29] Ps 3[3] 18[2] 30[35] *al*
[d] 41[49] Josh 13[1] Deut 3[5] Josh 22[8*]
[e] 30[18. 32.] 31[8] Ex 2[9] 22[15] *al*
[f] [8] Deut 3[24] 9[26] Josh 7[7*]
[g] Lev 20[20.] Jer 22[30]†
[h] ℌ†
[i] ℌ=*the son of my house* ct 17[13]
[j] 25[23] ct 17[6] 35[11] 46[26] Ex 1[5]
[k] 19[17] 24[29] 39[12. 15] 18 Josh 2[19] Deut 24[11] 25[5*]
[l] Ct 13[16] cp 41[49] 16[10] 32[12]
[m] Ct 13[16] cp 22[17] 26[4] Ex 32[13]
[n] Ex 4[1 5 8. 31] 14[31] Num 14[11]
[o] 38[15] ℌ ct 50[20]
[p] Ex 20[2] ‖ Deut 5[6]†
[q] 11[28]
[r] Cp [D]69[e]
[s] ℌ=*possess* cp [D]88[a]
[9] [L]7[8b]
[t] ℌ* ct [P]119 ℌ
[u] Deut 32[11]†
[v] ℌ†

14[20 22b] **M** ℌ *El Elyon.*

[22a] The combination of divine names is here unusual, and has evidently occasioned perplexity. 𝔊 𝔖 omit 'Yahweh,' Sam supplies instead האלהים. On the hypothesis of the interpolation of [18–20], the most natural view would be that 'Yahweh' is original, and the other titles are derived from the supplemental passage. [22c] **M** Or, *maker.*

[24] **M** Or, let there be *nothing for me; only that* &c.—Cp 41[16].

15[1a] The phenomena of 15 are extremely complex and intricate, and all critics recognize that the analysis must be regarded as only *probable.* The chief peculiarities to be accounted for are the following. The vision of [1] is presumably in the night, and it is in accordance with this that in [5] Abram is brought forth to see the stars. But in [12] the sun has not yet set. This points to differences of origin. Further, in [3] the second answer of Abram repeats the first, and can hardly be from the same hand. Again, it is apparent that [9–11] and [17]. are parts of the same story. But it is doubtful whether [12]. originally belonged to it, as the deep sleep and great darkness [12] (before sunset) seem hardly consistent with the solemn manifestation in [17]. Further, the two dates of [13] (400 years) and [16] (fourth generation) cannot be harmonized. The linguistic phenomena are no less perplexing. Several phrases appear unexpectedly which connect themselves with later literature. Thus [1 4] 'word of Yahweh came,' not elsewhere in Hex, cp 2 Sam 7[4] 1 Kings 6[11] 13[20] 16[1 7] 17[2 8] &c Hos 1[1] Mic 1[1] Is 28[13] 38[4] very common in Jer and Ezek: [1] 'shield,' cp Deut 33[29] and [1N]: [2] 'Lord Yahweh' Deut 3[24] 9[26] Josh 7[7]: [7] 'I am Yahweh that brought thee out' Ex 20[2] ‖ Deut 5[6]†: [7] 'give thee this land to possess it' Deut 3[18] 5[31] 9[6] 12[1] 19[2 14] 21[1] Josh 1[11]†: לרשתה twenty-four times in Deut Ezr 9[11]†: [18] 'great river' Deut 1[7] (11[24]) Josh 1[4] ct Ex 23[31]. These strongly support the view of a Deuteronomic redaction. Slight points of contact also present themselves with **P**, specially 'substance' [14] and less markedly 'good old age' [15]. If [1–6] be allowed to be composite, it will be most natural to assign one part to **J** and the other to **E** (cp 20[1] and *Introd* XII) who enters here for the first time. It is in **E** that communications come from the Deity by visions and dreams in the night (cp *Introd* XII 2*β* i 112) and the expression 'exceeding great' tends slightly in the same direction. The promises of seed in [4]. are followed by the covenant of the gift of the land. These are not necessarily connected in time and may quite well belong to different traditions, see [7N]. The covenant ceremony in [9]. is no doubt described according to ancient ritual, cp Jer 34[18]. Lev 1[17], though the language is different: the sacrificial animals are mostly those of the Levitical legislation, but the phraseology is unaffected by it.

[1b] **M** Or, *thy reward shall be exceeding great.*

[2a] **M** Or, *go hence.*

[2b] **M** The Chaldee and Syriac have, *Eliezer the Damascene.*—As Abraham's servant in 24[2] has no name, this verse is ascribed to **E**, leaving [3] for **J**. The title 'Lord Yahweh' does not necessarily make for **J**, as it may be redactional in both [2] and [8].

[3] Apparently a duplicate of [2]. It is possible that [3. 6] originally followed [18], and prepared the way for 16[2].

[7] The covenant ceremony which solemnizes the announcement of the gift of the land is not necessarily consequent on the promise of an heir. According to [1. 5] the latter had been made in the night, though in [3. 6] no circumstance of time is specified. But the phraseology is not quite congruous with that of the latter passage, ct 'inherit thee' (be thine heir) [4] and 'inherit it' [8]. Moreover the demand for a sign in [8] is hardly in harmony with the faith commended in [6]. If the transposition of [3. 6] to follow [18] be accepted, this passage [7–11] would presumably stand in the original document next to 13[18], and the scene of the covenant would be placed at Hebron where Abram had built an altar cp 12[7]. Krätzschmar (*Die Bundesvorstellung im AT* 61) proposes, however, to attach it to the first settlement of Abram in Shechem on his arrival in the land 12[7], where a similar promise is made.

J E JE J E P

[w] birds of prey came down upon the [x]carcases, and Abram [y]drove them away.

12 [N]*And [j]when the sun was [z]going down, a [a']deep sleep fell upon Abram; and, lo, an [b']horror of [c']great darkness[c'] fell upon him.* 13 *And he said unto Abram, [d']Know of a surety that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs, and shall serve them; and they shall [e']afflict them four hundred years;* 14 *and [k]also that nation, whom they shall serve, will I [f']judge: and afterward shall they come out with great [g']substance.* 15 *But thou shalt go to thy fathers in peace; thou shalt be buried in a [h']good old age.*

. . . 16 And in the fourth generation they shall come [l]hither again: for the [i']iniquity of the [j']Amorite is not yet full. . .

17 And it came to pass, that [j]when the sun [z]went down, and it was [k']dark, behold a [l']smoking furnace, and a flaming [m']torch that passed between these [n']pieces. 18 [m]In that day Yahweh [n]made a covenant with Abram, saying. Unto thy seed have I [o']given this land, from the [p']river of Egypt unto the [q']great river, the river Euphrates[N].

19 [N]The Kenite, and the Kenizzite, and the Kadmonite, 20 and the Hittite, and the Perizzite, and the Rephaim, 21 and the Amorite, and the Canaanite, and the Girgashite, and the Jebusite.

[19[29]→] 16[1a] [N]Now Sarai Abram's wife bare him no children:

...[1b] [N]and she had an [a]handmaid, an Egyptian, [α]whose name was Hagar. 2 And Sarai said unto Abram, [b]Behold now, Yahweh hath [b]restrained me from bearing; [c]go in, [d]I pray thee, unto my [a]handmaid; [e]it may be that I shall [Mc]obtain children by her. And Abram [f]hearkened to the voice of Sarai.

3 and Sarai Abram's wife took Hagar the Egyptian, her handmaid, after Abram had [d]dwelt [e]ten years in the [g]land of Canaan, and gave her to Abram her husband to be his wife.

w Is 18[6] 46[11] Jer 12[9] Ezek 39[4] Job 28[7]†
x Num 14[32].
y Is 40[7] Ps 147[18]†
z Ct 1[12] and [17]
a' 2[21]
b' Ex 15[16] 23[27] Deut 32[25] Josh 2[9]*
c' Is 8[22] 50[10] Ps 82[5] 139[12]†
d' Josh 23[13]* cp 237
e' Ex 1[11].
f' 30[6] 49[16] Deut 32[36]*
g' Cp [P]155
h' Cp 25[8] ct 42[38] 44[29 31] Lev 19[32] Deut 32[25]* ℌ
i' 19[15]
j' Cp 96
k' Ezek 12[6.-]†
l' Cp 19[28] Ex 19[18]
m' Ex 20[18]
n' Ps 136[13]†
o' 12[7]
p' Ct Ex 23[31]
q' Deut 17 cp 11[24] Josh 1[4]*

a 22[24] 24[29] 25[1] 38[1. 6]
b 20[18]
c 30[3b]
d 13[12]
e 12[4b]

j 236
k 126
l 171
m 142
n 181
a 41
b 9
c 163
d 186
e 64
f 44
g 4

16[12] The passage in [12–16] appears to interrupt the description of the covenant ceremony in [7–11 17]. It is concerned with another subject, the Egyptian bondage, and it breaks the guardian watch which Abram kept around the divided members of the covenant sacrifice, for who frightened away the birds of prey when he had sunk into the 'deep sleep'? It is therefore treated as an editorial interpolation designed to reconcile the divine promise of the land with the subjection of Israel in Egypt. But the duration assigned to their servitude, four hundred years [13], is not coherent with the promise of return in the fourth generation [16], and [16] therefore must be attributed to another source. The reference to the 'Amorite' suggests that this is **E**.

[18] The definition of the boundaries is probably due to **R**; see the margin, and ct 31[21] Ex 23[31] Josh 24[2. 14].

[19] The loose grammatical connexion makes it probable that this list is an editorial appendix. For similar enumerations cp Ex 3[8N]. In Deut 7[1] it appears that a traditional reckoning of seven nations has established itself. This list, being the most elaborate of all, is probably the latest (cp Dillm) from the hand of **R**[d]. In [21] after 'Canaanite' ℌ and Sam add 'the Hivite.'

16[1a] The birth of Ishmael is related by **P** in preparation for the promise in 17[20]. . . . The passages which lead up to 17 are easily isolated from a mixed context by the data of Abram's age. When Abram is ninety-nine years of age 17[1 24], Ishmael is thirteen [25]. At the birth of his son, therefore, Abram is eighty-six 16[16]; and his union with Hagar accordingly takes place ten years after he has entered Canaan at the age of seventy-five 16[3] 12[4b]. The description of Sarai as Abram's wife in 16[3] justifies the ascription of [1a] to **P**, who no doubt had his own notice of Sarai's childlessness, already recorded by **J** in 11[30].

[1b] With **P**'s brief and formal statement **R** has incorporated a narrative [1b–2 4–14] easily identified with **J** (*Yahweh* [2] against **P**, and contrast [10–12] with 17[20], *handmaid* [JE]41 against **E**, &c). The opening has been removed to make way for **P** in [1a] but **J** has already mentioned Sarai's barrenness 11[30]. Closer examination shows that a parallel incident is related in 21[9–21]. The two stories have a common object, to account for the separation of the Israelites and Ishmaelites, who nevertheless traced their descent from the same ancestor. They ascribe the same cause to Hagar's departure, viz Sarai's jealousy 16[4–6] 21[9–11]. The crisis is located in the same scene, near a well in the wilderness on the south 16[7] 21[14]. The angel of Yahweh 16[7] has his counterpart in the angel of Elohim 21[17]. The promise of future greatness for Ishmael 16[10] is repeated 21[18], and the same interpretation of the name is suggested 16[11] 21[17]. It cannot be supposed (*Introd* i 29) that one writer should have thus duplicated his own details, and the analysis will show that 21[9–21] belongs to **E**. In fitting them together, the editor of **JE** found it necessary to get Hagar back to her mistress, to provide opportunity for the second story, and 16[9] must therefore be assigned to the harmonist (some critics adding [8]). In [10] there seems to be an independent addition after the manner of 13[14–17] assuming the birth of the son first promised in [11]. The threefold repetition of the formula 'and the angel of Yahweh said unto her' [9 10 11] thus finds a natural explanation.

[2] **M** ℌ *be builded by her.*

J E JE J E P

[4] And he [c]went in unto Hagar, and she [h]conceived: and when she saw
that she had [h]conceived, her [f]mistress was [g]despised in her eyes. [5] And
Sarai said unto Abram, [h]My wrong be upon thee: I gave my [a]handmaid
into thy [i]bosom; and when she saw that she had [h]conceived, I was
[g]despised in her eyes: Yahweh [j]judge between me and thee. [6] But
Abram said unto Sarai, Behold, thy [a]maid is in thy hand; [i]do to her
that which is [k]good in thine eyes. And Sarai [l]dealt hardly with her,
and she [j]fled from her face. [7] And the [k]angel of Yahweh [l]found her by
a [m]fountain of water in the wilderness, by the fountain in the way to
[m]Shur. [8] And he said, Hagar, Sarai's [a]handmaid, whence camest thou?
and whither goest thou? And she said, I [j]flee from the face of my
[f]mistress Sarai.

[9] *And the [k]angel of Yahweh said unto her, Return to thy [f]mistress, and*
[n]submit thyself under her hands.

[10] *And the [k]angel of Yahweh said unto her, I will [n]greatly [o]multiply thy*
[o]seed, that it shall not be [p]numbered for multitude[p].

[11] And the [k]angel of Yahweh said unto her, Behold, thou art [q]with child,
and shalt bear a son; and [N]thou shalt call his name [M]Ishmael, because
Yahweh hath heard thy [r]affliction. [12] And he shall be [as] a [s]wild-ass
among men; his hand [shall be] against every man, and every man's
hand against him; and he shall dwell [N]in the presence of all his
brethren. [13] And she called the name of Yahweh that spake unto her,
[M]Thou art [M]a God that seeth: for she said, Have I [p]even here [t]looked
after him that seeth me? [14] [q]Wherefore the well was [r]called [M]Beer-
lahai-roi; behold, it is between [u]Kadesh and [v]Bered[N].

[15] And Hagar bare Abram a son: and [w]Abram called the name of his son,
which Hagar bare, Ishmael. [16] And Abram was [x]fourscore and six years
[s]old, [y]when Hagar bare Ishmael to Abram.

17[1] [N]And when Abram was [a]ninety years [a]old and nine; [N]Yahweh [b]appeared
to Abram, and said unto him, [b]I am [M]God [c]Almighty; [c]walk before me, and
be thou [c]perfect. [2] And I will make my covenant [d]between me and thee,
and will [e]multiply thee [d]exceedingly. [3] And Abram [e]fell on his face: and
God [f]talked with him, saying, [4][f]As for [b]me, behold, my covenant is with
thee, and thou shalt be the father of a [g]multitude of nations. [5] Neither
shall thy [h]name any more be called Abram, but thy name shall be Abraham;
for the father of a [g]multitude of nations have I made thee. [6] And I will
make thee [d]exceeding [i]fruitful, and I will make [j]nations of thee, and [j]kings
shall come out of thee. [7] And I will [g]establish my covenant between me
and [h]thee and thy seed after thee[h] [l]throughout their generations for an
[j]everlasting covenant, to [k]be a God[k] unto [h]thee and to thy seed after thee.
[8] And I will give unto [h]thee, and to thy seed after thee, the land of thy
[l]sojournings, all the land of [m]Canaan, for an [n]everlasting [o]possession; and
I will [k]be their God. [9] And God said unto Abraham, And [f]as for thee,
thou shalt keep my covenant, [h]thou, and thy seed after thee [l]throughout
their generations. [10] [LP]This is my covenant, which ye shall keep, between
me and [h]you [N]and thy seed after thee; [q]every male among you shall be [r]circum-
cised. [11] And ye shall be [r]circumcised in the flesh of your foreskin; and

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16[11a] Ct [15] where Abram, not Hagar, bestows the name. Knobel has remarked that this distinction has a documentary significance. In **P** the name is always given by the father, 5[3] 16[15] 17[19] 21[3]; in **JE** often (though not exclusively) by the mother, 4[25] 19[37]. 29[32].. 30[6].. 38[3].. (cp 35[18] 38[3] 41[51]. Ex 2[22]).

[11b] **M** That is, *God heareth.*

[12] **M** Or, *against.* Or, *to the east of.*—Cp 25[18].

[13a] **M** Or, *Thou God seest me.*

[13b] **M** ℌ *El roi*, that is, *God of seeing.*

[14a] **M** That is, *the well of the living one who seeth me.*

[14b] Many critics suppose that 25[18] in its original form constituted the close of this story, and has been editorially transposed to the conclusion of **P**'s *tol[e]dhoth* of Ishmael, 25[12–17].

17[1a] On the significance of 17 as a standard for **P**'s style and phraseology, cp *Introd* VIII iii 2ϵ i 64.

[1b] The name *Yahweh* is assigned here to a redactor or copyist, as it is contrary to the usage of **P** before Ex 6[2]. . The corresponding revelation of El Shaddai to Jacob 35[9] is introduced by the appearance of Elohim.

[1c] **M** ℌ *El Shaddai.*

[10] Probably due to the supplementer, who has neglected to harmonize the pronouns.

J P

it shall [s]be a token of a covenant betwixt me and you. 12 And he that is eight days [a]old shall be [r]circumcised among you, [q]every male [t]throughout your generations, he that is [k]born in the house[k], or [t]bought with money of any [u]stranger, which is not of thy seed. 13 He that is [k]born in thy house, and he that is [t]bought with thy money, must needs be [r]circumcised: and my covenant shall [v]be in your flesh for an [j]everlasting covenant. 14 And the [w]uncircumcised male who is not [r]circumcised in the flesh of his foreskin, [x]that soul shall be cut off from his people[x]; he hath [l]broken my covenant[l].

15 And God said unto Abraham, [f]As for Sarai thy wife, thou shalt not call her [h]name Sarai, but [M]Sarah shall her name be. 16 And I will [m]bless her, and [n]moreover I will give thee a son of her: yea, I will bless her, and she shall [v]be [a mother of] [j]nations; [j]kings of peoples shall be of her. 17 Then Abraham [e]fell upon his face, and [N]laughed, and said in his heart, Shall a child be born unto him that is an [y]hundred years [a]old? and shall Sarah, that is ninety years [a]old, bear? 18 And Abraham said unto God, [o]Oh that Ishmael might live before thee! 19 And God said, [p]Nay, but Sarah thy wife shall bear thee a son; and thou shalt call his name [M]Isaac: and I will [g]establish my covenant with him for an [j]everlasting covenant for his seed after him. 20 And [f]as for Ishmael, I have [N]heard thee: behold, I have [m]blessed him, and will [z]make him [i]fruitful, and will [e]multiply him [d]exceedingly; [q]twelve [a']princes shall he [b']beget, and I will [r]make him a great nation. 21 But my covenant will I [g]establish with Isaac, which Sarah shall bear unto thee at this set time in the next year. 22 And he [s]left off talking with him, and God [t]went up from Abraham. 23 And Abraham took Ishmael his son, and all that were [k]born in his house, and all that were [t]bought with his money, [u]every male among the men of Abraham's house, and [r]circumcised the flesh of their foreskin in the [c']selfsame day, as God had said unto him. 24 And Abraham was [a]ninety years [a]old and nine, when he was [r]circumcised in the flesh of his foreskin. 25 And Ishmael his son was thirteen years [a]old, when he was [r]circumcised in the flesh of his foreskin. 26 In the [c']selfsame day was Abraham [r]circumcised, and Ishmael his son. 27 And all the men of his house, those [k]born in the house, and those [t]bought with money of the [u]stranger, were [r]circumcised with him.

18[1] [N]And Yahweh appeared unto [N]*him* by the [Ma]oaks of Mamre, as he sat in the [a]tent door in the [b]heat of the day; 2 and he [c]lift up his eyes and [d]looked, and, lo, three men [e]stood over against him: and when he saw them, [b]he [f]ran to meet them from the [a]tent door, and [g]bowed himself to the earth, and said, 3 [Mc]My lord, if [h]now I have [i]found favour in thy sight, pass not away, [h]I pray thee, from thy [j]servant: 4 let [h]now a [k]little water be [d]fetched, and [e]wash your feet[e], and [f]rest yourselves under the tree: 5 and I will fetch a [g]morsel of bread, and [h]comfort ye your heart; after that ye shall pass on: [M]forasmuch as ye are come to your [j]servant. And they said, So do, as thou hast said. 6 And Abraham [m]hastened into the tent unto Sarah, and said, Make ready [m]quickly three measures of [i]fine meal, [j]knead it, and make [k]cakes. 7 And Abraham [f]ran unto the herd, and fetched a calf [l]tender and good,

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17[15] **M** That is, *Princess*.

17 **P**'s allusion to the laughter suggested by the name Isaac (he laughs). Ct 18[12] 21[6].

19 **M** From the Hebrew word meaning 'to laugh.'

20 Ishmael = *God hears*, cp 16[11] 21[17].

18[1a] The narrative of Yahweh's visit to Abraham, the promise of a son to Sarah, the intercession of Abraham for Sodom and Gomorrha and the subsequent rescue of Lot from the fate of the doomed cities, is as strongly stamped with the characteristics of **J** as the covenant of El Shaddai with Abraham in 17 with those of **P** (cp *Introd* VIII iii 2ε i 64). The phraseological evidence is collected in the margins. For the ethical and religious spirit cp especially 2[4]–3[24] 11[1–9]. The promise of a son in 17[16–19] is here conveyed in different terms, and is followed by a different incident. The incredulous laughter suggested by the name Isaac, attributed to Abraham in 17[17], is assigned to Sarah in 18[12], and gives rise to a rebuke and expostulation in which Yahweh himself deigns to take part. On the probability that the narrative has received additions, see 17[N] 22[bN]. Fripp (*Composition of the Book of Genesis* 50–3 and *ZATW* 1892 23 ff) endeavours to show that in the earliest form of the story Abraham received but one divine visitant, Yahweh himself.

1[b] Perhaps originally *Abraham*: the name, being no longer required after the union of the story with **P**, was altered editorially (so Dillmann).

1[c] **M** Or, *terebinths*.

3 **M** Or, *O Lord*.

5 **M** Or, *for therefore*.

J JE E P

and gave it unto the servant; and he [m]hasted to dress it. [8] And he took [m]butter, and milk, and the calf which he had dressed, and set it before them; and he stood by them under the tree, and they did eat. [9] And they said unto him, Where is Sarah thy wife? And he said, Behold, in the [a]tent. [10] And he said, I will [n]certainly return unto thee [n]when the season [M]cometh round[n]; and, lo, Sarah thy wife shall have a son. And Sarah heard in the [a]tent door, which was behind him. [11] Now Abraham and Sarah were old, [and] [o]well stricken in age[o]; it had [p]ceased to be with Sarah after the [q]manner of women. [12] And Sarah [N]laughed within herself, saying, After I am waxed old shall I have pleasure, my lord being old also? [13] And Yahweh said unto Abraham, [r]Wherefore did Sarah laugh, saying, Shall I [s]of a surety bear a child, which am old? [14] Is any thing [t]too [M]hard for Yahweh? At the [u]set time I will return unto thee, [n]when the season [M]cometh round, and Sarah shall have a son. [15] Then Sarah [v]denied, saying, I laughed not; for she was afraid. And he said, [w]Nay; but thou didst laugh.

[16] And the men [o]rose up from thence, and [p]looked toward Sodom: and Abraham went with them [x]to [q]bring them on the way.

[17] [N]And Yahweh said, Shall I hide from Abraham that which I do; [18] seeing that Abraham shall [n]surely become a great and [r]mighty nation, and [y]all the nations of the earth[y] shall be [s]blessed in him? [19] For I have [M]known him, to the end that he may command his children and his household after him, that they may [y]keep the way of Yahweh, to [y]do justice and judgement; to the end that Yahweh may [y]bring upon Abraham that which he hath spoken of him.

[20] And Yahweh said, [M]Because the [t]cry of Sodom and Gomorrah is great, and [M]because their sin is very [u]grievous; [21] I will [v]go down [h]now, and [z]see whether they have done [a']altogether according to the [t]cry of it, which is come unto me; and if not, I will know. [22a] And the men turned from thence, and went toward Sodom:

[22b] [N]But Abraham stood [b']yet before Yahweh. [23] And Abraham [c']drew near, and said, Wilt thou [w]consume the [x]righteous with the [y]wicked? [24] [z]Peradventure [a']there be fifty righteous within the city: wilt thou [w]consume and not [d']spare the place for the fifty righteous that are therein? [25] That be [e']far from thee to do after this [b']manner, to [f']slay the righteous with the wicked, that so the righteous should be as the wicked; that be [e']far from thee: shall not the Judge of all the earth do [g']right? [26] And Yahweh said, If I [c']find in Sodom fifty righteous within the city, then I will spare all the place for their [d']sake. [27] And Abraham answered and said, [e']Behold now, I have [h']taken upon me to speak unto [N]the Lord, which am but [i']dust and ashes[i']: [28] [z]peradventure there shall lack five of the fifty righteous: wilt thou [j']destroy all the city for lack of five? And he said, I will not destroy it, if I find there forty and five. [29] And he spake unto him yet [f']again, and said, Peradventure there shall be forty found there. And he said, I will not do it for the forty's sake. [30] And he said, [g']Oh let not the Lord be [h']angry, and I will speak: [z]peradventure there shall thirty be found there. And he said, I will not do it, if I find thirty there. [31] And he said, Behold now, I have taken upon me to speak unto the Lord: peradventure there shall be twenty found there. And he said, I will not destroy it for the twenty's sake. [32] And he said, Oh let not the Lord be angry, and I will speak yet but [f']this once: peradven-

m Deut 32[14]*
n 14 ℌ†
o 24[1] Josh 13[1] 23[1.]*
p 11[8]
q Ct 3[1 35] ℌ
r 25[22] cp 89[b]
s Num 22[37]*
t Deut 17[8] 30[11]*
u Cp 17[21]
v Josh 7[11] 24[27]
w 19[2] 42[12]
x 12[20]
y Cp 17[N]
z 11[5]
a' Ex 11[1]*
b' Cp 91
c' 19[2] 27[27] 29[10] 33[6] 43[19] 44[18] *al*
d' [26] Num 14[19]
e' 44[7 17] Josh 24[16] cp 22[29]*
f' 37[18] 38[7] Ex 4[24] 17[3] *al*
g' ℌ =*judgement* 19
h' 31 Ex 2[21] Josh 7[7] 17[12] Deut 1[5]*
i' Job 30[19] 42[6]† cp Gen 2[7]
j' 13[10] 19[13].

n 237
o 128
p 54
q 205[c]
r 59 cp [D]50
s 10[b]
t 23
u 78
v 19
w 22
x 199[a]
y 231
z 64
a' 84
b' 2
c' 157
d' 71[a]
e' 9
f' 123
g' 186[b]
h' 233
i' 62

18[10] **M** ℌ, *liveth*, or, *reviveth*. [12] Ct **P** in 17[17] and **E** 21[6]. [14a] **M** Or, *wonderful*. [14b] **M** ℌ *liveth*, or, *reviveth*.

17 This passage is marked by the moralizing amplification which probably indicates a secondary stratum in the story. According to [20]. Yahweh has not yet decided what he will do, but in [17] his purpose is already formed. Several of the phrases belong to the vocabulary of later prophecy, e g 'all the nations of the earth' 22[18] 26[4] Deut 28[1] cp Jer 26[6] 33[9] 44[8] Zech 12[3]†: 'keep the way of Yahweh' Judg 2[22] (**D**) cp Deut 5[33] Jer 5[4]. Ps 37[7]: 'do justice and judgement' (usually inverted) Jer 22[3 15] 23[5] 33[15] Ezek 18[5 19 21 27] 33[14 16] cp Am 5[24].: 'bring upon' cp Jer 36[31] 44[2] 49[37].

[19] **M** See Amos 3[2]. [20] **M** Or, *verily*.

22b With the departure of the men toward Sodom the first part of the story seems to close. The intercession of Abraham [22b–33a] has been ascribed by Wellhausen, Kuenen, Cornill, Bacon, and others to a later hand. Linguistic evidence does not, it is true, suggest any diversity of authorship: for the contrast between righteous and wicked [23] cp Ex 9[27]. But other considerations are held to outweigh the absence of phraseological indications. In [1–16] no distinction is drawn among the three men, though, as the story develops, one of them proves to be Yahweh: when therefore they turn and go toward Sodom [22a], it is natural to suppose that Yahweh is still among them. That impression is confirmed by the sequel of the narrative 19[21]. By that time the visit of inspection has revealed the hopeless corruption of the people of Sodom, and the divine intention, unformed in 18[21], is definitely decided. But in the colloquy of Abraham this intention is already clearly implied [23]. The writer has the actual fate of the cities already in his mind, and his purpose is to vindicate the justice of Yahweh from the charge of involving the righteous in the doom of the wicked. The Divine Being before whom Abraham reverently pleads as the 'Judge of the whole earth' [25] cp Jer 11[20] Ps 7[11] 9[4], who cannot do anything but 'judgement' cp [19], seems conceived on a different scale from the visitant who has shared the patriarch's hospitality. The lofty designation occurs nowhere else, and the passage which contains it seems to belong to the group of probable additions in which the universal grandeur and sole sovereignty of Yahweh are again and again asserted in the most emphatic terms cp Ex 8[10] [22b] 9[14–16] [29b] (*Introd* XI 6γ i 109). [27] ℌ *my lord* as in [3] 19[18], and so in [30–32].

J	JE	E	P	
	ture ten shall be found there. And he said, I will not destroy it for the ten's sake.			
k' 24[15] 27[30] 43[2] 44[12] cp 17[22]	33[a] And Yahweh went his way, as soon as he had *k'*left communing with Abraham.			
	33[b] And Abraham returned unto his [j']place.			j' 65
	19[1] And *the two* [N]*angels* came to Sodom at even; and Lot sat in the gate of Sodom: and Lot saw them, and rose up to meet them; and he [a]bowed			a 12[a]
	himself with his face to the earth; [2] and he said, [b]Behold now, my lords,			b 9
a Ex 3[3].	[a]turn aside, I pray you, into your [c]servant's house, and [b]tarry all night,			c 73
b 24[28] cp **178**	and [c]wash your feet, and ye shall [d]rise up early, and go on your way.			
c 18[4]	And they said, [c]Nay; but we will [b]abide in the street all night. [3] And			
d 27 cp **200**	he [f]urged them greatly; and they [a]turned in unto him, and entered into			
e 18[15]	his house; and he made them a [g]feast, and did [h]bake unleavened bread,			
f [9] 33[11]*	and they did eat. [4] But [d]before they [i]lay down, the men of the city,			d 6
g 26[30] cp **155**	[even] *the men of Sodom*, compassed the house round, [j]both young and			
h Ex 12[39]*	old[j], all the people from [k]every quarter; [5] [L]and they called unto Lot,			
i Josh 2[8]	and said unto him, Where are the [l]men which came in to thee this			
j Josh 6[21]*	night? bring them out unto us, that we may [e]know them. [6] And Lot			e 50
k Cp 47[21] ℌ	went out unto them to the door, and [m]shut the door after him. [7] And			
5. *L* 11*x*	he said, I pray you, [n]my brethren, [o]do not so wickedly. [8] [b]Behold now,			
l Josh 2[3]	I have two daughters which have not [e]known man; let me, I pray you,			
m 7[16]	bring them out unto you, and do ye to them as is [p]good in your eyes:			
n 29[4]	only unto these men do nothing; [M]forasmuch as they are come under			f 35
o [9] 43[6] 44[5] Ex 5[22]. Num 11[11] 16[15]	the shadow of my roof. [9] And they said, Stand back. And they said,			
p Cp 20[15] 21[12] 48[17] Josh 24[15] ℌ	This one fellow came in to [q]sojourn, and he will needs be a judge:			
q 12[10]	now will we [o]deal worse with thee, than with them. And they [f]pressed			
r 18[23]	sore upon the man, *even Lot*, and [r]drew near to break the door. [10] But			
	the men put forth their hand, and brought Lot into the house to them,			
	and [m]shut to the door. [11] And they smote the men that were at the			
s 2 Kings 6[18]†	door of the house with [s]blindness, [t]both small and great[t]: so that they			
t 1 Sam 5[9] 30[2] 2 Kings 25[26]	[u]wearied themselves to find the door. [12] And the men said unto Lot,			
u Ex 7[18] Niph*	Hast thou here any besides? [Nv]son in law, and thy sons, and thy			
v Ex 4[25].*	daughters, and whomsoever thou hast in the city; bring them out of			
w 14 18[28]	the place: [13] for we will [w]destroy this place, because the [g]cry of them			g 23
	is waxen great before Yahweh; and Yahweh hath sent us to [w]destroy it.			
	[14] And Lot went out, and spake unto his [v]sons in law, which [M]married			
	his daughters, and said, Up, get you out of this place; for Yahweh will			
	[w]destroy the city. But he seemed unto his [v]sons in law as one that			
x Cp 21[9] 39[14 17]	[x]mocked. [15] And when the [y]morning arose, then the angels [z]hastened			
y ℌ=*day broke* 32[24 26] Josh 6[15]	Lot, saying, Arise, take thy wife, and thy two daughters which [a']are			
z Ex 5[13] Josh 10[13] 17[15] ℌ Kal*	here; lest thou be [h]consumed in the [Mb']iniquity of the city. [16] But he			h 22
a' ℌ cp 47[14]	[c']lingered; and the men [d']laid hold upon his hand, and upon the hand			
b' 4[13] cp 15[16]	of his wife, and upon the hand of his two daughters; Yahweh being			
c' 43[10] Ex 12[39]*	[e']merciful unto him: and they brought him forth, and [f']set him without			
d' Ex 4[4]	the city. [17] And it came to pass, when they had brought them forth			
e' Cp Ex 2[6] ℌ*	abroad, that he said, Escape for thy life; [g']look not behind thee, neither			
f' ℌ 2[15]	stay thou in all the [M]Plain; escape [h']to the mountain, lest thou be			
g' 26 15[5] cp **179**	[h]consumed. [18] And Lot said unto them, Oh, not so, [M]my lord: [19] [b]behold			
h' 19 12[8]	now, thy servant hath [i]found grace in thy sight, and thou hast magni-			i 31[a]
i' 47[25] cp 45[7] Num 22[33] *al*	fied thy [j]mercy, which thou hast shewed unto me in [i']saving my life;			j 57[c]
	and I cannot escape [h']to the mountain, lest [M]evil overtake me, and I die:			

19[1] Probably an editorial alteration, after the incorporation of 18[22b–33a]. In the original story they were described as 'the men' cp 18[16 22] 19[10 12 16]. ℌ further inserts 'angels' in [15], Sam in [12] and 𝔊 in [16]. The earliest conception seems to imply that Yahweh is himself present, e g in [17] where the subject changes from 'they' to 'he,' in Lot's entreaty [19.] and the divine reply [21.]. But in the scene at Lot's house this has been modified cp [13]; other modifications may also have entered in the transition from oral tradition to writing, or in subsequent processes of copying or documentary compilation.

[8] **M** Or, *for therefore*.

[12] The text 'son in law and thy sons' can hardly be correct. No sons are elsewhere named, but sons in law appear in [14]. It has been conjectured that the reference to the 'son in law' is an awkward adaptation by a later scribe who had [14] in view: others prefer to read 'thy sons in law,' striking out the allusion to sons.

[14] **M** Or, *were to marry*.

[15] **M** Or, *punishment*.

[17] **M** See 13[10].

[18] **M** Or, *O Lord*.

[19] **M** Or, *the evil*.

J E JE J E P

20 [b]behold now, this city is near to flee unto, and it is a [N]little one: Oh, let me escape thither, (is it not a little one?) and my soul shall live. 21 And he said unto him, See, I have [j']accepted thee concerning this thing also, that I will [k]not [k']overthrow the city of which thou hast spoken. 22 [l]Haste thee, escape thither; for I cannot do any thing till thou be come thither. [m]Therefore the name of the city was called [M]Zoar. 23 [N]The sun was risen upon the earth when Lot came unto Zoar. 24 Then Yahweh [l']rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah [m']brimstone and fire from Yahweh out of heaven; 25 and he [k']overthrew those cities, and all the Plain, and all the inhabitants of the cities, and that which [n']grew upon the ground. 26 But his wife [g']looked back from behind him, and she became a [o']pillar of salt. 27 And Abraham [d]gat up early in the morning [N]to the place where he had stood before Yahweh: 28 and he [n]looked toward Sodom and Gomorrah, and toward all the land of the Plain, and [o]beheld, and, lo[o] the [p']smoke of the land went up as the smoke of a furnace.

[13[12]→][29] [N]And it came to pass, when God [q']destroyed the cities of the Plain, that God [p]remembered Abraham, and sent Lot out of the midst of the [r']overthrow, when he [k']overthrew the cities in the which Lot dwelt. [→16[1]]

30a [L]And Lot went up out of Zoar, and dwelt in the mountain, and his two daughters with him; for he feared to dwell in Zoar: and he dwelt in a cave, he and his two daughters. 31 And the [s']firstborn said unto the [q]younger, Our father is old, and there is not a man in the earth to [r]come in unto us after the manner of all the earth: 32 come, let us [s]make our father drink [t']wine, and we will [t]lie with him, that we may [u']preserve seed of our father. 33 And they made their father drink wine [v']that [u]night: and the firstborn went in, and lay with her father; and he knew not when she lay down, nor when she arose. 34 And it came to pass on the morrow, that the firstborn said unto the younger, Behold, I lay yesternight with my father: let us make him drink wine this night also; and go thou in, and lie with him, that we may preserve seed of our father. 35 And they made their father drink wine that night also: and the younger arose, and lay with him; and he knew not when she lay down, nor when she arose. 36 Thus were both the daughters of Lot [v]with child by their father. 37 And the firstborn bare a son, and [w']called his name Moab: [x']the same is the father of the Moabites [w]unto this day. 38 And the younger, [y']she also bare a son, and called his name Ben-ammi: the same is the father of the children of Ammon [w]unto this day.

20[1] [N]And Abraham [a]journeyed [N]from thence toward the [b]land of the South, and dwelt between [c]Kadesh and [d]Shur; and he sojourned in Gerar. 2 And Abraham said of Sarah his wife, She is my [e]sister: and Abimelech king of Gerar sent, and took Sarah. 3 [L]But God [f]came to

j' 32[20]
k' 25 cp 29 Am 4[11]
l' 2[5] cp 19[5]
m' Deut 29[23]*
n' * Hos 8[7] Is 42 Jer 23[5] al
o' ℌ*
p' Cp 15[17] Ex 19[18] Josh 8[20]
q' 6[17] 9[11 15] ℌ
r' ℌ†
30a. . L19a
s' 33. 37 29[26] 1 Sam 14[49]†
t' 9[21]
u' 7[3]
v' 30[16] 32[22] ℌ
w' 16[11aN]
x' 4[20.]
y' 4[22]
a 11[2]
b 24[62] Num 13[29] Josh 15[19] Judg 1[15]†
c 16[14]
d 16[7]
e 12[13] 3-11 L21d
f 31[24]

19[20] ℌ מצער* with reference to the name צוער 22.

22 **M** That is, *Little* 20. See 13[10] 14[8].

23 The curtness of 23 suggests that the narrative has been somewhat abbreviated. The existence of some dislocation is further evident from 26 where the pronoun 'his' has no antecedent in 24..

27 This reference to 'the place' depends on 18[22b]. . If that passage be a later addition, this will follow it as an editorial identification.

29 This verse which plainly enough belongs to P's summary of the patriarchal traditions, may have originally followed 13[12a].

20[1a] At this point a considerable section presents itself from a document characterized (like P up to Ex 6[2]. .) by the use of the divine name Elohim cp 3 6 11 13 17. It soon becomes apparent, however, that this peculiarity does not justify its identification with P. The formulae of P are all absent, while the affinities of style and thought with J are numerous, as the margins show. Yet this narrative is plainly not by the writer of 12[10–20]; the emphasis here is not on the beauty of Sarah, but on the prophetic character of Abraham. The divine warning is conveyed to Abimelech in a dream 3 6; Abimelech himself has been providentially saved from sin; Abraham is a prophet, and his intercession brings healing to the king, his wife, and household 7 17. The Yahwist addition of **R** in 18 cannot conceal the differences of preceding method. On the general structure and features of **E** cp *Introd* XII i 110. The passage here incorporated leads the way to other sections of **E** in 21–22, first of all combined with **J**, and then (**JE**) with **P**.

1b Perhaps an insertion of the compiler referring to the previous locality among the oaks of Mamre 18[1]. If the words belong originally to **E**, there is no means of determining what place they are intended to designate.

J JE E P

Abimelech in a [a]dream of the night, and said to him, Behold, thou art but a dead man, because of the woman which thou hast taken; for she is a [b]man's wife. [4] Now Abimelech had not come near her: and he said, Lord, wilt thou [c]slay even a [d]righteous nation? [5] Said he not himself unto me, She is my sister? and she, even she herself said, He is my brother: [g]in the integrity of my heart and the [h]innocency of my hands have I done this. [6] And God said unto him in the [a]dream, Yea, [e]I know that [g]in the integrity of thy heart thou hast done this, and I also [i]withheld thee from sinning against me: [f]therefore [g]suffered I thee not to touch her. [7] Now therefore restore the man's wife; for he is a [h]prophet, and he shall [i]pray for thee, and thou shalt [j]live: and if thou restore her not, know thou that thou shalt surely die, thou, and all that are thine. [8] And Abimelech [j]rose early in the morning, and called all his servants, and [k]told all these things in their [k]ears: and the men were sore afraid. [9] Then Abimelech called Abraham, and said unto him, What hast thou [k]done unto us? and wherein have I sinned against thee, that thou hast brought on me and on my kingdom a [l]great sin? thou hast done deeds unto me that [m]ought not to be done. [10] And Abimelech said unto Abraham, What sawest thou, that thou hast done this thing? [11] And Abraham said, Because I thought, [l]Surely the [m]fear of God is not in this place; and they will [c]slay me for my wife's [n]sake. [12] And moreover she is [o]indeed my sister, the daughter of my father, but not the daughter of my mother; and she became my wife: [13] and [n]it came to pass, [n]when God [N]caused me to [p]wander from my father's house, that I said unto her, This is thy [o]kindness which thou shalt [o]shew unto me; at every place whither we shall come, say of me, He is my brother. [14] And Abimelech took [p]sheep and oxen, [N]and menservants and [q]womenservants, and gave them unto Abraham, and restored him Sarah his wife. [15] And Abimelech said, Behold, my [q]land is before thee: dwell where it [r]pleaseth thee. [16] And unto Sarah he said, Behold, I have given thy brother a thousand pieces of silver: behold, [N]it is for thee a [s]covering of the eyes to all that are with thee; and [N]in respect of all thou art [t]righted. [17] And Abraham [i]prayed unto God: and God [u]healed Abimelech, and his wife, and his [r]maidservants; and they bare children.

[18] *For Yahweh had fast [v]closed up all the wombs of the house of Abimelech, [n]because of Sarah Abraham's wife.*

21[1a] [N]And Yahweh [a]visited Sarah as he had [b]said.

[1b] And Yahweh [c]did unto Sarah as he had [d]spoken.

[2a] And Sarah [a]conceived, and bare Abraham a son in his [b]old age,

. . . [2b] at the [e]set time of which God had spoken to him. [3] And [f]Abraham called the name of his son that was born

g 6 1 Kings 9[4] Ps 101[2]†
h * Hos 8[5] Ps 26[6]
i 22[12] 16 39[9]*
j 42[18] ℌ
k 50[4] Ex 11[2] ℌ cp 44[18] ct 23[13]
l Ex 32[21] 30. 2 Kings 17[21]†
m 34[7] cp 29[26]
n 18 12[17]
o Josh 7[20]†
p 21[14] 37[15] Ex 23[4]*
q 13[9]
r 19[8] ℌ
s Ex 21[10] 22[27] Deut 22[12]*
t ℌ† cp 21[25]
u Ex 15[26] Num 12[13] Deut 32[39]*
v ℌ=*restrained* 16[2]
a Ex 3[16] 4[31] *al*
b 18[10]..
c Cp [JE]146[b]
d 17[16] 21
e 17[21]
f 16[15]

a 101 b 107 c 210 d 199 e 174 f 85 g 118 h 114 i 113 j 200 k 146[d] l 189 m 102 n 127[a] o 57[b] p 33 q 41 r 99 a 21 b 63

20[13] The divine name is here followed by the plural verb, cp 35[7] Ex 22[9] Josh 24[19] ℌ (*Introd* XII 3 i 115). It may be further noted that the word 'cause to wander' implies a different conception from that of J in 12[1]‥. In place of a command from Yahweh, working out a plan and involving a promise, Abraham is conscious only of aimless and indefinite movement.

[14] Apparently introduced by R from 12[16]. The regular word for women-slaves in E is אמה, cp [17] and [JE]99. J on the other hand always employs שפחה, [JE]41; and the presence of this word here must be due either to a copyist's error cp 31[33] Sam (Dillm) or more probably to editorial activity in bringing Abimelech's gift up to the standard of Pharaoh's. It may be observed, however, that in Egypt wealth pours in on Abraham before the discovery of his true relation to Sarah, and takes the form of dowry paid to the bride's nearest kin: at Gerar it is bestowed afterwards in compensation to an injured husband.

[16a] **M** Or, *he*. [16b] **M** Or, *before all men*.

21[1] All three sources, **J E** and **P**, seem to have contained the account of the birth of Isaac. The sequel of the promise in 18[10].. (**J**) is found in [1a 2a]: the fulfilment of 17[16 21] (**P**) is recorded in [2b–5]. Most critics find the introduction to this in [1b], which appears to be a doublet of [1a], the name *Yahweh* being due to a copyist or redactor as in 17[1]. It is possible, however, that [1b] belongs to **E** (cp the formula 'do to . . .' which **P** does not use in Genesis), and prepared the way for the account of which a trace is still found in [6].

J JE E P

unto him, whom Sarah bare to him,
Isaac. [4] [L]And Abraham [c]circumcised his
son Isaac when he was eight days [d]old,
[o]as God had commanded him. [5] And
Abraham was an [e]hundred years [d]old,
[h]when his son Isaac was born unto
him.

. . . [6] [N]And Sarah said, God hath
[M]made me to laugh; every one that
heareth will laugh with me.
[7] And she said, Who would have
[i]said unto Abraham, that Sarah
should give children suck? for I
have borne him a son in his [b]old
age.

[8] [N]And the [f]child [g]grew, and was weaned: and Abraham made a
great [j]feast on the day that Isaac was weaned. [9] And Sarah saw
the son of Hagar the Egyptian, which she had borne unto Abraham,
[Mk]mocking. [10] Wherefore she said unto Abraham, [l]Cast out this
[h]bondwoman and her son: for the son of this bondwoman shall not
be heir with my son, [even] *with Isaac.* [11] And the thing was very
[m]grievous in Abraham's sight [i]on account of his son. [12] And God
said unto Abraham, Let it not be grievous in thy sight because of
the [j]lad, and because of thy [h]bondwoman; in all that Sarah saith
unto thee, [k]hearken unto her voice; for in Isaac shall thy seed be
called. [13] And also of the son of the [h]bondwoman [n]will I [o]make
a nation[n], because he is thy seed. [14] And Abraham [l]rose up early
in the morning, and took bread and a [Mp]bottle of water, and gave it
unto Hagar, [Nm]putting it on her shoulder, and the [f]child, and sent
her away: and she departed, and [q]wandered in the [r]wilderness of
Beer-sheba. [15] And the water in the [p]bottle was [s]spent, and she cast
the [f]child under one of the [f]shrubs. [16] And she went, and sat her
down over against him a [u]good way off, as it were a [v]bowshot: for
she said, Let me not look upon the death of the [f]child. And she
[N]sat over against him, and [n]lift up her voice, and [o]wept. [17] And
God [N]heard the voice of the [j]lad; and the [p]angel of God called to
Hagar out of heaven, and said unto her, What aileth thee, Hagar?
[q]fear not; for God hath heard the voice of the [j]lad where he is.
[18] Arise, lift up the [j]lad, and hold him in thine hand; for I will
[n]make him a great nation. [19] And God [w]opened her eyes, and she
saw a well of water; and she went, and filled the bottle with water,
and [r]gave the [j]lad drink. [20] And God was [s]with the [j]lad, and he
[g]grew; and he [x]dwelt in the wilderness, and [M]became an [v]archer.
[21] And he dwelt in the wilderness of Paran: and his mother [t]took
him a wife out of the land of Egypt.
[22] [N]And it came to pass at that [y]time, that Abimelech and Phicol

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21[6a] **E**'s reference to the supposed meaning of Isaac's name, ct 17[17] 18[12]. Budde and others rendering [6b] 'laugh at me' think the two members of the verse incongruous, and attach [6b] to [7] (cp Ball and Holzinger).

[6b] **M** Or, *prepared laughter for me.*

[8] On the duplicate stories of the expulsion of Hagar cp 16[1bN]. For the ascription of the following to **E** (against **P**) cp the margins, and (against **J**) cp [12 17 19]. with 20[3 6 13 17] and ct 16[5]. . .

[9] **M** Or, *playing.*—Cp 26[8] Ex 32[6].

[14a] **M** Or, *skin.*

[14b] ⑤ reads 'and put the child upon her shoulder.' Dillmann and others see in the unusual ℌ a correction designed to avoid the chronological difficulty arising from the combination of **JE** with **P**, for according to 17[24]. 21[5] Ishmael was fourteen years old at the birth of Isaac, and needed no such maternal aid. But [15] implies that Hagar had been carrying her child.

[16] The words 'and she sat over against him' may be an accidental repetition from the first part of the verse.

[17] **E**'s allusion to the elements of Ishmael's name, ct 16[11M] 17[20]. As the previous verse makes no mention of any sound from Ishmael's lips, ⑤ apparently corrects [16b] 'and the child lift up his voice.'

[20] **M** Or, *became, as he grew up, an archer.*

[22] In this passage two stories seem to be blended with much curtailment. One [22–24] concerns an oath of good faith from Abraham towards Abimelech of Gerar 20[2] and his land. The second

J	E	JE	J	E	P	
		the [u]captain of his host spake unto Abraham, saying, God is [s]with thee in all that thou doest: [23] now therefore swear unto me [v]here by God that thou wilt not [z]deal falsely with me, nor with [M]my [a']son, nor with my son's son[a']: but according to the [w]kindness that I have done unto thee, thou shalt do unto me, and to the land wherein thou hast [b']sojourned. [24] And Abraham said, I will swear.				u 19[1] v 17[1] w 57[b]
		[25] And Abraham [c']reproved Abimelech [1]because of the well of water, which Abimelech's servants had violently taken away. [26] And Abimelech said, I know not who hath done this thing: [x]neither didst thou tell me, neither yet heard I of it [y]but to-day. [27] And Abraham [d']took [z]sheep and oxen, and gave them unto Abimelech; and they two [a']made a covenant.				x 11 y 13[8] z 33 a' 18[1]
		...[28] And Abraham [e']set seven ewe lambs of the flock [b']by themselves. [29] And Abimelech said unto Abraham, What mean these seven ewe lambs which thou hast [e']set [N]by themselves? [30] And he said, These seven ewe lambs shalt thou take of my hand, that it may [f']be a witness[f'] unto me, that I have digged this well.				b' 12[5]
		[31] [c']Wherefore he called that place Beer-sheba; because there they [g']sware both of them. [32] So they [a']made a covenant at Beer-sheba: and Abimelech [d']rose up, and Phicol the [u]captain of his host, and they returned into the [h']land of the Philistines.				c' 15[b] d' 12[8]
		[33] [L]And [Abraham] [i']planted a tamarisk tree in Beer-sheba, and [e']called there on the name of Yahweh, the Everlasting God.				e' 15[a]
		[34] [N]And Abraham [b']sojourned in the [h']land of the Philistines [j']many days.				
		22[1] [N]And it came to pass [a]after these things, that God did [a]prove Abraham, and said unto him, Abraham; and he said, [b]Here am I. [2] [L]And he said, Take now thy son, thine [b]only son, whom thou lovest, [c][even] *Isaac*, and [c]get thee into the land of [N]*Moriah*; and [d]offer him there for a [d]burnt offering upon one of the mountains which I will tell thee of. [3] And Abraham [e]rose early in the morning, and [e]saddled his ass, and took two of his [f]young men with him, and Isaac his son; and he [f]clave the wood for the burnt offering, and [g]rose up, and went unto the place of which God had told him.				a 9[5] b 10[4] c 16[2] d 11[0] e 20[0] f 23[5] g 12[8]

z ℌ Qal† cp Lev 19[11] Piel*
a' Is 14[22] Job 18[19]†
b' 20[1]
c' Cp 20[16] 31[37] 42 ℌ
d' 20[14]
e' Cp **21**5c
f' Josh 24[27]† cp Gen 31[44]
g' Cp 24 and 26[31] ct 26[33]
h' Ex 13[17] cp Ex 23[31] ct Josh 13[2].
33 L5ga
i' 28
j' 37[34] Num 20[15] Josh 24[7]
a Ex 15[25] 16[4] 20[20] cp **19**2
2–13 L7bc
b 12 16 ℌ*
c Cp 21[10]
d Cp P11[8]c
e Num 22[21]*
f ℌ Piel* ct Ex 14[16]

relates to a dispute about a well [25]‥. Both these have their parallel in **J**'s history of Isaac 26[20]‥. The sequel of the first appears (according to the view here taken, but there is much critical divergence) in [31], where the name Beer-sheba is interpreted as the 'well of swearing,' in allusion to the oath demanded by Abimelech [23]. But this name contained another allusion, viz to a well, and this has apparently led to the amalgamation of the oath-story with an account of a covenant about a well [25]‥, derived from the cycle of well-stories which were no doubt of great importance in the patriarchal traditions. The name might also, however, be interpreted 'well of seven.' This has probably caused the insertion of fresh material in [28–30]. The statement in [28] that 'Abraham set *the* seven ewe lambs of the flock by themselves' (Dillm) seems to imply some previous mention of their selection, and suggests that they are drawn from an independent story about the 'well of seven' *. This source would most naturally be **J**. Still, both **J** and **E** frequently employ the number seven; [29 30] show phraseological affinity with **E**; and it is possible that the abruptness of [28] may be due to simple abbreviation. The repetition of the phrase 'and they made a covenant' [27 32] points to the amalgamation of two narratives with the same close, one of which was fixed by the well-incident at Beer-sheba. The oath [22–24] would most naturally be located in the land where Abraham had sojourned [23] cp [34]; but its union with the well-story gave it another geographical base, and it was then necessary for Abimelech and Phicol to return to their own land [32]. In [33] the absence of a subject implies discontinuity, and the verse is the obvious sequel of **J**'s story.

21[23] **M** Or, *my offspring, nor with my posterity.*

[29] The suffix here לבדנה differs from that in [28]; analogous forms are found in 31[6] 41[21] 42[36], all in **E**.

[34] This verse seems incongruous with [32], which implies that Abraham was not then in the land of the Philistines. It may have been the original sequel of [24]‥, on the hypothesis that **E**'s Beer-sheba story has lost its opening describing Abraham's removal from Gerar cp 26[17]‥; or it may be due to R[JE], who adds it as the close of [33]. In either case its position here is due to **R**.

22[1] The narrative of the intended sacrifice of Isaac [1–13] is distinguished (save for the harmonizer's touch in [11]) by the use of the divine name Elohim. But it shows no point of contact in phrase or thought with **P**, who never depicts God as 'trying' or 'proving' the patriarchs or their descendants, or recognizes any acts of cultus before the Levitical institutions (cp *Introd* XIII 2γ i 124).

[2] Moriah is only named elsewhere in 2 Chron 3[1]: the designation 'land of Moriah,' as if it were well known and Moriah were 'one of the mountains' in it, is consequently rendered doubtful. The name is probably due to the redactor who saw in it a reference to the proverbial utterance of [14]; but its meaning was by no means clear; Ⓖ renders 'the lofty land,' Sam ♀ 'the land of vision,' while Ⓢ preserves a reading which Dillmann and Ball think may possibly be original, 'the land of the Amorite' cp [JE]96.

* Otherwise it must be assumed that seven was the regular number, already recognized in Abraham's act [27].

J E JE J E P

4 On the [g]third day Abraham [h]lifted up his eyes, and saw the place [i]afar off. 5 And Abraham said unto his [f]young men, Abide ye [h]here with the ass, and I and the [f]lad will go [i]yonder; and we will [j]worship, and come again to you. 6 And Abraham took the wood of the burnt offering, and [j]laid it upon Isaac his son; and he took in his hand the fire and the [k]knife; and they went both of them together. 7 And Isaac [l]spake unto Abraham his father, and said, My father: and he said, [b]Here am I, my son. And he said, Behold, the fire and the wood: but where is the lamb for a burnt offering? 8 And Abraham said, God will [Mm]provide himself the lamb for a burnt offering, my son: so they went both of them together. 9 [L]And they came to the place which God had told him of; and Abraham [k]built the altar there, and [n]laid the wood in order, and [c]bound Isaac his son, and [j]laid him on the altar, upon the wood. 10 And Abraham [l]stretched forth his hand, and took the knife to [p]slay his son. 11 And the [m]angel of [N]Yahweh called unto him [q]out of heaven, and said, [r]Abraham, Abraham[r]: and he said, [b]Here am I. 12 And he said, [l]Lay not thine hand upon the [f]lad, neither do thou any thing unto him: for now I know that thou [n]fearest God, seeing thou hast not [s]withheld thy son, thine [b]only son, from me. 13 And Abraham [h]lifted up his eyes, and looked, and [M]behold, behind [him] a ram caught in the [t]thicket by his horns: and Abraham went and took the ram, and [d]offered him up for a burnt offering in the stead of his son.

14 [N]*And Abraham called the name of that place [M]Yahweh-jireh: as it is [u]said to this day, In the mount of Yahweh [M]it shall be provided.*

15 [N]*And the [o]angel of Yahweh called unto Abraham a second time [q]out of heaven, and said,* 16 *[v]By myself have I [p]sworn, [w]saith Yahweh, because thou hast done this thing, and hast not [s]withheld thy son, thine [b]only son:* 17 *that in blessing I will [q]bless thee, and in [x]multiplying I will [r]multiply thy seed as the [r]stars of the heaven, and as the [r]sand which is upon the sea shore; and thy seed shall [y]possess the gate of his enemies;* 18 *and [z]in thy seed shall all the [N]nations of the earth [a'b']be blessed; [a']because thou hast [t]obeyed my voice.*

19 So Abraham returned unto his [f]young men, and they [u]rose up and went together to [b']Beer-sheba; and Abraham dwelt at Beer-sheba.

20 [N]And it came to pass [a]after these things, that it was [v]told Abraham, saying, Behold, [c']Milcah, [d']she also hath borne children unto thy brother Nahor; 21 Uz [e']his firstborn, and Buz [w]his brother, and Kemuel the father of [f']Aram; 22 and Chesed, and Hazo, and Pildash, and Jidlaph, and Bethuel. 23 And Bethuel [x]begat [g']Rebekah: these eight did Milcah bear to Nahor, Abraham's brother. 24 And his [h']concubine, [i']whose name was Reumah, [d']she also bare Tebah, and Gaham, and Tahash, and Maacah.

23[1] [N]And the [a]life of Sarah was an [a]hundred and seven and twenty years: [b]these were the years[b] of the life of Sarah. 2 And Sarah died in [c]Kiriath-arba

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22[8] **M** ℌ *see for himself.*

11 The angel in the original story was no doubt the angel of Elohim 21[17]; the name has been editorially changed to Yahweh in preparation for the important insertion 15–18.

13 **M** Or, according to many ancient authorities, *behold a* (ℌ *one*) *ram caught.*

14[a] An editorial insertion, but whether by R^e or R^{je} cannot be determined. In the original story the names may have been formed with El.

14[b] **M** That is, *Yahweh will see*, or, *provide.*

14[c] **M** Or, *he shall be seen.*

15 An addition to **E** by a later hand familiar with the phraseology of **J** as the margins show. The solemn oath of Yahweh 'by himself' 16 is mentioned only once elsewhere, in a passage of similar expansion Ex 32[13]; note the phrase so common in prophecy 'oracle of Yahweh' 16, Am 2[11] Hos 2[15] Is 1[24] *al.*

18[a] Ct 12[3] ℌ and cp 18[18].

18[b] **M** Or, *bless themselves.*

20 This clause is here treated as an editorial connexion, though the frequent recurrence of the phrase 'after these things' makes it possible that it was a continuation of **E**'s history, into which the genealogy 'and it was told Abraham' has been unexpectedly inserted. This appears to be most properly assigned to **J** as the necessary preparation for the story of 24. Both form and contents show that it cannot belong to **P**: and there seems no ground either of phraseology or of matter for ascribing it (with Wellh) to **E**. The slight marginal parallels confirm the attribution to **J**.

23[1] By the purchase of the cave of Machpelah, Abraham, according to **P**, secures a permanent possession in the land of Canaan. Contrast the account of Jacob's purchase of land near Shechem 33[18–20].

J E P

(N*the b same is Hebron*), in the d land of Canaan: and Abraham came to c mourn for Sarah, and to weep for her. [3] And Abraham rose up from e before his dead, and f spake unto the g children of Heth, f saying, [4] hI am a stranger and a i sojourner with you: give me a j possession of a d buryingplace with you, that I may bury my dead out of my sight. [5] And the children of Heth answered Abraham, saying unto him, [6] Hear us, my lord: thou art Na mighty k prince l among us: in the choice of our sepulchres bury thy dead; none of us shall withhold from thee his sepulchre, but that thou mayest bury thy dead. [7] And Abraham rose up, and bowed himself to the c people of the land e, even to the children of Heth. [8] And he f communed with them, f saying, If it be your mind that I should bury my dead out of my sight, hear me, and intreat for me to g Ephron the son of Zohar, [9] that he may give me the cave of m Machpelah, which he hath, which is in the end of his field; for the full price let him give it to me in the l midst of you for a j possession of a d buryingplace. [10] Now Ephron was f sitting in the midst of the children of Heth: and Ephron the Hittite answered Abraham in the audience of the children of Heth, n even of all that g went in at the gate of his city g, saying, [11] Nay, my lord, hear me: the field give I thee, and the cave that is therein, I give it thee; in the presence of the sons of my people give I it thee: bury thy dead. [12] And Abraham bowed himself down before the e people of the land. [13] And he f spake unto Ephron in the audience of the e people of the land, f saying, But if thou wilt, h I pray thee, hear me: I will give the price of the field; take it of me, and I will bury my dead there. [14] And Ephron answered Abraham, saying unto him, [15] My lord, hearken unto me: a piece of land worth four hundred shekels of silver, what is that betwixt me and thee? bury therefore thy dead. [16] And Abraham hearkened unto Ephron; and Abraham weighed to Ephron the silver, which he had named in the audience of the children of Heth, four hundred shekels of silver, i current [money] with the merchant. [17] So the field of Ephron, which was in m Machpelah, j which was before Mamre, the k field, and the k cave which was therein, and all the trees that were in the field, that were in l all the border thereof round about l, were m made sure [18] unto Abraham for a o possession in the presence of the children of Heth, p before g all that went in at the gate of his city. [19] And after this, Abraham buried Sarah his wife in the cave of the field of Machpelah e before Mamre (*the same is Hebron*), in the d land of Canaan. [20] And the k field, and the k cave that is therein, m were made sure unto Abraham for a j possession of a d buryingplace by the children of Heth.

24[1] NAnd Abraham was a old, [and] well stricken in age a: and Yahweh had b blessed Abraham in all things. [2] And Abraham said unto his servant, the c elder of his house, that d ruled over all that he had, Put, I pray thee, e thy hand under my thigh: [3] L and I will f make thee swear by Yahweh, the a God of heaven and the God of the earth, that thou shalt not b take a wife for my son of the g daughters of the Canaanites, c among whom I dwell: [4] but thou shalt go unto my h country, and to my d kindred, and take a wife for my son N*Isaac*. [5] And the servant said unto him, e Peradventure the woman will not be willing to follow me unto this land: must I needs bring thy son again unto the land from whence thou camest? [6] And Abraham said unto him, i Beware thou that thou bring not my son thither again. [7] Yahweh, the a God of heaven, that took me from my f father's house, and from the land of my

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23[2] The identification of Kiriath-Arba and of Mamre [19] with Hebron may be editorial.

[6] M ℌ *a prince of God.*

24[1] The account of the journey of Abraham's servant has been attached by the compiler to the account of the death and burial of Sarah, but its original place in the group of J narratives cannot be determined with certainty. It would seem that 25^{6} must originally have stood somewhere before $24^{\text{ct 6b}}$. Some writers have supposed that the oath exacted from the servant really marks Abraham's deathbed, but that in the process of compilation J's reference to Abraham's decease was set aside for the more detailed notice of P 25^{7}.. In this way Isaac has become the 'master' [65].

[4] ℌ *for Isaac*, probably an explanatory gloss, cp [3] and 22^{2}.

J JE E P

[d]nativity, and that spake unto me, and that [N]sware unto me, saying,
j 12[7] Unto thy seed will I [j]give this land; he shall send his [g]angel before g 4
thee, and thou shalt [b]take a wife for my son from thence. [8] And if
the woman be not willing to follow thee, then thou shalt be clear from
this my oath; only thou shalt not bring my son thither again. [9] And
the servant [e]put his hand under the thigh of Abraham his master,
and sware to him concerning this matter. [10] And the servant took ten
k 45[18 20 23] [h]camels, of the camels of his master, and departed; [M]having all [k]goodly h 16
l Deut 23[4] ct [P]6 things of his master's in his hand: and he [l]arose, and went to [Ml]Mesopo- i 128
m cp 27[43] 28[10] tamia, unto the [m]city of Nahor. [11] And he [n]made the camels to kneel
n ℌ† down without the city by the [o]well of water at the time of evening,
o 29[2] Ex 2[15]
p [18] &c Deut the time that women go out to [p]draw water. [12] And he said, O Yahweh,
29[11] Josh 9[21] 23 27* the [a]God of my master Abraham, [q]send me, I pray thee, good speed[q]
q 27[20]† this day, and [j]shew kindness unto my master Abraham. [13] Behold, j 57[b]
I [k]stand by the [l]fountain of water; and the daughters of the men of the k 21[5b] l 81
city come out to [p]draw water: [14] and let it come to pass, that the
r 15-18 &c ℌ* [m]damsel to whom I shall say, Let down thy [r]pitcher, I pray thee, that m 235
I may drink; and she shall say, Drink, and I will [n]give thy camels n 225
s 44 ct 21[25] ℌ drink also: let the same be she that thou hast [s]appointed for thy
servant Isaac; and thereby shall I know that thou hast [j]shewed kind-
t 18[33] ness unto my master. [15] And it came to pass [o]before he had [t]done o 6
u 24 47 22[23] speaking, that, behold, Rebekah came out, who was born to [u]Bethuel
the son of Milcah, the wife of Nahor, Abraham's brother, with her
v 45 21[14] Ex 12[34] pitcher upon her [v]shoulder. [16] And the damsel was very [p]fair to look p 152
Josh 4[5] upon, a virgin, neither had any man [q]known her: and she went down q 50
to the [l]fountain, and filled her pitcher, and came up. [17] And the
w Cp Job 39[24]† servant [r]ran to meet her, and said, [w]Give me to drink, I pray thee, r 70
a [s]little water of thy pitcher. [18] And she said, Drink, my lord: and s 51
she [t]hasted, and let down her pitcher upon her hand, and gave him t 43
drink. [19] And when she had [t]done giving him drink, she said, I will
[p]draw for thy camels also, until they have done drinking. [20] And she
x Ct Lev 20[18]. ℌ* [t]hasted, and [x]emptied her pitcher into the [y]trough, and [r]ran again
y 30[38]† unto the well to [p]draw, and drew for all his camels. [21] And the man
z 34[5] Ex 14[14] ct [n]looked stedfastly on her; [z]holding his peace, to know whether Yahweh
Num 30[5] &c* had made his journey [u]prosperous or not. [22] And it came to pass, as u 66
a' 35[4] Ex 32[2]. the camels had [t]done drinking, that the man took a golden [a']ring of [M]half
b' 43[21] Josh 7[21] a shekel [b']weight, and two bracelets for her hands of ten shekels weight
of gold; and said, [23] Whose daughter art thou? tell me, I pray thee.
[v]Is there room in thy father's house for us to lodge in? [24] And she v 84
said unto him, I am the daughter of [u]Bethuel the son of Milcah, which
she bare unto Nahor. [25] She said moreover unto him, We have [w]both w 11
c' 32 Ex 5[7]...* [c']straw and [x]provender enough, and room to lodge in. [26] And the man x 67
[y]bowed his head, and worshipped Yahweh. [27] And he said, [z]Blessed be y 12[b] z 10[c]
Yahweh, the [a]God of my master Abraham, who hath not forsaken his
d' 48 Ex 13[21] cp [a']mercy and his truth toward my master: as for me, Yahweh hath [d']led a' 57[a]
17 me in the way to the house of my master's brethren. [N]... [28] And the
damsel [r]ran, and told her mother's house [b']according to these words. b' 2
e' ℌ=*whose* 16[1b] [29] And Rebekah had a brother, [e']and his name was Laban: [N]and Laban
f' ℌ=*abroad* [r]ran [f']out unto the man, unto the [l]fountain. [30] [e']And it came to pass, c' 127[b]
19[17] cp 1 and 31 when he saw the [a']ring, and the bracelets upon his sister's hands, and
when he heard the words of Rebekah his sister, saying, Thus spake
the man unto me; that he came unto the man; and, behold, he stood

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24[7] The clause 'and that sware unto me' may be a later addition referring to 22[16].

[10a] M Or, *for all the goods of his master were in his hand.*

[10b] M ℌ *Aram-naharaim*, that is, *Aram of the two rivers.*

[22] M ℌ *a beka.* See Ex 38[26].

[28] The gift of the ring and the bracelets [22 30] seems here to have fallen out of the text. On further indications of accidental dislocation at a very early date cp [29N].

[29] Some dislocation of clauses seems to have taken place here; [29b] should probably follow [30a]; Laban does not seek the visitor till he has heard Rebekah's news and seen the gifts. The obviously homogeneous character of the rest of the narrative renders Knobel's suggestion of a combination of two sources here unnecessary (Dillmann).

J JE E P

by the camels at the [l]fountain. [31] And he said, Come in, thou [z]blessed
of Yahweh; wherefore standest thou without? for I have prepared the
house, and room for the camels. [32] And the man came into the house,
[g'] Ct Ex 28[9 11 36*] and he [g']ungirded the camels; and he gave [c']straw and [x]provender for
[h'] 18[4] the camels, and water to [h']wash his feet and the men's feet that were
with him. [33] And there was set meat before him to eat: but he said,
I will not eat, until I have told mine errand. And he said, Speak on.
[34] And he said, I am Abraham's servant. [35] And Yahweh hath [b]blessed
my master greatly; and he is become great: and he hath given him
[i'] Cp [53] 12[16] 13[2] [d']flocks and herds, and [i']silver and gold, and menservants and [e']maid- [d'] 33 [e'] 41
servants, and camels and asses. [36] And Sarah my master's wife bare
a son to my master when she was [f']old: and unto him hath he [f'] 63
given all that he hath. [37] And my master [f]made me swear, saying,
Thou shalt not take a wife for my son of the daughters of the Canaanites,
in whose land I dwell: [38] but thou shalt go unto my father's house, and
to my kindred, and take a wife for my son. [39] And I said unto my
master, Peradventure the woman will not follow me. [40] And he said
[j'] Cp 17[1] 48[15] unto me, Yahweh, before whom I [j']walk, will send his angel with thee,
and prosper thy way; and thou shalt take a wife for my son of my
kindred, and of my father's house: [41] [N]then shalt thou be clear from
my oath, when thou comest to my kindred; and if they give her not
to thee, thou shalt be clear from my oath. [42] And I came this day
unto the fountain, and said, O Yahweh, the God of my master Abraham,
if now thou [v]do [u]prosper my way which I go: [43] behold, I stand by
[k'] Cp Ex 2[8*] Is 7[14] the fountain of water; and let it come to pass, that the [k']maiden which
cometh forth to draw, to whom I shall say, Give me, I pray thee, a little
water of thy pitcher to drink; [44] and she shall say to me, [w]Both drink
thou, and I will [w]also draw for thy camels: let the same be the woman
whom Yahweh hath [s]appointed for my master's son. [45] And before
I had done speaking in mine [g']heart, behold, Rebekah came forth with [g'] 45
her pitcher on her shoulder; and she went down unto the fountain, and
drew: and I said unto her, Let me drink, I pray thee. [46] And she
made haste, and let down her pitcher from her shoulder, and said,
Drink, and I will give thy camels drink also: so I drank, and she made
the camels drink also. [47] And I [h']asked her, and said, Whose daughter [h'] 129
art thou? And she said, The daughter of Bethuel, Nahor's son, whom
Milcah bare unto him: and I put the ring upon her nose, and the
bracelets upon her hands. [48] And I bowed my head, and worshipped
Yahweh, and blessed Yahweh, the God of my master Abraham, which
[l'] Cp Josh 2[12] ℌ had led me in the [l']right way to take my master's brother's daughter
for his son. [49] And now if ye will [i']deal kindly and truly with my [i'] 57[a]
[m'] Ex 2[12] [n'] 13[9] master, tell me: and if not, tell me; that I may [m']turn to the [n']right
hand, or to the left. [50] Then Laban and Bethuel answered and said, [j'] 165
The thing proceedeth from Yahweh: we cannot speak unto thee [j']bad or
[o'] 13[9] [p'] 12[19] [q'] 12[4] good. [51] Behold, Rebekah is [c']before thee, [p']take her, and go, and let
her be thy master's son's wife [q']as Yahweh hath spoken. [52] [c']And it
came to pass, that, when Abraham's servant heard their words, he [k'] 12[a]
[k']bowed himself down to the earth unto Yahweh. [53] And the servant
brought forth jewels of [i']silver, and jewels of [i']gold, and raiment, and
gave them to Rebekah: he gave also to her brother and to her mother [l'] 149[b]
[r'] Ezek 1[8] 2 Chron 21[3] 32[23]† [r']precious things. [54] And they did [l']eat and drink, he and the men
that were with him, and tarried all night; and they rose up in the [m'] 205[c]
morning, and he said, [m']Send me away unto my master. [55] And her
brother and her mother said, Let the damsel abide with us [N][a few] days,
at the least ten; after that she shall go. [56] And he said unto them,

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24[41] In this verse there seems a certain incompleteness: Kautzsch and Socin (followed by Bacon) suggest that [41a] contained a reference to the search for a bride for Isaac: it is possible, as the word 'oath' is different from that in [8] cp 26[28], that the whole may be a compiler's addition.

[55] On the reading cp Dillm and Ball.

J	JE	E	P
s′ Cp 34[19]	s′Hinder me not, seeing Yahweh hath u′prospered my way; m′send me away that I may go to my master. 57 And they said, We will call the damsel, and h′inquire at her mouth. 58 And they called Rebekah, and said unto her, Wilt thou go with this man? And she said, I will go.		
t′ 35[8]	59 And they m′sent away Rebekah their sister, and her t′nurse, and Abraham's servant, and his men. 60 And they blessed Rebekah, and		
u′ Cp Num 10[36]	said unto her, Our sister, be thou [the mother] of u′thousands of ten		
v′ 22[17]	thousands, and let thy seed v′possess the gate of those which n′hate them.		n′ 167
	61 And Rebekah [1]arose, and her damsels, and they o′rode upon the		o′ 198
w′ 16[14]	camels, and followed the man: and the servant p′took Rebekah, and went his way. 62 N And Isaac came M from the way of w′Beer-lahai-roi;		
x′ 20[1]	for he dwelt in the x′land of the South. 63 And Isaac went out to		
	n′meditate in the field at the eventide: and he p′lifted up his eyes, and		p′ 176[a]
	q′saw, and, behold, there were camels coming. 64 And Rebekah p′lifted		q′ 55
y′ Cp Josh 15[18]	up her eyes, and when she saw Isaac, she y′lighted off the camel.		
	65 And she said unto the servant, What man is this that walketh in the field to meet us? And the servant said, It is my master: and she took		
z′ 38[14 19]†	her z′veil, and a″covered herself. 66 And the servant told Isaac all the		
a″ Cp 38[14]	things that he had done. 67 N And Isaac brought her into his mother		
	Sarah's r′tent, and took Rebekah, and she became his wife; and he		r′ 220
	s′loved her: and Isaac was t′comforted after his mother's death. [→26[1]]		s′ 180
			t′ 20[1]
a ℌ=*whose* 16[1b]	25[1] N And Abraham [a]took [b]another wife, [a]and her name was Keturah. 2 And she		a 82
	bare him Zimran, and Jokshan, and Medan, and Midian, and Ishbak, and Shuah.		b 123
	3 And Jokshan [c]begat Sheba, and Dedan. And the sons of Dedan were Asshurim,		c 7
	and Letushim, and Leummim. 4 And the sons of Midian; Ephah, and Epher, and		
b 10[29]	Hanoch, and Abida, and Eldaah. [b]All these were the children of Keturah.		
	5 N And Abraham gave all that he had unto Isaac.—11b N And Isaac dwelt		
c 16[14] 24[62]	by [c]Beer-lahai-roi.—6 N *But unto the sons of the [d]concubines, which Abraham*		
d 22[24]	*had, Abraham gave [e]gifts; and he sent them away from Isaac his son, [d]while*		d 91
e Ex 28[38] Num 18[6. 29] Deut 16[17]*	*he yet lived, [f]eastward, N unto the [g]east country.*		
f 13[14] 28[14]			
g Ct 29[1]			
h 47[8. cp 17] 23[1]	7 And [e]these are the [h]days of the years of Abraham's life [i]which he lived, an		e 188
i 5[5] ℌ	[f]hundred threescore and fifteen years. 8 And Abraham [g]gave up the ghost,		f 93
j 17 35[29]	and [j]died in a [k]good old age, an old man, and [l]full [of years]; and was		g 51[1]
k 15[15]	[h]gathered to his people. 9 And Isaac and Ishmael his sons buried him in		h 75
l 35[29] cp Deut 33[23]*	the [m]cave of [i]Machpelah, in the field of Ephron the son of Zohar the Hittite,		i 5
m 23[19]	which is [j]before Mamre; 10 the field which Abraham [n]purchased of the		j 64
n 49[30] 50[13] cp 33[19]	children of Heth: there was Abraham buried, and Sarah his wife. 11a And it		
	came to pass after the death of Abraham, that God [k]blessed Isaac his son.		k 33
o 16[15b]	12 T AND [l]THESE ARE THE GENERATIONS of [o]Ishmael, Abraham's		l 77[a]

24[62a] This rather implies that Isaac has already found an independent settlement cp 25[5], presumably in consequence of Abraham's death. J's account of that event has been eliminated by R to make way for P's statement 25[8]...; Wellhausen and others suggest that it may originally have preceded this passage.

62b M Ⓖ has, *through the wilderness*.—Ball proposes, 'Now Isaac had come from Beer-sheba [i e after the death of Abraham] to Beer-lahai-roi,' cp 22[19] 25[11].

67 This verse seems to have received several editorial touches. ℌ reads 'And Isaac brought her into *the* tent,' so that the words 'his mother Sarah' ℌ are grammatically out of place; they are therefore regarded as a gloss. Of the same origin, probably, are the concluding words, inserted perhaps after 24 had been attached to 23. Wellhausen and others, however, suggest that the word 'mother' has been substituted for 'father.' The word 'death' does not appear in ℌ, but may be reasonably supplied from 25[11].

25[1] After the stress previously laid on Abraham's old age, and the possible references to his death in 24, this passage seems out of place. The difficulty of determining its source and chronological location is increased by the fact that it contains elements already embodied in J; e g in 10[26–28] Sheba is the son of Joktan who is descended through Eber from Arpachshad, whereas in 3 Sheba is the son of Jokshan who is born of Keturah. Partly on this ground, partly because of the mention of Midian cp 37[28 36], Dillmann ascribes the Keturah-table to E, and places it before the birth of Isaac. There are not, however, any decisive phraseological affinities with E, while the few indications of style which can be gathered, point rather to J. The section is here regarded, therefore, as of secondary origin in relation to the main J, though also distinct from J[s] in 10[2b]... Bacon attaches it to 22[24], before 24[1].

5 This verse seems to be the basis of the statement in 24[36b] (though Kuenen regards it as founded by R on that passage). Different suggestions have been made concerning its original position, Bacon and Holzinger proposing to place it after 24[1], Battersby after 24[9].

11b This allusion to Isaac's residence at Beer-lahai-roi cannot belong to P 7–11a, which does not refer to the story of 16[14]. It seems to have been placed there by R as an appropriate item of Isaac's biography. But as it is implied in 24[62], it probably belongs like 5 to an earlier portion of the story which has been eliminated in the process of compilation.

6a The provision made for Isaac 5 seems to have suggested the additional arrangements of 6 to R. Only one concubine has been mentioned before 22[24]; the generalizing plural (does it include Hagar?) implies another hand.

6b The last clause may be an editorial gloss on 'eastward.'

12 T *now*. ℌ as in 19.

J E P

p 16[3]

son, whom [p]Hagar the Egyptian, Sarah's handmaid, bare unto Abraham: [13] and [e]these are the names of the sons of Ishmael, by their names, according to their [m]generations: the firstborn of Ishmael, Nebaioth; and Kedar, and Adbeel, and Mibsam, [14] and Mishma, and Dumah, and Massa; [15] Hadad, and Tema, Jetur, Naphish, and Kedemah: [16] [e]these are the sons of Ishmael, and [e]these are their names, by their [q]villages, and by their [r]encampments; [s]twelve [n]princes [o]according to their [t]nations. [17] And [e]these are the [u]years of the life of Ishmael, an [f]hundred and thirty and seven years: and he [g]gave up the ghost and [j]died; and was [h]gathered unto his people.

m 76[b]

q Lev 25[31] Josh 13[23 28] 15[32]·· only in P
r Num 31[10]*
s 17[20]
t Num 25[15]†
u 23[1]

n 131
o 18

v ? 2[11] 10[7 29]
w 16[7]
x Ct 21[20]
y 16[12]

[18] [N]And they dwelt from [v]Havilah unto [w]Shur that is before Egypt, [p]*as thou goest toward Assyria:* [x]*he* [M]*abode* [M]*in the* [y]*presence of all his brethren.*

p 5

z Ct 24[15]

[19] AND [I]THESE ARE THE GENERATIONS of Isaac, Abraham's son: Abraham [q]begat Isaac: [20] and Isaac was forty years [r]old when he took Rebekah, the daughter of [z]Bethuel the [M]Syrian of [s]Paddan-aram, the sister of Laban the [M]Syrian, to be his wife.

q 30
r 119[a]
s 6

a′ 30[38] ℌ*
b′ 11[30]
c′ ℌ Hithp†
d′ Cp Ex 18[15] 1 Kings 22[5 8]

[26[33]→] [21] [N]And Isaac [t]intreated Yahweh [a′]for his wife, because she was [b′]barren: and Yahweh was [t]intreated of him, and Rebekah his wife [u]conceived. [22] And the children [c′]struggled together within her; and she said, If it be so, [M]wherefore do I live? And she went to [d′]inquire of Yahweh. [23] And Yahweh said unto her,

Two nations are in thy womb,
And two [e′]peoples shall be separated even from thy [f′]bowels:
And the one people shall be stronger than the other people;
And the elder shall serve the [v]younger.

t 48
u 21
v 92

e′ 27[29]*
f′ 15[4]
g′ 38[27] ℌ
h′ 29[21] 50[3]
i′ 38[27] Cant 4[5] 7[3]†
j′ Josh 7[21 24]*
k′ Ex 4[4]
l′ 3[15] ct 27[36]

[24] And when her days to be [g′]delivered were [h′]fulfilled, behold, there were [i′]twins in her womb. [25a] And the first came forth [M]red, . . .

. . .[25b] [N]all over like an hairy [j′]garment; and they called his name Esau. [26a] And after that came forth his [w]brother, and his hand [k′]had hold on Esau's [l′]heel; and his name was called [M]Jacob . . .

w 14

. . .[26b] And Isaac was threescore years [r]old when she bare them.

r 60

. . .[27] [N]And the [x]boys [y]grew: and Esau was a cunning [z]hunter, a man of the field; and Jacob was a [M]plain man, dwelling in [a′]tents. [28] Now Isaac [b′]loved Esau, because he did eat of his [z]venison: and Rebekah loved Jacob.

x 235
y 166
z 172
a′ 220
b′ 180

m′ 34·· 2 Kings 4[38-40] Hag 2[12]†

[29] [N]And Jacob sod [m′]pottage: and Esau came in from the field, and he

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25[18a] Cp 16[14bN]. The verse is full of difficulties, for the geographical data do not seem reconcilable, the disturbing words being 'as thou goest toward Asshur.' A comparison with 1 Sam 15[7] led Hupfeld to propose 'as thou goest to Shur'; the subject being then identified with the Ishmaelites. But it is possible that the verse is really continuous with [6], and in that case the clause may have arisen from accidental repetition of the syllable *Shur*. For another view of a land of Ashur between Egypt and Palestine cp Hommel, *Ancient Hebr Trad* 240. The change of person in the concluding member probably marks the hand of the editor who applied the preceding words to Ishmael, and added a reminiscence from 16[12].

18b M Or, *settled*, ℌ *fell*.

18c M Or, *over against*.

20 M ℌ *Aramean*.—28[5] cp 31[20].

21 The account of Isaac's marriage in P [19]. was no doubt followed immediately by the mention of the birth of his sons. In the process of compilation R has set this aside in favour of two stories from JE, one relating the birth of the twins, the other the transfer of the birthright from Esau to Jacob. At the end of the first he incorporates P's statement of Isaac's age on the occasion. But the narrative is placed too soon when compared with 26, for it is plain from 26[7]·· that Rebekah was not then the mother of adult twins. The combined incidents [21–34] ought therefore to follow 26[33].

22 M Or, *wherefore am I thus*.—Cp 89[b].

25a M Or, *ruddy*.—Cp 1 Sam 16[12] 17[42]†.

25b Doubtless E had his account of the birth of the pair of brothers, as well as J. If so, it is possible that some traces of it may be preserved in these verses. According to J [25a] the firstborn came forth *admoni*, which seems to point to the name Edom, on which a further play is found in [30], presumably from a different source. The second description of him, containing an allusion to the name Esau, may then be plausibly assigned to the other document, viz E. This reappears in [27] which in its abundance of epithets may again present a combined text, 'a man of the field' and 'dwelling in tents' forming a separate contrast perhaps drawn from J, both narratives (as 27 will show) being familiar with Esau's aptitude for the chase.

26 M That is, *One that takes by the heel* or *supplants*.

27a The opening of this verse points to E, cp 21[8], but the remainder in which Esau and Jacob are both described by a pair of epithets, is probably composite. As J lays stress on hunting and venison (see analysis of 27) the phrase 'cunning hunter' may come from that source and belong to the introduction of 28; while the reference to Jacob's tent life may belong to E, as J conceives the family as living together in a house 27[15] cp 33[17].

27b M Or, *quiet*, or, *harmless*, ℌ *perfect*.

29 The decision concerning the documentary origin of this passage depends on the analysis of 27, and particularly on 27[36]. See 27[1N] *ad fin*.

J E	JE	J E	P	
	was [n']faint: [30] and Esau said to Jacob, [o']Feed me, [c']I pray thee, with			c' 186
n' [30] Deut 25[18]*	[M]that same [p']red [pottage]; for I am [n']faint: [d']therefore was his name			d' 15[a]
o' ℌ†	called [M]Edom. [31] [L]And Jacob said, Sell me [M]this day thy [q']birthright.			
p' ℌ*	[32] And Esau said, Behold, I am at the point to die: and [e']what profit			e' 228
31. . Lxxg*a*	shall the birthright do to me? [33] And Jacob said, Swear to me [M]this			
q' 27[36] 43[33]	day; and he sware unto him: and he sold his birthright unto Jacob.			
	[34] And Jacob gave Esau bread and pottage of [p']lentils; and he did [f']eat			f' 149
r' Num 15[31]*	and drink, and [g']rose up, and went his way: so Esau [r']despised his			g' 128
	birthright.			
a 12[10]	**26**[1] [24[67]→] And there was a [a]famine in the land, [Nb]*beside the first*			
b Cp [P]31	*famine that was in the days of Abraham.* And Isaac [c]went unto [d]Abimelech			
c Cp 25[11b]	king of the Philistines unto Gerar. [2] And Yahweh [e]appeared unto him,			
d Ct 20[2]	and said, [f]*Go not down into Egypt;* [N]*dwell in the land which I shall tell*			
e 12[7]				
f 12[10]				
g 12[2]	*thee of*: [3] [f]sojourn in this land, and I will [a]be with thee, and will [g]bless			a 130
	thee;			
h Ct 12[7]	[N]*for unto thee, and unto thy seed, I will* [h]*give all these lands*[h], *and I will*			
i Ct 17[7]	[i]*establish the* [j]*oath which I* [b]*sware unto Abraham thy father;* [4] *and*			b 217
j 22[17]	*I will multiply thy* [c]*seed as the* [k]*stars of heaven, and will give unto thy*			c 204
k 15[5] 22[17]	*seed all these lands; and* [l]*in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth*			
l 12[3]	[Md]*be blessed;* [5] [m]*because that Abraham* [n]*obeyed my voice, and* [o]*kept my*			d 10[b]
m 22[18]	*charge, my commandments, my statutes, and my* [p]*laws.*			
n Cp 44[b]	[6] [N]And Isaac dwelt in Gerar: [7] and the [q]men of the place asked him of			
o Deut 11[1] cp [P]39 [D]82[c]	his wife; and he said, [r]She is my sister: for he feared to say, My wife;			
p Ex 16[28] 18[16 20] Lev 26[46]*	lest, [said he], the men of the place [s]should kill me for Rebekah:			
q 29[22] 38[21]	because she was fair to look upon. [8] [L]And [e]it came to pass, when he had			e 3[a]
r 12[13 19] 20[5]	been there a long time, that Abimelech king of the Philistines [f]looked			f 54
s 12[12] 20[11]	out at a [t]window, and [g]saw, and, behold, Isaac was [u]sporting with			g 55
8-11 Lxxi*b*	Rebekah his wife. [9] And Abimelech called Isaac, and said, Behold, of			
t 8[6]	a surety she is thy wife: and how saidst thou, She is my sister? And			
u ℌ=21[9]	Isaac said unto him, Because I said, Lest I die for her. [10] And			
	Abimelech said, [v]What is this thou hast done unto us? one of the			
v 20[9]	people might [h]lightly have [i]lien with thy wife, and thou shouldest have			h 51
	[w]brought [x]guiltiness upon us. [11] And Abimelech [y]charged all the			i 175
w 20[9]	people, saying, He that [z]toucheth this man or his wife shall surely be			
x Ct [P]81	put to death[z]. [12] And Isaac [a']sowed in that land, and found in the			
y 12[20]	same year an [b']hundredfold: and Yahweh [c']blessed him. [13] And the			
z Ex 19[12]† cp 29	man waxed great, and grew [d']more and more until he [e']became very			
a' 47[23]	great: [14] and he had [N]possessions of [j]flocks, and [N]possessions of herds,			j 33
b' ℌ†	and a great [f']household: and the Philistines [g']envied him.			
c' 24[1]	[15] [N]*Now all the* [k']*wells which his father's servants had digged in the days*			
d' 8[3] ℌ	*of Abraham his father, the Philistines had* [i']*stopped them, and filled them*			
e' 24[35]	*with earth.*			
f' Job 1[3]†	[16] And Abimelech said unto Isaac, Go from us; for thou art much			
g' 30[1]				
h' 21[25]. .				
i' [18] ℌ Piel†	[k]mightier than we. [17] And Isaac departed thence, and [j']encamped in			k 59
j' 33[18] Ex19[2]	the valley of Gerar, and dwelt there.			

25[30a] **M** ℌ *the red* pottage, *this red* pottage.

[30b] **M** That is, *Red.* [31 33] **M** Or, *first of all.*

26[1] The famine just mentioned gives occasion to Isaac's sojourn in Gerar, to which is attached the incident of Rebekah parallel to that of Sarah in 12[10]. . The editor, therefore, refers to the previous event in the days of Abraham. Hence [1b] presupposes the narrative in 12[10]. .; but as there is no allusion to Abraham's visit to Gerar in 20, it apparently marks a stage in the growth of **J** prior to its union with **E**. On the original place of the following narrative cp 25[21N].

[2] The injunction to dwell in a land to be indicated hereafter can hardly proceed from the writer who reports Yahweh's injunction to Abraham to 'sojourn in this land' [3]. [1–6] may contain touches of **E**, possibly [2b] and [6] are from that source.

[3] One of the later hortatory amplifications, showing the approximation of these additions to the literary manner of **D**. For 'all these lands' * cp 1 Chron 13[2] 2 Chron 11[23], but 𝔖 and *Jubilees* read 'all this land.' In [5b] it is possible that the hand of R[d] may have been at work.

[4] **M** Or, *bless themselves.*—ℌ 22[18].

[6] On this narrative compared with 12[11]. . and 20[1]. . see *Introd* XI 6*β* i 108 and XII 5*β* i 117.

[14] ℌ = *cattle*, cp 18. For the peculiar use of the text cp 47[17].

[15 18] In these two verses the compiler prepares for a second story concerning the origin of the well of Beer-sheba. In 21[25]. . it has already been named in Abraham's day: Isaac, therefore, can only rename it if it has in the meantime fallen into disuse. This is ascribed to interference by the Philistines, which is generalized so as to include 'all the wells.' (Were there other well-stories in **E** to which **R** thus makes reference?) The statement in [18] that Isaac 'called their names after the names by which his father had called them,' seems inconsistent with the subsequent narrative, in which he names the wells from the incidents of his own struggles.

J E JE J E P

[18] *And Isaac digged again the wells of water, which they had digged in the days of Abraham his father; for the Philistines had* [v′]*stopped them after the death of Abraham: and he called their names after the names by which his father had called them.*

[19] And Isaac's servants digged in the valley, and found there a well
k′ Cp Lev 14[5]* of [Mk′]springing water. [20] And the herdmen of Gerar [l′]strove with Isaac's
l′ 13[7] herdmen, saying, The water is ours: and he called the name of the
well [M]Esek; because they [b′]contended with him. [21] And they digged
another well, and they [l′]strove for that also: and he called the name
m′ 12[8] of it [M]Sitnah. [22] And he [m′]removed from thence, and digged another
well; and for that they [l′]strove not: and he called the name of it
n′ Ex 34[24] ℌ= *enlarge* cp 9[27] [M]Rehoboth; and he said, For now Yahweh hath [n′]made room for us,
o′ 49[22] cp 41[52] and we shall be [o′]fruitful in the land. [23] And he went up from thence
Ex 23[30] ct [P]73 to Beer-sheba. [24] And Yahweh [e]appeared unto him the same night,
and said, I am the [1]God of Abraham thy father: [m]fear not, for I [a]am l 120
with thee, and will [g]bless thee, and multiply thy [c]seed for my servant m 154
Abraham's [n]sake. [25] And he [o]builded an altar there, and [p]called upon n 71
the name of Yahweh, and pitched his tent there: and there Isaac's o 137
p′ 50[5] Ex 21[33] Num 21[18]* servants [p′]digged a well. [26] Then Abimelech went to him from Gerar, p 15[a]
q′ ℌ* cp 2 Sam 3[8] and Ahuzzath his [q′]friend, and [r′]Phicol the captain of his host. [27] And
r′ 21[22] Isaac said unto them, [s′]Wherefore are ye come unto me, seeing ye hate
s′ Ex 2[18] 3[3] 5[14] cp **230** me, and have sent me away from you? [28] And they said, We saw
plainly that Yahweh [a]was with thee: and we said, Let there now be
t′ 24[41] an [t′]oath betwixt us, even betwixt us and thee, and let us [q]make q 181
a covenant with thee; [29] that thou wilt do us no hurt, as we have not
[z]touched thee, and as we have done unto thee nothing but good, and
have sent thee away in [u′]peace: thou art now the [r]blessed of Yahweh. r 10
u′ 31 28[21] Ex 18[23] Josh 10[21]* [30] And he made them a [s]feast, and they did [t]eat and drink. [31] And s 155
t 149[b]
v′ cp **112**[a] they [u]rose up betimes in the morning, and sware [v′]one to another: and u 200
Isaac sent them away, and they departed from him in [u′]peace. [32] And it
came to pass the same day, that Isaac's servants came, and told him
[v]concerning the well which they had digged, and said unto him, We v 111
have found water. [33] And he called it [M]Shibah: [w]wherefore the name w 85
of the city is Beer-sheba unto this day. [→25[21]]

w′ 25[20] [34] And when Esau was forty years [x]old he [w′]took to wife Judith the x 119
x′ Ct 36[2] daughter of Beeri the Hittite, and [x′]Basemath the daughter of Elon the
Hittite: [35] and they were [M]a grief of mind unto Isaac and to Rebekah.

a 48[10] cp Deut 34[7]* **27**[1a] [Na]And it came to pass, that when Isaac was old, and his eyes were a 3
b 15[4] 42 16[21] (J) 29[16] (E) [a]dim, so that he could not see, he called Esau his [b]elder son,

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26[19] **M** ℌ *living.* [20] **M** That is, *Contention.*
[21] **M** That is, *Enmity.* [22] **M** That is, *Broad places*, or, *Room.*
[33] **M** See 21[31]. [35] **M** ℌ *bitterness of spirit.*—Cp 28[8].

27[1] The narrative of the blessing of Isaac is admitted on all hands to be composite, but its constituents have been blended with such skill as practically to defy analysis. In 1891, Bacon (*Hebraica*, January, 1891) in America, and Kautzsch and Socin in Germany, published independent attempts at resolution. Ball and Holzinger have since followed. But the difficulties are such that even after their labours any scheme of distribution must still be tentative, for the opening of the chapter, in particular, shows that (on any theory) the sources have been much curtailed in the process of union. The presence of duplicate accounts may, however, be detected with sufficient clearness. A comparison of [23] and [25] indicates that two stories are intertwined. The blessing *which is given in* [23] 'so he blessed him,' *has yet to be bestowed in* [25] 'that my soul may bless thee.' In [23] the blessing follows on the identification of Jacob with Esau by the hairiness of his hands: in [27] it depends on the smell attached to the garments which Jacob is wearing. These divergences belong to different versions of the same main incident, and provide a basis for further partition. If the passages which describe the disguise of the hands be grouped together, [21–23] will be naturally preceded by [9–14] and [16], of which [18] seems the natural sequel. These verses supply a characteristic phrase, 'savoury meat such as he loveth' [9 14] cp [4 7b]; the address 'my father' with its reply 'here am I' in [18] finds a counterpart in the similar address 'my son' in [1b], the parallels in [22[1] 7] suggesting their connexion with **E**. The following contrasts in substance and language are then obtained:—

[15 27] goodly raiment || skins [16] derived from [9], smooth [16] cp [11], hairy [11 23] cp 25[25b].
[27] smell || feel [21], derived from [12] (the only parallels being in passages assigned on other grounds to **E**).
[25] venison [3 5 7a 19 31 33] || savoury meat [4 7b 9 14 17 31].
[25] my soul may bless thee [4 19 31] || I (he) may bless thee [7b 10].
[4] before I die || before my death [7 10] (note the different words for 'before' and their corresponding occurrences elsewhere).

The analysis thus begun is found to be occasionally confirmed unexpectedly by phraseological affinities specified in the margin (e g the designations 'elder' and 'younger son,' 'firstborn' run through [1 15 19 32 42] cp 25[23] (**J**), 'field' [3 5 27] and parallels on [1a 2b 3 4b] (ct [10]) [20 25 29ac 33] (**J**) and [12 36] (**E**)). The student is thus prepared to believe that the blessing in [27–29] may be likewise

J	E	JE	J	E	P	
		. . . [1b] and said unto him, [c]My son: and he said unto him, [b]Here am I. . .				b 104
		[2] And he said, [c]Behold now, [d]I am old, I know not the day of my death.				c 9
		[3] Now therefore take, I pray thee, thy weapons, thy [e]quiver and thy				
		bow, and go out to the field, and [f]take me [d]venison; . . .				d 172
		. . .[4a] and make me [g]savoury meat, such as I love, and bring it to me,				
		that I may eat; . . .				
		[4b] [h]that my soul may bless thee [e]before I die.				e 6
		[5a] And Rebekah heard when Isaac spake to Esau his son.				
		[5b] And Esau went to the field to [f]hunt for [d]venison, and to bring it.				
		[6] And Rebekah spake unto Jacob her son, saying, Behold, I heard thy				
		father speak unto Esau thy brother, saying, [7a] Bring me [d]venison, . . .				
		. . .[7b] and make me [g]savoury meat, that I may eat, and bless thee				
		[N]before Yahweh [i]before my death[i]. [8] Now therefore, [c]my son, [j]obey my				
		voice [N]according to that which I command thee. [9] [k]Go now to the				
		flock, and fetch me from thence two good [l]kids of the goats; and				
		I will make them [g]savoury meat for thy father, such as he loveth:				
		[10] and thou shalt bring it to thy father, that he may eat, [m]so that he may				
		bless thee [i]before his death. [11] And Jacob said to Rebekah his mother,				
		Behold, Esau my brother is a [n]hairy man, and I am a [o]smooth man.				
		[12] My father [f]peradventure will [p]feel me, and I shall [q]seem to him as				f 64
		a [M]deceiver; and I shall bring a curse upon me, and not a blessing.				
		[13] And his mother said unto him, Upon me be thy curse, [c]my son:				
		only [j]obey my voice, and go fetch me them. [14] And he went, and				
		fetched, and brought them to his mother: and his mother made				
		[g]savoury meat, such as his father loved.				
		[15] And Rebekah took the [r]goodly [s]raiment of Esau her [b]elder son, which				
		were with her in the house, and put them upon Jacob her [t]younger son. . . .				
		[16] And she put the skins of the [l]kids of the goats upon his hands, and				
		upon the [o]smooth of his neck: [17] and she gave the [g]savoury meat				
		and the bread, which she had prepared, into the hand of her son				
		Jacob. [18a] And he came unto his father, and said, [u]My father: and he				
		said, [b]Here am I[u]; . . .				
		[18b] [v]Who art thou, my son? [19] And Jacob said unto his father, I am				
		Esau [w]thy firstborn; I have done [x]according as thou badest me[x]: arise,				
		I pray thee, sit and eat of my [d]venison, [h]that thy soul may bless me.				
		[20] And Isaac said unto his son, How is it that thou hast found it so				
		[g]quickly, my son? And he said, Because Yahweh thy God [h]sent me				g 43
		[y]good speed.				h 131
		[21] And Isaac said unto Jacob, Come near, I pray thee, that I may [p]feel				
		thee, my son, [s]whether thou be my very son Esau [z]or not. [22] And				
		Jacob went near unto Isaac his father; and he [p]felt him, and said, The				
		voice is Jacob's voice, but the hands are the hands of Esau. [23] And he				
		[i]discerned him not, because his hands were [n]hairy, as his brother Esau's				i 145
		hands: so he blessed him.				
		[24] And he said, Art thou my very son Esau? And he said, I am.				
		[25] And he said, Bring it near to me, and I will eat of my son's [d]venison,				

c 22[7].
d 18[13] ℌ
e ℌ†
f 5 33 cp **172**
g 7 9 14 17 31 ℌ†
h 19 31 46[34] Ex 9[14 16] ℌ ct 10
i 10 50[16] ct 4 ℌ
j 13 43 cp **44**[b]
k 37[14]
l 38[17 20]
m Ct 4 ℌ
n 23 cp 25[25]
o Cp 16
p 21. cp 31[34 37] Ex 10[21]
q 29[20]
r ℌ* 2 Chron 20[25] *al*
s 27 ct 16
t 42 9[24]
u 22[7] ct 31[b]
v 32 [*And Isaac his father said*]
w 32 10[15] 22[21] 38[6] Ex 4[22]
x Cp 12[4] ℌ
y 24[12]†
z 37[32] Ex 16[4] 17[7] Num 11[23] 13[19]. Deut 8[2]*

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composite. The different divine names in [27 28] are not in themselves necessary proofs of derivation from contrasted sources cp 9[26]. But they tend in that direction when the contents of the blessing are examined. In [29] the second couplet of the verse so suddenly contracts the scope of power as to produce an anti-climax. After the homage of nations [29a] the submission of kindred is but a small gift. Further, the subsequent reference to the blessing in [37] only recognizes the items of [28] and [29b]: and on these, also, is framed the prophecy in [39–40]. It would seem, then, that [27–29] may be divided into (1) [27 29a 29c] and (2) [28 29b]; (1) is then Yahwist and (2) Elohist. But (2) carries with it [37–40] and the preceding [36]. This is supported by the fact that the play on the name Jacob in [36] is entirely different from that of 25[26], ascribed on independent grounds to **J**; and it also secures high probability for the attribution of 25[29–34] to **E**, as 27[36] plainly refers to that story. Both **J** and **E** may have contained it, but it is more natural to locate both the story and the allusion in the same document.

[7b] The words 'before Yahweh' involve a serious difficulty in the ascription to **E**. They may have been introduced accidentally from **J** through the similarity of the word 'before (my death)' contrasted with 'before' in [4b]. Other unexpected occurrences of *Yahweh*, due to various causes, have been noted in 17[1] 21[1b] 22[11].

[8] The phrase 'obey my voice' is followed in [13 43] by the actual order, without hortatory expansion. The words 'according to that which I command thee' do not seem to cohere quite naturally with the preceding. Outside of Deut, where the expression is very common, they occur only in Ex 34[11] cp Num 32[25]. Have they also crept into the text from **J** in the process of compilation?

[12] **M** Or, *mocker*.—Cp 2 Chron 36[16] †.

J E JE J E P

[h]that my soul may bless thee. And he brought it near to him, and he
[a'] 24[54] did [a']eat: and he brought him [b']wine, and he [a']drank. [26] And his father
[b'] 9[21] ct 28 ℌ Isaac said unto him, [c']Come near now, and [j]kiss me, my son. [27] And he j 173
[c'] Ct 21 came near, and kissed him: and he [d']smelled the smell of his [s]raiment,
[d'] 8[21] and blessed him, and said,

See, the smell of my son
Is as the smell of a field which Yahweh hath blessed:
...[28] And God give thee of the [e']dew of heaven,
And of the [f']fatness of the earth,
And plenty of [g']corn and wine[g'].
[e'] 39 cp Deut 33[13] [29a] Let peoples [h']serve thee,
[f'] 39 ℌ† And [i']nations bow down to thee:
[g'] 37 cp [D]30 [29b] Be [j']lord over thy brethren,
[h'] 9[25] And let thy [k']mother's sons bow down to thee.
[i'] 25[23] [29c] [l']Cursed be every one that curseth thee,
[j'] 37 ℌ† And blessed be every one that blesseth thee.
[k'] Cp 37[10] [30a] And it came to pass, as soon as Isaac had [m']made an end of blessing
[l'] 12[8] cp 24 and 10[c] Jacob,
[m'] 18[33] [30b] And Jacob was yet scarce gone out from the presence of Isaac his
father . . .
[30c] that Esau his brother came in from his hunting.
. . .[31a] And he also made [n]savoury meat, and brought it unto his
father . . .
[31b] And he said unto his father, Let [u]my father arise, and eat of his son's
[d]venison, [h]that thy soul may bless me. [32] And Isaac his father said
unto him, [v]Who art thou? And he said, I am thy son, [w]thy firstborn,
[n'] Cp Ex 19[18] Esau. [33] And Isaac [n']trembled very exceedingly, and said, Who [o']then
[o'] 37 43[11] Ex 33[16]* is he that hath [f]taken [d]venison, and brought it me, and I have eaten of
all [e]before thou camest, and have blessed him? yea, [and] he shall be
blessed. [34] When Esau heard the words of his father, he [k]cried with an k 141
exceeding great and bitter [l]cry, and said unto his father, Bless me, even l 23
me also, O my father. . . .
[p'] 34[13]* . . .[35] And he said, Thy brother came with [p']guile, and hath taken away
thy blessing. [36] And he said, Is not he rightly named [N]Jacob? for he
[q'] Ct 25[26] Hos 12[3] hath [q']supplanted me these two times: he took away my [r']birthright;
[r'] 25[31]. . and, behold, now he hath taken away my blessing. And he said, Hast
[s'] Num 11[17] 25* thou not [s']reserved a blessing for me? [37] And Isaac answered and said
unto Esau, Behold, I have made him thy [j']lord, and all his brethren
have I given to him for servants; and with [g']corn and wine have
[t'] Ct [P]102 ℌ I [t']sustained him: and what [o']then shall I do for thee, my son? [38] And
Esau said unto his father, Hast thou but one blessing, my father?
[N]bless me, even me also, O my father. And Esau lifted up his voice, and
wept. [39] And Isaac his father answered and said unto him,
Behold, [M]of the [f']fatness of the earth shall be thy dwelling,
And [M]of the [e']dew of heaven from above;
[40] And by thy sword shalt thou live, and thou shalt serve thy brother;
[u'] Cp Hos 11[12] Jer 2[31] Ps 55[2]† And it shall come to pass when thou shalt [u']break loose,
[v'] Ex 32[2. 24]* That thou shalt [v']shake his yoke from off thy neck.
[w'] 49[23] 50[15]* [41a] And Esau [w']hated Jacob because of the blessing wherewith his father
blessed him.
[x'] 8[21] cp 45 [41b] And Esau said in his [x']heart, The days of [y']mourning for my father
[y'] 50[10. 11] cp Deut 34[8] [z']are at hand; then will I slay my brother Jacob. [42] And the words of
[z'] Cp Gen 47[29] ℌ Esau her [b]elder son were told to Rebekah; and she sent and called
Jacob her [t]younger son, and said unto him, Behold, thy brother Esau,
as touching thee, doth [m]comfort himself, [purposing] to kill thee. m 20

27[36] **M** See 25[26].—For the form of the question, הכי, cp 29[15]*.
[38] This phrase seems to have been assimilated from [34], or perhaps introduced by a copyist.
[39] **M** Or, *away from*.

J	E	JE	J	E	P	
		. . .[43a] Now therefore, my son, [j]obey my voice; and arise, . . .				
a'' Cp 24[10 29] 28[10] 29[5]		[43b] [n]Flee thou to [a'']Laban my brother to [a'']Haran; . . .				n 158
b'' 29[20] Dan 11[20]† ct 11[1]		. . .[44] and tarry with him a [b'']few days, until thy brother's [c'']fury turn away;				
c'' 2 Sam 11[20] ct Deut 9[19] Lev 26[28]		[45a] until thy brother's anger turn away from thee.				
d'' 40[23]		[45b] And he [d'']forget that which thou hast done to him: then I will send and fetch thee from thence: why should I be [o]bereaved of you both in one day?				o 98
e'' Cp Ex 1[12] Lev 20[23] Num 21[5] 22[3*]		[46] [N]*And Rebekah said to Isaac, I am [e''] weary of my life because of the [p]daughters of Heth: if Jacob [f''] take a wife of the daughters of Heth, such as these, of the [g''] daughters of the land, what good shall my life do me?*				p 10[b]
f'' 26[34]		**28**[1] [L]And Isaac called Jacob, and [N]blessed him, and charged him, and said unto him, [a]Thou shalt not take a wife of the [a]daughters of Canaan. [2] [b]Arise,				a 10[b]
g'' 34[1]		go to [b]Paddan-aram, to the house of Bethuel thy mother's father; and take				b 6
1–9 [L]Ie 5d		thee a wife from thence of the daughters of Laban thy mother's brother.				
a Cp 36[2] ct 24[3]		[3] And [Mc]God Almighty bless thee, and make thee [d]fruitful, and [d]multiply				c 1
b Cp [JE]12[8]		thee, that thou mayest be a [c]company of peoples[c]; [4] and give thee the blessing				d 73
c 35[11] 48[4]†		of Abraham, to [e]thee, and to thy seed with thee[e]; that thou mayest [d]inherit				e 176
d Lev 20[24] 25[46] Num 33[53] ℌ		the [f]land of thy sojournings[f] which God [e]gave unto Abraham. [5] And Isaac				f 145
e 17[8]		[f]sent away Jacob: and he went to Paddan-aram unto Laban, son of Bethuel				
f Cp [JE]20[5]		the [M]Syrian, the brother of Rebekah, Jacob's and Esau's mother. [6] Now				
		Esau saw that Isaac had blessed Jacob and sent him away to Paddan-aram,				
		to take him a wife from thence; and that as he blessed him he gave him				
		a charge, saying, Thou shalt not take a wife of the daughters of Canaan;				
		[7] and that Jacob obeyed his father [N]and his mother, and was gone to				
g Cp 21[11]		Paddan-aram: [8] and Esau saw that the daughters of Canaan [g]pleased not				
		Isaac his father; [9] and Esau went unto Ishmael, and took unto the wives				
h 26[34]		[h]which he had Mahalath the daughter of Ishmael Abraham's son, the sister				
i 25[13]		of [i]Nebaioth, to be his wife.				
j 26[23 33]		[10] [N]And Jacob went out from [j]Beer-sheba, and went toward [k]Haran. . . .				
k 27[43]		. . .[11] [N]And he [g]lighted upon [M]a certain [l]place, and [h]tarried there all				g 177
l Cp 12[6]		night, because the sun was [i]set; and he took one of the stones of the				h 178
		place, and [j]put it [m]under his head, and lay down in that place to sleep.				i 236
m [18] ℌ* 1 Sam 19[13]		[12] And he [k]dreamed, and behold a [n]ladder [i]set up on the earth, and the				j 193
n ℌ†		top of it reached to heaven: and behold the [m]angels of God ascending				k 101
		and descending on it.				l 215[c]
o Ct 15[7] Ex 6[2]		[13] And, behold, Yahweh [n]stood [T]beside him, and said, [o]I am Yahweh,				m 97
		the [o]God of Abraham thy father, and the God of Isaac: the land whereon				n 215[a]
						o 120

27[46] This verse is obviously connected with 26[34]., and leads to the dispatch of Jacob to Paddan-aram to find a bride. Whether it was an integral part of **P** may, however, be doubted. It is not the manner of **P** to attribute any share in the development of events to the patriarch's wives: in 28[1 8] Isaac is mentioned alone. Phraseological peculiarities, 'daughters of the land' ct 28[1], 'daughters of Canaan,' and the clause 'what good' &c cp 25[22] ℌ, suggest rather the hand of the compiler who thus makes a bridge from 27 to 28[1–9]. The repetition 'of the daughters of Heth' appears rather cumbrous beside the parallel clause 'of the daughters of the land': its omission by ⅋ which reads 'the daughters of this land' (ℭ *de stirpe hujus terrae*), suggests that it is a gloss.

28[1] **P**'s reference to the blessing of Jacob; for a similar brevity in relation to **JE** cp 25[20] and 24.

3 **M** *El Shaddai.*—According to Ex 6[3] **P** related an appearance of El Shaddai to Isaac as well as to Abraham and Jacob 17[1] and 35[11]. That account has not been preserved; it was perhaps considered superfluous by **R** in view of 26[2]. . .

5 **M** ℌ *Aramean.*—25[20].

7 Possibly an addition of **R** with reference to 27[43]. (Dillmann).

10.. The sequel of the combined narrative in 27[41–45]. As **J** apparently locates Isaac at Beer-sheba this verse is naturally connected with 26[23]; while the reference to Haran in its turn supports the attribution of 27[43b] to **J**.

11a In the following narrative the contrast of [16] and [17] points to an amalgamation of different sources, easily recognized as **J** and **E** respectively (cp the dream and the angels of Elohim [12]; [12] carries with it [11] and [18]; and [20]. contains the vow accompanying the consecration of the *maṣṣēbha* [18]). With regard to the theophany in **J** [13–16] opinion is somewhat divided; it has affinities with undoubted **J** passages, cp [14] and 12[3], but also with others which apparently belong to the editorial expansions 13[14–17] 22[15–18]. Kuenen and Cornill, accordingly, propose to attribute it to **R**. The opening words, however, 'And behold Yahweh stood beside him' do not sound like a harmonist's combination with [12]; they rather belong to an independent narrative. Of this another trace may be found (if Bacon's ingenious suggestion be adopted) in 35[15]. Both **J** and **E** had an account of the origin of the sacred pillar at Beth-el. **E** connects it with the revealing dream [12 17]. on Jacob's flight from Beer-sheba, cp 35[1]. . **J** seems to have placed it on his return from Aram-naharaim, after the wrestling at Peniel, cp Hos 12[4]. If the promise of [13]. be attached to that occasion, a suitable base is found also for **P**'s selection of that place in Jacob's career for the theophany of El Shaddai 35[9]. . In that case, however, [15] will be an editorial reflex of [17], due probably to the same combining hand which added the words 'and Yahweh will be my God' [21b].

11b **M** ℌ *the place.*

13 So **M**. **T** *above it.*

J E JE J E P

thou liest, to thee will I [p]give it, and to thy seed ; [14] and thy [p]seed shall p 204
be as the [q]dust of the earth, and thou shalt [Mq]spread abroad to the [r]west, q 80
and to the east, and to the north, and to the south: and in thee and in
thy seed shall [s]all the families of the earth [r]be blessed. [15] And, behold, r 10[b]
I [t]am [s]with thee, and will [u]keep thee whithersoever thou goest, and will s 130
bring thee again into this [v]land; for I will not [t]leave thee, until I have t 160
done that which I have spoken to thee of. [16] And Jacob [w]awaked out
of his sleep, and he said, [x]Surely Yahweh [u]is in this place; and I knew u 84
it not.

[17] And he was [y]afraid, and said, How dreadful is this place! this is none
other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven. [18] [z]And
Jacob [v]rose up early in the [w]morning, and took the stone that he had v 200
[j]put [m]under his head, and [j]set it up for a [z]pillar, and [a']poured oil upon w 236
the top of it.

[19] And he called the name of that place [M]Beth-el: [b'] *but the name of the city was* [c'] *Luz at the first.*

[20] And Jacob [d']vowed a vow, saying, If [N]God will be [s]with me, and will
keep me in this [e']way that I go, and will give me bread to [f']eat, and
raiment to put on, [21a] so that I come again to my [x]father's house x 153
in [g']peace,

...[21b] [T]and Yahweh will [h']be my God, . . .

. . . [22] [L]then this stone, which I have [j]set up for a pillar, shall be God's
house: [NL] *and of all that thou shalt give me I will surely give the tenth unto thee.* y 181

29[1] Then Jacob [M]went on his journey, and [a]came to the land of the
children of the east. . . .

[2] [N]And he [a]looked, and behold[a] a [b]well in the field, and, lo, three a 55
[b]flocks of sheep [c]lying there by it; for out of that well they watered the b 32
flocks: and the stone upon the well's mouth was great. [3] And thither
were all the [b]flocks [d]gathered: and they [c]rolled the stone from the well's c 201
mouth, and watered the sheep, and put the stone again upon the
well's mouth in its place. [4] And Jacob said unto them, [e]My brethren,
whence be ye? And they said, Of [f]Haran are we. [5] And he said unto
them, Know ye Laban the son of Nahor? [6] And they said, We know
him. And he said unto them, Is it [g]well with him? And they said,
It is well: and, behold, Rachel his daughter cometh with the sheep.
[7] And he said, Lo, it is yet high day, neither is it time that the [d]cattle d 18
should be [d]gathered together: water ye the sheep, and go and feed them.
[8] And they said, We cannot, until all the [b]flocks be [d]gathered together,
and they [c]roll the stone from the well's mouth; then we water the
sheep. [9] While he [e]yet spake with them, Rachel came with her father's e 91
sheep; for she kept them. [10] And it came to pass, when Jacob saw
Rachel the daughter of Laban his mother's brother, and the sheep of
Laban his mother's brother, that Jacob [h]went near, and [c]rolled the stone
from the well's mouth, and watered the flock of Laban his mother's
brother. [11] And Jacob kissed Rachel, and lifted up his voice, and wept.
[12] And Jacob told Rachel that he was her father's [i]brother, and that he

p 12[7]
q 13[16]
r 13[14]
s 12[3]
t 26[3]
u Cp 20
v ℌ 47[19. 26] Lev 20[24] Num 11[12] 32[11]
w 9[24] ct 41[4 7 21*]
x Ex 2[14*]
y 20[8] 42[35]
18 L 5g *d* 70*b*
z Cp 31[45a] 35[14 20] Ex 24[4]
a' 35[14] cp 31[13]
b' 48[19] Ex 9[16] Num 14[21*]
c' 35[6] 48[3] Judg 1[23] Josh 18[13]
d' 31[13] cp Num 21[2]
e' 35[3]
f' Cp 149[a]
g' 26[29]
h' Cp [p]26
22a L 10*aa*
22b L 8*da*
a ℌ = *went* ct 28[5 10]
b 24[11] Ex 2[15].
c 4[7]
d 7. 34[30] 49[1] *al*
e 19[7]
f 27[43]
g ℌ = *peace* 43[27]
h 18[23]
i 15 cp 13[8]

28[14] M ℌ *break forth.*

19 M That is, *The house of God.*—Cp **J**'s method of assigning names, e g 26[20-22]. **E**'s reference to the meaning of the name is seen in 17 21. 19b is probably an editorial note founded on **P** cp 35[6].

20 𝔊 'Yahweh God.' Klostermann, *Der Pentateuch* 38, thinks 'Yahweh' was the older reading.

21b So **M**. **T** *then shall Yahweh be my God, and this stone,* &c.

22 The transition to the second person (not previously employed) suggests that this close has been appended by another hand, cp 14[20].

29[1] M ℌ *lifted up his feet.*—ℌ†. The following phrase 'went to the land of the children of the East' (ℌ as in 28[5 10]) supplies a third designation of the goal of Jacob's journey, cp 'went to Paddan-aram' (**P**), 'went toward Haran' (**J**), and is consequently ascribed to **E** as the sequel of the previous vision. 'Land of the children of the East' †, ct 25[6].

2 The narrative of Jacob's sojourn in Haran and his subsequent return to Canaan 29[2]–33 is almost entirely derived from **JE**. Only the scantiest traces of **P** survive in the record of the births of his children, and in the formula of migration which marks his departure from Paddan-aram 31[18]. The decomposition of the combined stories of **J** and **E** is sometimes matter of the utmost difficulty, as the texture is often extremely closely knit, even where it is practically certain that two sources have been united. The following analysis is therefore in many places only a probable one: the justification of it sometimes depends on considerations which must be differently estimated by different students.

J E JE J E P

was Rebekah's son: and she [f]ran and told her father. [13] And it came f 70
to pass, when Laban heard the [j]tidings of Jacob his sister's son, that
he [f]ran to meet him, and [k]embraced him, and kissed him, and brought
him to his house. And he [l]told Laban all these things. [14] And Laban
said to him, [m]Surely thou art my [n]bone and my [o]flesh. And he abode
with him the [p]space of a month[p].

[15] [N]And Laban said unto Jacob, [q]Because thou art my [i]brother, shouldest
thou therefore serve me for [r]nought? tell me, what shall thy [s]wages
be? [16] And Laban had two daughters: the name of the elder was Leah,
and the name of the [t]younger was Rachel. [17] And Leah's eyes were
[u]tender; but Rachel was [v]beautiful and well favoured. [18] And Jacob
loved Rachel; and he said, I will serve thee seven years for Rachel thy
[t]younger daughter. [19] And Laban said, It is better that I give her to
thee, than that I should give her to another man: abide with me.
[20] And Jacob served seven years for Rachel; and they [w]seemed unto
him but a [x]few days, for the love he had to her. [21] And Jacob said
unto Laban, Give me my wife, for my days are [y]fulfilled, that I may go
in unto her. [22] And Laban [z]gathered together all the [a']men of the
place, and made a feast. [23] And it came to pass in the evening, that he
took Leah his daughter, and brought her to him; and he went in
unto her.

. . . [24] [N]And Laban gave Zilpah his handmaid unto his daughter Leah for an handmaid.

[25] And it came to pass in the morning that, behold, it was Leah: and he
said to Laban, What is this thou hast done unto me? did not I serve
with thee for Rachel? wherefore then hast thou [b']beguiled me?
...[26] [N]And Laban said, It is not so [c']done in our [g]place, to give the g 65
[h]younger before the [d']firstborn. . . . h 92
. . . [27] [y]Fulfil the week of this one, and we will give thee the other also
for the service which thou shalt serve with me yet seven other years.
[28a] And Jacob did so, and [y]fulfilled her week:

[28b] [N]And he gave him Rachel his daughter to wife. [29] And Laban gave to
Rachel his daughter Bilhah his handmaid to be her handmaid.

[30] and he went in also unto Rachel, and he loved also Rachel more than
Leah, and served with him yet seven other years. . . .
[31] And Yahweh saw that Leah was hated, and he [e']opened her womb:
but Rachel was [f']barren. [32] And Leah [l]conceived, and bare a son, and she i 21
called his name Reuben: [g']for she said, Because Yahweh [M]hath looked
upon my [h']affliction; for now my husband will love me. [33] And she
[l]conceived again, and bare a son; and said, Because Yahweh [M]hath heard
that I am hated, he hath therefore given me [i']this [son] also: and she
called his name [M]Simeon. [34] And she [l]conceived again, and bare a son;
and said, Now this [j]time will my husband be [M]joined unto me, because j 62
I have borne him three sons: [k]therefore [N]was his name called Levi. k 15[b]
[35] And she [l]conceived again, and bare a son: and she said, This [j]time

j Ex 23[1] Num 14[15] Deut 2[25*]
k 33[4] 48[10*]
l 24[66]
m 26[9]
n 2[23]
o 37[27]
p ℌ=*a month of days* Num 11[20+]
q Cp 27[36] ℌ
r Ex 21[2 11] Num 11[5*]
s 31[7 41] Ruth 2[12+]
t Ct[26] ℌ
u 27[1]
v 39[6] 41[18] Deut 21[11*]
w 27[12]
x 27[44]
y 25[24]
z 42[17] Num 11[24] 21[23] Josh 24[1]
a' 26[7]
b' Josh 9[22*] cp 27[35]
c' 34[7] ℌ
d' 19[31]
e' 30[22] cp 20[18]
f' 11[30]
g' 16[13]
h' 16[11]
i' Cp 27 35[17] 44[29]

29[15] A new source seems to be introduced here, for [15] implies that Jacob has already proved himself capable in service, yet nothing so far has been said about it. The opening of this section has been suppressed by the compiler.

[24] The natural sequence of [23 25] seems interrupted by this verse, and a similar intrusion appears in [29]. The use of the term 'handmaid' (שִׁפְחָה [JE]41 ct 99) never employed by E, is a further indication of another writer. From 46[18 25] it may be inferred that P had also mentioned the gift; and these statements, therefore, are plausibly ascribed to him, their present position being due to R.

[26] The occurrence of a different term for 'younger' (ct [18]) otherwise exclusively characteristic of J makes it probable that this verse is derived from that document.

[28] The peculiar double dative here, as in [24 29] 16[18], identifies this clause with P, cp Holzinger.

[32] M ℌ *raah beonyi.*

[33a] M ℌ *shama.*—For similar explanations, specially characteristic of J, cp 3[20] 4[1 25] 5[9] 16[11] &c.

[33b] M ℌ *Shimeon.*

[34a] M From the root *lavah.*

[34b] 𝔊 Sam and 𝔖 read *she called* as in [35] 30[6 8].

J E JE J E P

will I [M]praise Yahweh: [k]therefore she called his name [M]Judah; and she
j' 30^{9}* [j']left bearing.

30^{1} [N]And when Rachel saw that she bare Jacob no children, Rachel
a 26^{14} 37^{11} Num 11^{29} [a]envied her sister; and she said unto Jacob, Give me children, or else
b Cp 48^{21} 50^{24} ℌ [b]I die. 2 And Jacob's anger was kindled against Rachel: and he said,
c 50^{19} [c]Am I in God's stead, who hath [d]withheld from thee the [e]fruit of the
d Num 22^{16} 24^{11}*
e Deut 7^{13} 28^{4} 18 53 womb[e]? 3[a] And she said, Behold my [a]maid Bilhah, go in unto her; that a 99
f 50^{23} she may bear upon my [f]knees, . . .
g 16^{2} ...3[b] and I also may [Mg]obtain children by her. 4 [N]And she gave him
Bilhah her [b]handmaid to wife: and Jacob went in unto her. 5 And b 41
Bilhah [c]conceived, and bare Jacob a son. 6 And Rachel said, [E]God hath c 21
h 15^{14} [Mh]judged me[E], and hath also [d]heard my voice, and hath given me a son: d 44^{b}
[e]therefore called she his name Dan. 7 And Bilhah Rachel's [b]handmaid e 15^{b}
[c]conceived again, and bare Jacob a second son. 8 And Rachel said, [E]With
i ℌ† [M]mighty [i]wrestlings[E] have I [M]wrestled with my sister, and have [j]prevailed:
j 32^{28} and she called his name Naphtali. 9 When Leah saw that she had [k]left
k 29^{35} bearing, she took Zilpah her [b]handmaid, and gave her to Jacob to wife.
10 And Zilpah Leah's [b]handmaid bare Jacob a son. 11 And Leah said,
[M]Fortunate! and she called his name [M]Gad. 12 And Zilpah Leah's
[b]handmaid bare Jacob a second son. 13 And Leah said, [M]Happy am I!
l ℌ† [E]for the daughters will [M]call me [l]happy[E]: and she called his name Asher.
m Ex 34^{22}* 14 And Reuben went in the days of [m]wheat harvest, and found [M]mandrakes
in the field, and brought them unto his mother Leah. Then Rachel said
to Leah, Give me, I pray thee, of thy son's mandrakes. 15 And she said
n Num 16^{13} cp 51 unto her, Is it a [n]small matter that thou hast taken away my husband?
and wouldest thou take away my son's mandrakes also? And Rachel
o 4^{15} cp 85 ℌ said, [o]Therefore he shall lie with thee to-night for thy son's mandrakes.
16 And Jacob came from the field in the evening, and Leah went out to
meet him, and said, Thou must come in unto me; for I have surely
hired thee with my son's mandrakes. And he lay with her that
night[N]. . . .
p 22 Cp 21^{17} . . .17 And God [p]hearkened unto Leah, and she [c]conceived, and bare
Jacob a fifth son. 18 And Leah said, God hath given me my [M]hire,
because I gave my [N]handmaid to my husband: and she called his name
Issachar. 19 And Leah [c]conceived again, and bare a sixth son to Jacob.
20 And Leah said, God hath [N]endowed me with a good [l]dowry, [Jf]now f 62
will my husband [M]dwell with me, because I have borne him six sons:
and she called his name Zebulun.

21 [N]*And afterwards she bare a daughter, and called her name Dinah.* 22[a] And God [g]remem- g 135
bered Rachel, . . .

29^{35a} **M** From the ℌ *hodah.*

35b **M** ℌ *Jehudah.*

30^{1} The birth-stories of Jacob's sons appear to be of mixed origin. In 29$^{31-35}$ the hand of **J** cannot be mistaken. But in 30^{1-3a} the language changes (note *Elohim* and *maid* אמה [E]99) and the marginal parallels point strongly to **E**.

3 **M** ℌ *be builded by her.*—The only other occurrence of the phrase 16^{2} makes it probable that this clause is incorporated from **J**.

4 The framework of the following recital seems to be in the main drawn from **J** cp 'handmaid' 4 7 9. 12. But the compiler has added etymologies from the parallel narrative of **E**, in which the divine name Elohim sometimes enables the source to be clearly identified. Such passages are marked with [E].

6 **M** ℌ *dan,* he judged.

8a **M** ℌ *wrestlings of God.*

8b **M** ℌ *niphtal,* he wrestled.

11a **M** ℌ *With fortune!* Another reading is *Fortune is come.*

11b **M** That is, *Fortune.*

13a **M** ℌ *With my happiness.*

13b **M** ℌ *asher,* to call happy.—This verse seems to contain two applications of the name Asher, one of which may belong to **J** and one to **E** cp 20.

14 **M** Or, *love-apples.*—Jer 24^{1} Cant 7^{13}†.

16 Wellhausen and others conjecture that **J** went on to relate the conception of Rachel by means of the love-apples. If so, the account has been set aside to make way for the record of the birth of Leah's remaining sons.

18a **M** ℌ *sachar.*

18b The word is **J**'s characteristic term *siphḥah* 4–12. Its appearance here in a passage seemingly drawn from **E**, may be due to a simple copyist's error, or to a harmonizer's touch, or to the existence—even in verses marked by the phenomena of **E**—of an underlying extract from **J** cp 6. .

20a The double play on the name Zebulun points again to combination. In the first case the allusion is not close, but 'endow,' *zabad,* and 'dowry,' *zebed,* make an obvious approach.

20b **M** ℌ *zabal,* he dwelt.—This clause is the counterpart to the preceding, and the formula 'this time' as in 29^{34}. connects it with **J**.

21 The vagueness of this statement and its difference in form have led to the conjecture that it was a note of one of the latest editors to supply the omission of any mention of Dinah.

J	E	JE	J	E	P	
		. . . [22b] and God [F]hearkened to her, . . .				
q 29[31]		. . . [22c] and [he[N]] [q]opened her womb. [23a] And she [c]conceived, and bare a son:				
r 34[14] Josh 5[9]*		. . . [23b] And [she] said, God hath [N]taken away my [r]reproach.				
		[24] and she called his name Joseph, saying, Yahweh [M]add to me another son.				
s 24[54]		[25] [N]And it came to pass, when Rachel had borne Joseph, that Jacob said unto Laban, [s]Send me away, that I may go unto mine own [h]place,				h 65
t 12[1]		and to my [t]country.				
u 29[15 18 30]		. . . [26] Give me my wives [N]*and my children* for whom I have [u]served thee,				
v 29[27 ct 29]		and let me go: for thou knowest my [v]service wherewith I have served thee.				
		[27] And Laban said unto him, If now I have [i]found favour in thine eyes[i],				i 31[2a]
w 44[5 15] cp Lev 19[26] Deut 18[10]*		[tarry: for] I have [w]divined that Yahweh hath blessed me [x]for thy sake.				
x ℌ=*because of thee* 12[13]		[28] [N]And he said, [y]Appoint me thy wages, and I will give it. . . .				
y Ct Num 1[17]*		[29] And he said unto him, Thou knowest how I have served thee, and how thy [j]cattle hath fared with me. [30] For it was [k]little which thou				j 18
		hadst before I came, and it hath [Ml]increased unto a multitude; and				k 51
		Yahweh hath [m]blessed thee [M]whithersoever I turned: and now when				l 80
		shall I provide for mine own house also? [31a] And he said, What shall				m 10[2a]
		I give thee? And Jacob said, Thou shalt not give me aught: if thou				
z Cp 26[18] ℌ		wilt do this thing for me, I will [z]again feed thy flock . . .				
a′ 35[2] Josh 24[14]		. . . [31b] [N][I will] keep it. [32] I will pass through thy flock to-day, [a′]removing				
		from thence every speckled and spotted one, and every black one among				
		the sheep, and the spotted and speckled among the goats: and [of such]				
b′ Ex 13[14] Deut 6[20]		shall be my hire. [33] So shall my righteousness answer for me [b′]hereafter,				
		when thou shalt come concerning my hire that is before thee: every one				
		that is not speckled and spotted among the goats, and black among the				
		sheep, that [if found] with me shall be counted [n]stolen.				n 117
c′ Cp 50[15] Num 22[29]		[34] And Laban said, Behold, I [c′]would it might be [o]according to thy				o 2
d′ 8[13] 41[42] Ex 8[31]		word. [35] And he [d′]removed that day the [e′]he-goats that were ringstraked				
e′ 32[15] Prov 30[31] 2 Chron 17[11]†		and spotted, and all the she-goats that were speckled and spotted, every				
		one that had white in it, and all the black ones among the sheep, and gave				
		them into the hand of his sons; [36] and he set [P]three days' journey				p 86
		betwixt himself and Jacob: and Jacob fed the rest of Laban's flocks.				
f′ 37-39 41 32[10] Num 22[27]		[37] And Jacob took him [f′]rods of fresh [M]poplar, and of the almond and of				
		the plane tree; and [l]peeled white strakes in them, and [l]made the white				
g′ 25[21] ℌ*		appear which was in the rods. [38a] And he [q]set the rods which he had				q 74
h′ 41 Ex 2[16] Cant 7[6]†		peeled [N][g′]over against the flocks] in the [h′]gutters.				

30[22c] The verb contains the subject 'he,' i e Yahweh cp 29[31].

[23b] Another case of dual explanation, 'taken away'.= ℌ *'asaph*, ct [24], the name Joseph being alternately connected with the idea of removing a reproach, or of adding another son.

[24] **M** ℌ *Joseph.*

[25] The base of the subsequent narrative seems to be derived from **J**. But occasional doublets point to the incorporation of passages from **E**. Thus [26] is a duplicate of [25] and [29a], and [28] (cp 29[15]) hardly comes from the same hand as [31]. In [32] Jacob proposes to separate the flocks, in [35] Laban does it himself.

[26] Probably an addition, as the following pronoun 'whom' is feminine (Bacon).

[28] 𝔊 𝔔 omit *and he said.*

[30a] **M** ℌ *Broken forth.*

[30b] ℌ *at my foot.*

[31b] ℌ does not contain *and.* The awkward sequence of the uncopulated verbs makes it probable that a passage from **E** is here introduced. But the attempt to combine two different representations has resulted in an obscure and perhaps partially corrupt text. One narrative obviously implies that Jacob employed a stratagem to secure the stronger flock [37 41]. But Jacob's recital 31[5–13] and his reply to Laban 31[38–42] suggest a very different view. So far is Jacob from having endeavoured to outwit Laban, that he charges him with having deceived him and changed his wages ten times 31[7] 32[41]. The intentions of Laban, however, were continually frustrated by the protection of the Elohim of Bethel 31[13], who guarded Jacob from harm in a distant land. From 31[8] it may be inferred that **E** originally contained some description of the successive arrangements between Laban and his son-in-law. But in the endeavour to combine it with **J**'s narrative of Jacob's skill it has been so abbreviated that it can no longer be recovered except in fragments. The analysis, therefore, lacks complete justification. The proposal in [31] is apparently carried out in [34], but the contrast of [35] and [32] points to diversity of source. The peculiar terminology of the flock is for the most part common to both documents. Only the differences, involving points of contact elsewhere, have been noted.

[37] **M** Or, *storax tree.*

[38] The words in brackets stand in ℌ at the end of the clause 'where the flocks came to drink,' and in the text as divided should take that position. The word 'watering troughs' is commonly regarded as an explanation of the previous term 'gutters.' Each occurs once elsewhere in the Hexateuch, and both occurrences are in **J**. The partition cannot, therefore, rest on the mere diversity of the word. But [38b] 'and they conceived' seems to be a duplicate of [39a] 'and the flocks conceived.' As the latter attaches itself to the mention of the rods in [37–38a] (**J**), [38b] must be assigned to **E**, and the parallel terms may then be regarded as drawn from different documents.

J E JE J E P

i' 24[20]† . . . [38b] in the [i']watering troughs where the flocks came to drink; and they [j']conceived when they came to drink:

j' 39 41 31[10] Deut 19[6] (=*is hot*)* [39] And the flocks [j']conceived before the [f']rods, and the flocks brought forth ringstraked, speckled, and spotted. [40a] And Jacob [k']separated the lambs,

k' Cp 2[10] [40b] and [he] set the faces of the flocks toward the ringstraked and all the black in the flock of Laban . . .

[40c] and he put his own [r]droves apart, and put them not unto Laban's flock. [41] And it came to pass, whensoever the [l']stronger of the flock did [j']conceive, that Jacob laid the [f']rods before the eyes of the flock in the [k']gutters, that they might conceive among the rods; [42] but when the flock were [m']feeble, he put them not in: so the feebler were Laban's, and the [l']stronger Jacob's. [43] And the man [l]increased exceedingly, and [n']had large flocks, and [b]maidservants and menservants, and [s]camels and asses.

l' ℌ† cp 42

m' ℌ*

n' 12[16]

r 32

s 16

31[1] [N]And he heard the words of Laban's sons, saying, Jacob hath taken away all that was our father's; and of that which was our father's hath he gotten all this [M]glory. . . .

a Cp 5 ct 1 [2] And Jacob beheld the [a]countenance of Laban, and, behold, it was not toward him as [a]beforetime.

a 169

b 48[21]* ct 13 [3] *And Yahweh said unto Jacob, Return unto the* [b]*land of thy fathers*[b]*, and to thy* [b]*kindred; and I will* [c]*be with thee.*

b 60
c 130

c 41[18] 14
d Cp 29[30] [4] And Jacob sent [c]and called [d]Rachel and Leah to the field unto his flock, [5] and said unto them, I see your father's [a]countenance, that it is not toward me as [a]beforetime; but the [d]God of my father hath [c]been with me. [6] And ye know that with all my power I have [e]served your father. [7] And your father hath [f]deceived me, and [g]changed my [h]wages ten [i]times; but God [e]suffered him not to [f]hurt me. [8] If he said thus, The [k]speckled shall be thy wages; then all the flock bear speckled: and if he said thus, The ringstraked shall be thy wages; then bare all the flock ringstraked. [9] Thus God hath [l]taken away the [r]cattle of your father, and given them to me. [10] [N]And it came to pass at the time that the flock [m]conceived, that I lifted up mine eyes, and saw in a [g]dream, and, behold, the [n]he-goats which leaped upon the flock were ringstraked, speckled, and grisled. [11] And the [h]angel of God said unto me in the [g]dream, Jacob: and I said, [i]Here am I. [12] And he said, Lift up now thine eyes, and see, all the [n]he-goats which leap upon the flock are ringstraked, speckled, and grisled: for I have seen all that Laban doeth unto thee. [13] [o]I am the God of Beth-el, where thou [p]anointedst a pillar, where thou [p]vowedst a vow unto me: now arise, get thee out from this land, and return unto the land of thy [b]nativity. [14] And Rachel and Leah answered and said unto him, Is there yet any portion or inheritance for us in our father's house? [15] Are we not counted of him [q]strangers? for he hath sold us, and hath also quite devoured [M]our money. [16] For all the [r]riches which God hath [l]taken away from our father, that is ours and our children's: now then, [s]whatsoever God hath said unto thee, do.

e 30[26]
f Ex 8[29]*
g 41 35[2] Lev 27[10]*
h 41 29[15]
i 41 ℌ†
j Cp 29 ℌ 19[7 9]
k 30[32]. . .
l 16 ct 1 ℌ
m 30[38]
n 12 ct 30[35]
o Ct 28[13] ℌ
p Cp 28[18 20]
q Ex 2[22] 18[3] 21[8]
r ℌ*
s Cp 41[55]

d 94[b]
e 118
f 18
g 101
h 97
i 104

[17] [N]Then Jacob rose up, and set his sons and his wives upon the [j]camels; [18a] and he [t]carried away all his [r]cattle.

t Ex 3[1] ℌ *al* ct 26 Pi

j 16

u 12[5] . . . [18b] and all his [k]substance which he had [k]gathered, the cattle of his [l]getting, which he had [k]gathered in [m]Paddan-aram, for to go to Isaac his father unto the [n]land of Canaan.

k 155
l 78
m 6
n 4

31[1a] The return of Jacob was doubtless narrated in all three documents. A portion of P's account survives in [18], the opening words having been lost in the process of incorporation. The remaining narrative shows the usual traces of combination. The dream [11 13] secures [4-16] to **E**, [5] carries [2] with it, and leaves [1] by contrast to **J**. The original sequel of [1] would seem to be found in [17], but as with the migration of Abraham, so here, a divine command [3] is placed before Jacob's start; as this is represented as superseding the motive for departure supplied by [1] it may belong to the compiler, whose double phrase 'land of thy fathers' and 'kindred' may be founded on the language of **E** and **J**.

[1b] **M** Or, *wealth*.

[10 12] These verses seem to be later insertions by a redactor acquainted with the narrative in 30. The proper sequel of [11] is obviously found in [13], '*the* dream' [11] may also be '*a* dream' cp [10 24] 20[3]. A reference to a previous dream would probably run 'in *my* dream' cp 40[9 16] 41[17]. The word 'grisled' is here peculiar cp Zech 6[3 6]†.

[15] **M** Or, *the price paid for us*.

[17] Assigned to **J** as the counterpart of **E**'s description of Jacob's flight [21a]. For the camels cp 30[43] 12[16] 24[35] 32[15].

J E JE J E P

19 *l* 5a*c*
v 38[12 13] ct ℌ Deut 15[19]*
w Ct 27 ℌ
x 24 25[20] 28[5]
Deut 26[5]*
y ℌ†
z 32[23]
a' 22[4] cp 11*g*[d]

b' Cp Judg 18[22] ct 25
c' 20[3]
d' 29 24[6] ℌ

e' 44[46]
f' Jer 6[3]

g' Cp Is 61[1] ℌ†

h' Cp 3[8] ℌ ct 20.

i' Ex 15[20]*
j' 4[21]
k' Cp Ex 23[11] Num 11[31] Deut 32[15]*
l' 4[8 11] 50[20] Ex 18[18] ℌ
m' 1 Sam 26[21]†
n' 42 19[34]*
o' Ps 84[2] Zeph 2[1]†
p' Cp 19 35[2 4]

q' 21[25]

r' 37 27[12]

s' Ct 18[11] ℌ
t' 44[12]*
u' Ex 17[2] cp 26[20]
v' 50[17] cp **223**
w' ℌ* cp 1 Sam 17[53]

x' 42 cp 21[25] ℌ
y' 32[14] Is 53[7] Cant 6[6]†

19 Now Laban was gone to *v*shear his sheep: and Rachel *c*stole the *M*teraphim that were her father's. 20 And Jacob *M*stole away *w*unawares to Laban the *z*Syrian, *y*in that he told him*y* not that he fled. 21 So he fled with all that he had; *N*and he rose up, and *z*passed over *M*the River, and set his face toward the mountain of Gilead.

22 And it was told Laban on the *a'*third day that Jacob was fled. 23 And he took his brethren with him, and pursued after him seven days' journey; and he *b'*overtook him in the mountain of Gilead. 24 And God *c'*came to Laban the *z*Syrian in a *g*dream of the night, and said unto him, *d'*Take heed to thyself that thou speak not to Jacob either good or bad.

25 And Laban *e'*came up with Jacob. Now Jacob had *f'*pitched his tent in the mountain: and Laban with his brethren pitched in the mountain of Gilead.

26 And Laban said to Jacob, What hast thou done, that thou hast stolen away *w*unawares to me, and *t*carried away my daughters as *g'*captives of the sword?

...27 Wherefore didst thou flee *h'*secretly, and *M*steal away from me; and didst not tell me, that I might have sent thee away with mirth and with songs, with *i'*tabret and with *j'*harp?

28 and hast not *k'*suffered me to kiss my sons and my daughters? now hast thou *l'*done *m'*foolishly. 29 *P*It is in the *N*power of my hand to *j*do you hurt: but the *d*God of your father spake unto me *n'*yesternight, saying, *d'*Take heed to thyself that thou speak not to Jacob either good or bad. 30 And now, [though] thou wouldest needs be gone, because thou sore *o'*longedst after thy father's house, [yet] wherefore hast thou stolen my *p'*gods?

31 *N*And Jacob answered and said to Laban, Because I was afraid: for I said, Lest thou shouldest *q'*take thy daughters from me by force.

. . . 32 *N*With whomsoever thou findest thy gods, he shall not live: before our brethren discern thou what is thine with me, and take it to thee. For Jacob knew not that Rachel had stolen them. 33 And Laban went into Jacob's tent, and into Leah's tent, and into the tent of the two *q*maidservants; but he found them not. And he went out of Leah's tent, and entered into Rachel's tent. 34 Now Rachel had taken the teraphim, and put them in the *j*camel's *y*furniture, and sat upon them. And Laban *r'*felt about all the tent, but found them not. 35 And she said to her father, Let not my *r*lord be angry that I cannot rise up before thee; for the *s'*manner of women is upon me. And he *t'*searched, but found not the teraphim. 36 And Jacob was wroth, and *w'*chode with Laban: and Jacob answered and said to Laban, What is my *v'*trespass? what is my sin, that thou hast *w'*hotly pursued after me? 37 Whereas thou hast *r'*felt about all my stuff, what hast thou found of all thy household stuff? Set it here before my brethren and thy brethren, that they may *x'*judge betwixt us two. 38 This twenty years have I been with thee; thy *v'*ewes and thy she-goats have not *s*cast their young, and the rams

o 11*7*

p 8*4*

q 4*1*

r 56*a*

s 9*8*

31[19a] The story of the theft of the teraphim [19–42], and the associated flight, is mainly from **E** cp [24 29. 42]. But some verses still remain doubtful. [21] is a parallel to [17]; [23b] is hardly from the same writer as [25a]; while [27] supplies a doublet to [26]. The want of close connexion between [31] and [32] is explained if [31] is the answer to [27] cp [32N].

[19b] **M** See [30 34] Judg 17[5] 1 Sam 19[13] and Hos 3[4].

[20] **M** ℌ *Stole the heart of Laban the Aramean.*

[21a] Holzinger finds a gap between 'he fled' and 'he rose up,' and he ascribes the latter clause to **J** as the doublet of [17]. But reasons have been offered for connecting [17] with **J**, and the sequence in [21] resembles that in 24[10] 'he departed . . . and rose up,' so that it seems needless to divide the verse.

[21b] **M** That is, the Euphrates.—As the distance from the Euphrates to Gilead is much more than a seven-days' march [23], and the extant passages of **E** do not assign Laban's home to Haran, it is possible that **E** placed it nearer to Gilead, and that the clause 'and he rose up and passed over the River' is incorporated by the compiler from **J** (cp Dillmann, who suggests as an alternative that 'the River' denotes some other stream. But this is less probable than that the narrator underestimated the required time). For the usage of the word cp 36[37] (**J**) and Ex 23[31] (**E**).

[27] **M** ℌ *didst steal me.*—𝔊 omits, and inserts the preceding words of [27] in [26]. [29] ℌ *the El.* Cp Deut 28[32] Mic 2[1] Prov 3[27].

[31] Apparently the answer to [27] cp notes to [19] and [32]: on the other hand גזל only occurs in Gen in **E**. But cp Lev 19[13] 6[4] Deut 28[29].

[32] The abruptness of the transition is implied in the mitigating endeavours of the versions, 𝔊 having *καὶ εἶπεν Ἰακώβ*, 𝔏 *quod autem furti me arguis.* 𝔊 may represent an original reading, a survival of more words lost in compilation.

J	E	JE	J	E	P	
		of thy flocks have I not eaten. [39] That which was [z']torn of beasts I brought not unto thee; I bare the loss of it; of my hand didst thou [a''] require it, whether stolen by day or stolen by night. [40] Thus I was; in the day the [b''] drought consumed me, and the [b''] frost by night; and my sleep [b''] fled from mine eyes. [41] These twenty years have I been in thy house; I [c''] served thee fourteen years for thy two daughters, and six years for thy flock: and thou hast [g] changed my wages ten times. [42] [d''] Except the [d] God of my father, the God of Abraham, and the [e''] Fear of Isaac, had [c] been with me, [f''] surely now hadst thou sent me away [g''] empty. God hath [h''] seen mine affliction and the [b''] labour of my hands, and [x'] rebuked thee [n'] yesternight.				
		[43] [N] And Laban answered and said unto Jacob, The daughters are my daughters, and the children are my children, and the flocks are my flocks, and all that thou seest is mine: and what can I do this day unto these my daughters, or unto their children which they have borne? [44] And now come, let us make a covenant, I and thou; [. . . .] [N] and let it be for a [i''] witness between me and thee.				
		[45] [L] And Jacob [j''] took a stone, and set it up for a pillar.				
		[46] And Jacob said unto his brethren, [k''] Gather stones; and they took stones, and made an [l''] heap: and they did eat there by the heap.				
		[47] And Laban [N] called it [M] Jegar-sahadutha: but Jacob called it [M] Galeed.				
		[48] And Laban said, This heap is witness between me and thee this day. [t] Therefore was the name of it called Galeed: [49] [N] and [M] Mizpah, for he said, Yahweh [b''] watch between me and thee, when we are [M m''] absent one from another.				t 15[b]
		[50] [N] If thou shalt [n''] afflict my daughters, and if thou shalt [u] take wives beside my daughters, no man is with us; [o''] see, God is witness betwixt me and thee.				u 82
		[51] [L] And Laban said to Jacob, Behold this heap, and behold the pillar, which I have [p''] set betwixt me and thee. [52] This heap be witness, and the pillar be witness, that I will not pass over this heap to thee, and that thou shalt not pass over this heap and this pillar unto me, [q''] for harm. [53] [L] The God of Abraham, and the God of Nahor, the [M] God of their father, [r''] judge betwixt us. And Jacob sware by the [e''] Fear of his father Isaac. [54] And Jacob [s''] offered a sacrifice in the mountain, and called his brethren to eat bread: and they did eat bread, and tarried all night in the mountain.				
		[55] [M] And early in the morning Laban rose up, and [t''] kissed his sons and his daughters, and blessed them: and Laban departed, and returned unto his place. **32**[1] And Jacob went on his way, and the [a] angels of God				a 97

z' Ex 22[13 31]
a'' 43[9]
b'' ℌ*
c'' 29[18 27].
d'' 43[10] Deut 32[27]*
e'' 53 ℌ†
f'' 43[10] Num 22[29]
g'' Ex 3[21] 23[15]
h'' Ct 29[32]
i'' Cp 21[30]
45 51. L5g*e*
j'' 28[18]
k'' Ex 16[4] Num 11[8] cp 47[14] Pi
l'' 48 51. Josh 7[26] 8[29]*
m'' 4[14]
n'' 16[6]
o'' 27[27] 39[14] 41[41]
p'' Job 38[6]
q'' Deut 29[21]*
53 L5a
r'' 16[5]
s'' 46[1] cp 20[2]
t'' Cp 28

31[43] In [43] Laban replies to the expression of Jacob's fear [31] by the assertion of his paternal rights over his daughters. But the claim is only mentioned as the preface to its surrender by a covenant. The following passage [44–54] describes the agreement, but is much confused in the present text which seems in some verses to be corrupt, as variations in 𝔊 also indicate. This is mainly the result of the interlacing of two accounts, each narrating the oath between Laban and Jacob, [48]. . and [51]. . being apparently duplicates. Each story connects the name of Galeed (e g Gilead) with the incident, interpreted as 'heap of witness.' In each story, then, there is a 'heap,' but **E** with his love of sacred stones appears to attribute to Jacob the erection of a pillar also. The heap or cairn in [46] is presumably reared by Laban not Jacob, as the 'brethren' [46] are Laban's kinsmen who had accompanied him in his pursuit [25]. The harmonist, finding the 'pillar' standing without further notice, seems to have introduced it into the extract from **E** [51]..

[44] It is probable that some words have here dropped out. The want of concord between 'covenant' (fem) and 'let it be' (masc) is not indeed conclusive, as this is not uncommon in Hebrew grammar; it is more important to notice that the temporary act of making a covenant could not be a permanent 'witness.' For that some visible object was needed, and the verse may have contained Laban's proposal 'let us make an heap,' cp [46 48].

[47a] This verse may possibly have originally contained **E**'s statement (the counterpart of [45]) 'And Laban raised a heap and called it . . .'

[47b] **M** That is, *The heap of witness*, in Aramaic.

[47c] **M** That is, *The heap of witness*, in Hebrew.

[49a] Galeed is probably intended to suggest Gilead. A later reviser, desirous apparently to connect the well-known Mizpah in Gilead with this incident, adds a further explanation of that name. But the proper name with the definite article 'the Mizpah' at once excites suspicion. It has been conjectured that it may have crept into the story through accidental confusion with the 'pillar' or *maṣṣēbha* [45], as Sam actually reads.

[49b] **M** That is, *The Watch-tower*. [49c] **M** ℌ *hidden*.

[50] The sequel of Laban's words in [48a]. The last clause, 'See, God is witness' &c cp [48], is omitted by 𝔊 which then leaves out [51–52a] and continues 'I will not pass over this heap' &c. In [51]. the mixed text can hardly be resolved into its constituents, but the language of [53] cp [42] renders it likely that the basis is derived from **E**.

[53] **M** Or, *gods*.—The clause in small type is omitted by 𝔊 and some ℌ codd, and has been rejected as a gloss by a long series of crities, including Kennicott, Houbigant, Olshausen, Wellhausen, and Dillmann. For a discussion of the process by which the verse may have acquired its present form, cp Geiger, *Urschrift* 284.

[55] **M** ℌ 32[1].

J E JE J E P

met him. [2] And Jacob said when he saw them, This is God's [N]host: and he called the name of that place [M]Mahanaim.

a Num 20[14] 21[21] ‖ Deut 2[26] 22[5] Josh 7[22]* b 33[14] 16 c Cp 14[7] 36[35] d Cp 24[56] 34[19] e 12[16]

. . . [3] [N]And Jacob sent [a]messengers before him to Esau his brother unto the land of [b]Seir, [N]the [c]field of Edom. [4] And he commanded them, saying, Thus shall ye say unto my [b]lord Esau, Thus saith thy [c]servant Jacob, I have [d]sojourned with Laban, and [d]stayed until now: [5] and I have [e]oxen, and asses [and] flocks, and menservants and [d]maidservants: and I have sent to tell my [b]lord, that I may [e]find grace in thy sight. [6] And the messengers returned to Jacob, saying, We came to thy brother Esau, and moreover he cometh to meet thee, and [f]four hundred men with him. [7] Then Jacob was greatly afraid and was [g]distressed:

b 56[a] c 73 d 41 e 31[a]

f 33[1] g 1 Sam 30[6] 2 Sam 13[2] h 33[1] Judg 7[16]

[N]and he [h]divided the people that was with him, and the [f]flocks, and the herds, and the [g]camels, into two companies; [8] and he said, if Esau come to the one company, and smite it, then the company which is left shall [i]escape. [9] And Jacob said, O God of [j]my father Abraham, and God of my father Isaac, O Yahweh, which saidst unto me, [k]Return unto thy [l]country, and to thy [k]kindred, and I will [l]do thee good: [10] [M]I [m]am not worthy of the least of all the [j]mercies, and of all the truth, which thou hast shewed unto thy [c]servant; for with my [n]staff I passed over this Jordan; and now I am become two companies. [11] [o]Deliver me, I pray thee, from the hand of my brother, from the hand of Esau: for I fear him, lest he come and smite me, the [p]mother with the children. [12] And thou saidst, I will surely [l]do thee good, and [q]make thy seed as the [r]sand of the sea, which cannot be numbered for multitude.

f 33 g 16

i Cp 45[7] Ex 10[5] ℌ* j 28[13] ct 31[42] k 31[3] l 12[1] m Cp 2 Sam 7[19] Am 8[5] ℌ n 30[37] o 37[21] Ex 2[19] *al* p Cp Hos 10[14] q 13[16] r 22[17]

h 60 i 38 j 57[ab]

[13a] [N]And he lodged there that night;

[13b] [N]and [he] took of that which he [s]had with him a [t]present for Esau his brother; [14] two hundred she-goats and twenty [u]he-goats, two hundred [v]ewes and twenty rams, [15] thirty [w]milch [g]camels and their colts, forty kine and ten bulls, twenty she-asses and ten [x]foals. [16] And he [y]delivered them into the hand of his servants, every [z]drove by itself; and said unto his servants, [a']Pass over before me, and put a [b']space betwixt drove and drove. [17] And he commanded the foremost, saying, When Esau my brother [c']meeteth thee, and asketh thee, saying, Whose art thou? and [d']whither goest thou? and whose are these before thee? then thou shalt say, [18] [They be] thy [c]servant Jacob's; it is a [t]present

s Cp 35[4] ℌ t 18 33[10] 4[3] u 30[35] v 31[38] w cp 24[59] Ex 2[7] ℌ x 49[11]* y ℌ=*gave* 30[35] 39[4] 22 z ℌ=*flock* 29[2] a' [21] 33[3] 14 b' Esth 4[14]† c' 33[8] Ex 4[24] 27* d' 16[8]

32[2a] ℌ *Mahaneh*, i e camp, host, or company.

[2b] **M** That is, *hosts*, or, *companies*.—Opinion is divided as to the precise significance of the name. It is apparently in the dual, and is so understood here by Dillmann, who finds a reference to the company (or camp) of angels and the company of Jacob with his family and flocks cp 50[9]. Another allusion to the dual form seems to lurk in the 'two companies' of [7] and [10], which must be ascribed, therefore, to a different hand. Wellhausen, however, *Composition des Hexateuchs* (1889) 45 [433], gives reasons for regarding Mahanaim as a singular with an Aramaizing termination, understood by **E** but misinterpreted by **J**.

[3a] As **J** and **E** both narrated the estrangement of the brothers, Jacob's flight to his Aramean kindred, and his return, it is not unnatural to expect that they will both relate his reconciliation with Esau who has already taken up his position in the South. In this view they differ from **P** which contains no hint of fraternal discord, and places the separation of Esau and Jacob much later 36[6]. The basis of the account in 32–33 seems to be derived from **J** cp 32[9–12] and parallels to 32[4. 19. 24]., 'two companies' [7 10] ct [2] &c. But occasional incongruities imply the amalgamation of other material cp [13 22. 30] 33[10]., which may be, therefore, assigned to **E**.

[3b] The duplicate designation may be drawn from the other narrative, or may be simply a reviser's addition.

[7] This passage bears various marks of distinct origin. The prayer of Jacob [9–12] with its citation of a previous divine monition [9] cp 31[3] seems in [12] to depend on 22[17], and resembles other expanded utterances with which the older narrative was adorned as it underwent successive revisions. But the allusion to 'two companies' in [10] carries with it at least [7b 8] which seem to be an independent reference to the name Mahanaim. Of this division nothing is said further, for the 'company' in 33[8] consists of Jacob's intended gift: it interrupts the connexion between Jacob's alarm [7a] and the selection of the present [13b] by which he hopes to appease Esau [20]: and it was perhaps suggested by the 'division' of his wives and children 33[1]. Further, the situation of Jacob seems conceived differently from that of the context. In [22] he crosses the Jabbok, but in [10] he is apparently placed on the bank of the Jordan.

[10] **M** ℌ *I am less than all, &c.*

[13a] This statement seems a doublet of [21b], and both are hardly from the same source. But [21b] is closely connected with the context ('he himself' contrasted with 'the present'): on the other hand the statement of the text 'he lodged there' has no assignable geographical meaning except at the place last named, viz Mahanaim [2]; it is therefore attributed to **E**. In the original narrative of **J**, the alarm of Jacob on hearing of Esau's approach [7a] was immediately followed by a corresponding precautionary measure, the selection of the propitiatory present [13b], which is at once sent on in front [21].

[13b] Critics of divers schools, Dillmann and Kittel, Wellhausen, Kuenen, Cornill, Ball, and Holzinger, agree in assigning [13b–21] to **E**, partly because of the duplicates in [13a 21b], partly because [21] apparently recognizes only one company, ct [7] (so Dillmann; Wellhausen takes another view of the *Mahaneh*). But the language of [13b–21] has strong Yahwistic affinities; [13a] can be as conveniently assigned to **E** as [21b]; the joint family in [22] belongs to the earlier stage of **J** and the view that [7–11] is a later expansion is thus confirmed. Moreover [13b–21] is closely associated with 33[8–10] which also bears various traces of **J**. The analysis, therefore, adopts the view of Bacon.

J E JE J E P

sent unto my [b]lord Esau: and, behold, he also is behind us. 19 And he commanded [k]also the second, and the third, and all that followed the [z]droves, saying, [l]On this manner shall ye speak unto Esau, when ye find him; 20 and ye shall say, Moreover, behold, thy [c]servant Jacob is behind us. For he said, I will [e']appease him with the [t]present that goeth before me, and afterward I will see his face; [m]peradventure he will [f']accept me. 21 So the [t]present passed over before him: and he himself lodged that night in the company.

22[a] And he [g']rose up that night, and took his two wives, and his two [d]handmaids, and his eleven children,

. . . 23[a] [N]And he took them, 22[b] and [h']passed over the ford of [i']Jabbok, 23[c] and sent over that he had.

23[b] and sent them over the stream. 24 [N]And Jacob was [j']left alone; and there [k']wrestled a man with him until the [l']breaking of the day. 25 And when he saw that he prevailed not against him, he touched the hollow of his thigh; and the hollow of Jacob's thigh was [m']strained, as he [k']wrestled with him. 26 And he said, Let me go, for the day [l']breaketh. And he said, I will not let thee go, except thou bless me. 27 And he said unto him, What is thy name? And he said, Jacob. 28 And he said, Thy name shall be [n']called no more Jacob, but [N]Israel: for [N]thou hast [N]striven with God and with men, and hast [o']prevailed. 29 And Jacob asked him, and said, Tell me, I pray thee, thy name. And he said, [n]Wherefore is it that thou dost ask after my name? And he blessed him there.

. . . 30 [N]And Jacob called the name of the place [N]Peniel: for, [said he,] I have seen God [p']face to face, and my life is [q']preserved. . . .

31 And the sun [r']rose upon him as he passed over Penuel, and he [s']halted upon his thigh. 32 [o]Therefore the children of Israel eat not the [t']sinew of the [k']hip which is upon the hollow of the thigh, unto this day: [N]*because he touched the hollow of Jacob's thigh in the sinew of the hip.*

33[1] [N]And Jacob [a]lifted up his eyes, and [a]looked, and, behold, Esau came, and with him [b]four hundred men. And he [c]divided the children unto Leah, and unto Rachel, and unto the two [b]handmaids. 2 And he put the [b]handmaids and their children foremost, and Leah and her children after, and Rachel and Joseph hindermost. 3 And he himself [d]passed over before them, and [e]bowed himself to the ground seven times, until he [e]came near to his brother. 4 And Esau [d]ran to [f]meet him, and [g]embraced him, and [e]fell on his neck, and [g]kissed him: and they wept. 5 And he [a]lifted up his eyes, and saw the women and the children; and said, Who are these with thee? And he said, The children which [N]God hath [h]graciously given thy [f]servant. 6 Then the [b]handmaids

k 11
l 2
m 64
n 89[b]
o 85
a 55
b 41
c 12[a]
d 70
e 28
f 73

e' ℌ=*cover his face* ct 20[16] ℌ and [P]25
f' 19[21]
g' Cp 31[17]
h' 31[21]
i' Num 21[24]
j' 44[20]
k' ℌ†
l' 19[15] ℌ
m' Num 25[4] Hiph*
n' ℌ=*said* 22[14]
o' 30[8] Hos 12[4]
p' Ex 33[11] cp Num 12[8] Deut 34[10]
q' Ct 11 ℌ
r' Ex 22[3] Deut 33[2]*
s' Mic 4[6]. Zeph 3[19]†
t' ℌ*
a 13[10]
b 32[6]
c 32[7]
d 14 32[16]
e 6. 18[23]
f 18[2] 24[17]
g 29[13]
h 11 43[29] Cp Ex 33[19]

32[23a] In 22. there seems to be a confusion arising from the intertwining of two strands of narrative. The text in *RV* runs thus:—

> 22 'And he rose up that night, and took his two wives, and his two handmaids, and his eleven children, and passed over the ford of Jabbok. 23 And he took them, and sent them over the stream, and sent over that he had.'

As the narrative in 24 31 implies that Jacob remained on the right bank of the Jabbok till the next morning, the statement that he crossed the ford 22[b] cannot be ascribed to the author of 24–31. On the other hand, the reference to his despatch of the family over the stream 23[b] harmonizes completely with 24. The repetition 'and he took' in 22 23 points to similar union of duplicates; a probable rearrangement of the fragments is offered in the text. The verb 'sent over' in each passage is derived from 'passed over.'

24 Dillmann alone ascribes this narrative to **E**, though Holzinger attributes 29 to that source on the ground that the refusal to declare the name suits **E**'s design, according to which it was first revealed to Moses. The story is doubtless condensed.

28[a] **M** That is, *He who striveth with God*, or, *God striveth.*

28[b] **M** 𝔊 and 𝔔 have, *Thou hast had power with God, and thou shalt prevail against men.*

28[c] **M** Or, *had power with.*—Hos 12[4]†.

30[a] This verse seems to belong to **E**, and was probably the explanatory conclusion of a narrative of a theophany at Peniel, called by **J** in 31 Penuel. In 33[10] there is another reference to the elements of the name. Ball corrects to Penuel with some MSS, Sam 𝔖 𝔔, and ascribes the verse to **J**.

30[b] **M** That is, *The face of God.*

32 Probably a later explanation of the previous statement, which seems quite in the manner of **J**, though he is not generally concerned with such ritual detail.

33[1] The account of the meeting of Jacob and Esau is the sequel of 32[6] and seems due to **J**. But elements from **E** have been detected by some critics in 5 11. The possibility of such incorporation cannot, of course, be denied, but the linguistic usage makes against it.

5 The occurrence of the name 'Elohim' in 5 and 11 at first sight suggests the assimilation of material from **E**. But **J** also uses this name (cp 32[28]) especially in connexion with those who are (or are supposed to be) outside the chosen line cp 3[1] 43[29] 44[16]. In the present passage the play on the name Peniel

J E JE J E P

i Cp 3 [e]came near, they and their children, and they [f]bowed themselves. [7] And Leah also and her children came near, and bowed themselves: and after came Joseph near and Rachel, and they bowed themselves. [8] And he
j Cp 32[21] said, What meanest thou by all this [j]company which I [k]met? And
k 32[17] he said, To [g]find grace in the sight of my [h]lord. [9] And Esau said, g 31[a]
I [i]have enough; my brother, let that thou hast be thine. [10] And Jacob h 56[a]
said, Nay, I pray thee, if now I have [g]found grace in thy sight, then i 84
l 32[13] receive my [l]present at my hand: [MJ]forasmuch as I have seen thy face, j 35
as one seeth the face of God, and thou wast pleased with me. [11] Take,
I pray thee, my [M]gift that is brought to thee; because God hath [h]dealt
m 19[3] graciously with me, and because I [i]have [M]enough. And he [m]urged him,
n Cp 12[9] and he took it. [12] [N]And he said, Let us take our [n]journey, and let us go,
o Num 22[32] Josh 5[13] ℌ* and I will go [o]before thee. [13] And he said unto him, My [h]lord knoweth
p 18[7] that the children are [p]tender, and that the [k]flocks and herds with me k 32
q ℌ* give suck: and if they [q]overdrive them one day, all the flocks will die.
[14] Let my [h]lord, I pray thee, pass over before his [f]servant: and I will
r Hithpa† cp 47[17] Ex 15[13]* [r]lead on [q]softly, according to the pace of the [s]cattle that is before me and
s Ct 2[2]. ℌ = *work* cp Ex 22[8 11] according to the pace of the children, until I come unto my [h]lord unto
1 Sam 15[9] [t]Seir. [15] And Esau said, Let me now [l]leave with thee some of the folk l 74
t 16[6] 32[3] that are with me. And he said, [m]What needeth it? let me [g]find grace m 89[b]
in the sight of my [h]lord. [16] So Esau returned that day on his way unto
u Cp 27[15] [s]Seir. [17] And Jacob journeyed to Succoth, and built him an [u]house, and
made booths for his [n]cattle: [o]therefore the name of the place is called n 18
[N]Succoth. o 15[b]

[18a] And Jacob came [T]to Shalem.

v Ct 12[6] [18b] [N][And Jacob came] to the [v]city of Shechem, which is in the [P]land of Canaan, when he came from [q]Paddan-aram. P 4 q 6

w 26[17] *x* Josh 24[32] [18c] and [w]encamped before the city. [19] [N]And he [x]bought the parcel of ground, where he had spread his tent, at the hand of the children of Hamor, Shechem's father, for an hundred [M]pieces of money. [20] [Y]And he erected there an [N]altar, and called it [M]El-elohe-Israel.

a 30[21] 34[1] [N]And [a]Dinah the daughter of Leah, which she bare unto Jacob, went out to see

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'face of God' in [10] has perhaps helped to determine the selection. In other respects the phraseology is markedly in favour of **J**, cp 'thy servant' [5], 'graciously given' [5] = 'dealt graciously' [11] ℌ cp 'find grace' [10], 'I have (יש) enough' [9 11], 'urged' [11] cp 19[3 9]*. These parallels seem to outweigh the apparent indications of a doublet in [10 11] 'present,' 'blessing.'

33[10] **M** Or, *for therefore have I seen.*

[11a] **M** ℌ *blessing.* [11b] **M** ℌ *all.*

[12] The narrative apparently represents Jacob as intending to visit Esau [12–14]. This is plainly inconsistent with the situation implied in 32[10], and Holzinger therefore ascribes [12–14] to **E**. But the linguistic usage does not favour this, and the difficulty is overcome by the recognition of the secondary character of 32[9–12]. In [17], however, Jacob's journey to Seir is stopped at Succoth, but there seems no indication of change of narrator. It may be inferred, therefore, that the Trans-jordanic Succoth was meant. With the reference to the house cp **J** in 27[15]. Nothing appears to have been preserved from **J** or **E** concerning Jacob's passage of the Jordan and advance into middle Canaan, any more than in the case of Abraham 12[6].

[17] **M** That is, *Booths.*

[18a] So **M** (with 𝔊). **T** *in peace.* Wellh *Comp* 316[1] proposes 'to Shechem': Ball corrects to בשלום 28[21].

[18b] The following statement seems to be the continuation of **P**'s narrative of Jacob's migration begun in 31[18]. The analogy of 12[5] suggests that the extract in the text began, 'And Jacob came.'

[19] The reference to this purchase in Josh 24[32] seems decisive for the ascription to **E**. But the purchase implies the previous encampment, and the migratory movement of which it was the close. The description of Hamor as 'Shechem's father' is probably an editorial preparation for the narrative in 34.

[19b] **M** ℌ *Kesitah.*—Josh 24[32] Job 42[11]†.

[20a] The verb here employed is not the usual term for building an altar (מובח), but it is employed for setting up a sacred pillar (מצבה) cp 35[14 20]. Wellhausen accordingly proposes to read 'pillar' in this passage. On **E**'s pillars, cp *Introd* XII 2[5] i p 114. For the sacred stone at Shechem cp Josh 24[26].

[20b] **M** That is, *God, the God of Israel.*

34[1] Two narratives seem to be blended here. In the first the chief actors are Shechem on the one part [11], and Simeon and Levi on the other [30]; in the second Shechem recedes behind his father Hamor [4 6 13], and the whole of the sons of Jacob move together [13]. The first story relates the violation of Dinah (her marriage) and the subsequent vengeance inflicted on Shechem by her two brothers. The second describes Shechem's honourable love for her, the proposals made by his father, the counter-conditions of intertribal communion demanded by the sons of Jacob, the massacre of the men, the capture of the women, children, and cattle, and the plunder of the city. The linguistic affinities of the first story clearly connect it with **J**, and it is supposed to contain the account of a transaction obscurely indicated in 49[5–7]. Equally clearly do various marks in the second story bring it within the scope of **P**. But it is so different in kind from **P**'s other narratives of the patriarchal age, e g 17 and 23, as to make it highly improbable that it ever belonged to the *Tol[e]dhoth*-book. The description of the spoiling of the city [27–29] strongly recalls that of the Midianites in Num 31, which is of a secondary character. But other features suggest the possibility that older material

J	JE	E	P	
b 27[46]			the [b]daughters of the land. [2a] And Shechem the son of Hamor the Hivite, the [a]prince of the land, saw her;	a 131
2b. . J L1j*af*	. . . [2b] [L]And he took her, [N]and [b]lay with her, and [c]humbled her. [3a] And his soul [d]clave unto Dinah the daughter of Jacob,			b 175
c Deut 21[14] cp 2 Sam 13[12 14] *d* 2[24]				
e Cp JE18o *f* Cp JE235 *g* 50[21]*			[3b] and he [e]loved the [f]damsel.	
	[3c] and [he] [g]spake [N]kindly unto the [c]damsel.			c 235
h Cp JE234 *i* Cp P167			[4] And Shechem spake unto his father Hamor, saying, Get me this [h]damsel to wife.	
	[5] Now Jacob heard that he had [i]defiled Dinah his daughter; and his sons were with his [d]cattle in the field: and Jacob [j]held his peace until they came.			d 18
j 24[21]				
k 8 20 ℌ=*speak*			[6] And Hamor the father of Shechem went out unto [N]Jacob to [k]commune with him.	
	[7] And the sons of Jacob came in from the field when they heard it: and the men were [e]grieved, and they were very [f]wroth, because he had wrought [l]folly in Israel in [b]lying with Jacob's daughter; which thing [m]ought not to be done.			e 79 f 233
l Deut 22[21] Judg 20[6 10] 2 Sam 13[12] cp Josh 7[15] *m* 20[9] cp 29[26]				
n Cp 17[3] ℌ=*talked*			[8] And Hamor [g]communed [n]with them, saying, The soul of my son Shechem longeth for your daughter: [o]I pray you give her unto him to wife. [9] [L]And make ye [p]marriages with us; give your daughters unto us, and take our daughters unto you. [10] And ye shall dwell with us: and the land shall be [q]before you; dwell and [r]trade ye therein, and get you [h]possessions therein.	g 185 h 127[a]
o Cp JE186 9. . P 15e*i* *p* Deut 7[3] Josh 23[12]*				
q Cp 21 13[9] *r* 37[28] 42[34] cp 23[16]				
	...[11] And Shechem said unto her father and unto her brethren, Let me [i]find grace in your eyes, and what ye shall say unto me I will give.			i 31[a]
s Ex 22[16] 1 Sam 18[25]† *t* Num 18[11]* cp 25[6]			[12] [N]Ask me never so much [s]dowry and [t]gift, and I will give according as ye shall say unto me: but give me the [f]damsel to wife. [13] And the sons of Jacob answered Shechem and Hamor his father with [u]guile, and spake, [N]*because he had defiled Dinah their sister,* [14] and said unto them, We cannot [v]do this thing, to give our sister to one that is [j]uncircumcised; for that	j 166
u 27[35]*				
v Cp JE146				
w 30[23b] *x* 15 22. 2 Kings 12[8]† *y* ct Ex 34[16] Deut 7[3]			were a [w]reproach unto us: [15] only on this condition will we [x]consent unto you: if ye will be as we be, that [k]every male of you be [l]circumcised; [16] then will we give our [y]daughters unto you, and we will take your daughters to us,	k 107[c] l 40

may lie at the basis of this account. The language shows many points of contact with **JE** unknown elsewhere in the *Tol*[e]*dhoth*-book. It is the view of Wellhausen, Cornill, Bacon, and Holzinger, for example, that this earlier story was derived from **E**. This question cannot, however, be decided with certainty. The allusion to an Amorite conquest in 48[22] does not seem in any way related to the story of the wooing of Dinah and the massacre at Shechem, nor does the context in **E** 33[20] 35[1] provide an appropriate place for it (cp Dillmann). On the other hand, similar linguistic phenomena in the use of phrases of both types **JE** and **P** have been already observed in 14, and will be noted hereafter in Num 31··. The analysis, therefore, does not attempt to go behind the form in which the second narrative has been combined with **J**. As the interlacing is very close, the assignment of some passages must be doubtful.

34[2b] The peculiar accusative here (if the Masoretic punctuation is correct) differing from **J**'s usage, and assimilated to **P**'s (Lev 15[18 24] Num 5[13 19]), seems to indicate the hand of **R**.

[3c] **M** ℌ *To the heart of the damsel.*

[6] Comparison with [8] and [13] suggests that the original ran '*the sons of Jacob* to commune with *them*.' Other passages may have undergone similar manipulation, the harmonizing process being carried on quite late, as occasional touches in ℌ may also imply.

[12] The language of [11] implies compensation for the outrage on Dinah, but that of [12] is the urgency of a genuine wooer, and the verse is therefore assigned to the second story. From [13] it may be supposed that Shechem had not left his suit entirely in the hands of his father [6 8].

[13] Probably a harmonizer's touch cp [27]. This form of the story does not seem to have related any violation of Dinah.

J	JE	E	P	
			and we will dwell with you, and we will [m]become one people. [17] But if ye will not hearken unto us, to be circumcised; then will we take our daughter, and we will be gone. [18] And their words [s]pleased Hamor, and Shechem Hamor's son.	m 27
[z] 41[37] 45[16] Deut 1[23] cp Lev 10[19] Josh 22[30] 33	...[19] And the young man [a']deferred not to [n]do the thing, because he had [b']delight in Jacob's daughter: and he was [o]honoured above all the [p]house of his father. . . .[N]			n 146 o 78 p 153
[c'] 15[16]			[20] And Hamor and Shechem his son came unto the gate of their city, and [q]communed with the men of their city, saying, [21] These men are [c']peaceable with us; therefore let them dwell in the land, and [r]trade therein; for, behold, the land is large enough [q]for them; let us take their daughters to us for wives, and let us give them our daughters. [22] Only on this condition will the men [x]consent unto us to dwell with us, to become one people, if every male among us be circumcised, as they are [d']circumcised.	
[d'] 17[26]				
[e'] Cp 5			[23] Shall not their [e']cattle and their [q]substance and all their beasts be ours? only let us [x]consent unto them, and they will dwell with us.	q 78
[f'] 23[10] 18			[24] And unto Hamor and unto Shechem his son hearkened [f']all that went out of the gate of his city; and every male was circumcised, all that went out of the gate of his city. [25] And it came to pass on the third day, when they were [g']sore, that [N]*two of* the sons of Jacob, *Simeon and Levi, Dinah's brethren*, took each man his sword, and came upon the city [M]unawares, and [h']slew [k]all the males.	r 210 s 150
[g'] ℌ* cp Ex 3[7] ℌ*				
[h'] Num 31[7] cp [JE]210				
	[26] And they [r]slew *Hamor and* Shechem *his son* with the [s]edge of the sword, and took Dinah out of Shechem's house, and went forth.			
			[27] [N]*The sons of Jacob came upon the slain*, and spoiled the city, *because they had defiled their sister.* [28] They took their [i']flocks and their herds and their asses, and that which was in the city, and that which was in the field; [29a] and all their [j']wealth, and all their [k']little ones and their wives, [j']took they captive and [j']spoiled.	
[i'] Cp [JE]33				
[j'] Num 31[9]				
[k'] Num 31[9] cp [JE]52[a]				
[l'] cp 26	...[29b] [N]and all that was in the [l']house. [30] And Jacob said to Simeon and Levi, Ye have [m']troubled me, to make me to [n']stink among the inhabitants of the land, *among the* [o']*Canaanites and the Perizzites*: and, I being [p']few in number, they will [q']gather themselves together against me and smite me; and I shall be [r']destroyed, I and my house. [31] And they said, Should he deal with our sister as with an [s']harlot?			
[m'] Josh 6[18] 7[25]*				
[n'] Ex 5[21]*				
[o'] 13[7]				
[p'] Deut 4[27]				
[q'] 29[3]				
[r'] Cp [D]34[b]				
[s'] 38[15]				
[a] 28[17].. [1] [L]Iod[g]		35[1] And God said unto Jacob, [a]Arise, go up to [a]Beth-el, and dwell there: [L]and [b]make there an altar unto God, [Nb]who appeared unto thee		a 128
[b] Cp 12[7] ℌ				b 137

34[19] The marriage of Shechem must have followed, as in [26] Dinah is carried off by her brothers from his house.

[25a] It can hardly be supposed that Simeon and Levi accomplished the entire slaughter themselves. The subject is rather the *B^{e}nê Jacob* [13], and the insertion of the two names is probably due to the compiler, who has adopted them from J cp [30].

[25b] **M** Or, *boldly*.

[27] The peculiar style of the opening phrase, and the allusion in [b] cp [13b], seem to indicate the activity of the compiler. The natural sequel of the slaughter of the males in [25] is the spoiling of the city [27].

[29] So ℌ. **T** *even*. 'The house,' in contrast with 'the city' [27], must be Shechem's [26].

35[1] This clause may be an editorial allusion to the incident

J	E	JE	E	P	
c 27[43]. 2 L[1]*ii b* 2–4 L[5]*a d* *d* Josh 24[23] *e* Cp F[42] *f* Cp Ex 19[10]	when thou [c]fleddest [c]from the face of Esau thy brother.	2 [L]Then Jacob said unto his household, and to all that were with him, [d]Put away the strange gods that are among you, and [e]purify yourselves, and [f]change your [d]garments: 3 and let us [a]arise, and go up to Beth-el; and I will [b]make there an altar unto God, who answered me in the day of my [g]distress, and was [e]with me in the way which I went. 4 And they gave unto Jacob all the strange gods which were [h]in their hand, and the [i]rings which were in their ears, and Jacob [j]hid them under the [M]oak which was [k]by Shechem. 5 [N]*And they journeyed: and* [M]*a great* [l]*terror was upon the cities that were round about them, and they did not pursue after the sons of Jacob.*			c 158 d 161 e 130
g 42[21] Deut 31[17 21]* *h* Cp 32[13] ℌ *i* Ex 32[2] *j* Ex 2[12] Josh 26 7[21].* *k* Cp Josh 24[26] *l* ℌ†					
m 28[19]			6a [N]So Jacob came to [m]Luz, which is in the [f]land of Canaan (*the* [n]*same is Beth-el*),		f 4
n Cp 23[2] *o* Cp 2 32[7] Josh 8[5 11]	6b [And Jacob came to Beth-el] [o]he and all the people that were with him.				
7 L[10]*d g* *p* Cp 21[31] *q* Cp 20[13N]	7 [L]And he [b]built there an altar, and [p]called the place [M]El-beth-el: because there God [q]was revealed unto him, when he [c]fled from the face of his brother.				
r Ct 24[59] *s* Cp Judg 4[5]	8 [N]And Deborah Rebekah's [r]nurse died, and she was buried below Beth-el under the [s]oak: and the name of it was called [M]Allon-bacuth.				
t 17[1]			9 [N]And God [t]appeared unto Jacob again, when he came from [s]Paddan-aram, and [u]blessed him. 10 [N]And God said unto him, Thy name is Jacob: thy [v]name shall not be called any more Jacob, but Israel shall be thy name: and he called his name Israel. 11 And God said unto him, [h]I am [M]God Almighty: [i]be fruitful and multiply[1]; a [w]nation and a company of nations shall be of thee, and [w]kings shall come out of thy loins; 12 and the land which I [x]gave unto Abraham and Isaac, to [j]thee I will give it, [N]*and to thy* [j]*seed after thee will I give the land.* 13 And God [y]went up from him [N]*in the place where he spake with him.*	g 6 h 94 i 73 j 162
u 25[11] cp 33 *v* 17[5] ct 32[27]. . *w* Cp 17[6 16] 28[3] *x* 17[8] *y* 17[22]					

of 27, suggested by the language of [3b] which is much more in the style of **E** cp 28[20]. [4] **M** Or, *terebinth.*

[5a] The change of subject here to 'the sons of Jacob' points to the story in 34, so that this verse is dependent on the redaction of that chapter.

[5b] **M** ℌ *a terror of God.*—Cp 30[8] and 23[6].

[6a] The continuation of 31[18], *so = and* ℌ. Luz is employed by **P** with archaeological propriety as the ancient name (cp Kiriath-arba 23[2]), as he has yet to relate the theophany on which the name Beth-el was founded. In [6b] **E** must have originally contained some similar notice of Jacob's arrival at Beth-el, as the sequel of [3]. [7] **M** That is, *The God of Bethel.*

[8a] This verse is assigned on the whole to **E**, though the only previous reference to Rebekah's nurse comes from **J** 24[59], where, however, she is not named. (For **E**'s love of names cp 15[2] Ex 1[15]; and for a similar record of death and burial cp Num 20[1b].) But as all three sources **J E P** locate Isaac in the South, it is not apparent how the aged family servant should be travelling with Jacob through middle Canaan. The passage seems altogether dislocated from its original connexion in the story of Isaac and Rebekah, and its proper place is lost.

[8b] **M** That is, *The oak of weeping.*

[9] **P**'s account of the Beth-el revelation, the counterpart of that to Abraham in 17 (cp *Introd.* V 3*a*). In reference to 28[10]. . the editor has inserted the word 'again.' ⑤ adds 'in Luz.'

[10] Both [10] and [11] begin with the same words. A comparison of this passage with 17[1] suggests that originally the announcement of the Divine Presence preceded the change of Jacob's name in [10]. The displacement may be accidental, or due to some curtailment of the whole section. The promises are much briefer than in 17; if any omissions have been made in the process of compilation, the recurring phrases in [10]. may have been brought nearer together. It is, however, a curious circumstance that **P** does not employ the name Israel for Jacob in his subsequent narrative, ct 'Abraham' 17[5 9 15] &c: it is used only in the phrase 'children of Israel.' May it be inferred that [10] is an editorial afterthought, to provide in **P** a parallel to **J**'s story in 32[28]? This would account for its unexpected position, and for the final clause 'and he called his name Israel,' which is not after the manner of **P** in 17. It is noticeable also that no explanation is given of the new name was its meaning already so familiar that it needed none?

[11] **M** ℌ *El Shaddai.*—cp 17[1].

[12] The parallel in 17[8] suggests that the clause originally ran 'to thee will I give it and to thy seed after thee.' But the whole may possibly be an addition.

[13] The corresponding phrase in 17[22] contains no local reference: [13b] seems derived from [15]: Ball, however, regards it as an accidental dittograph of [14], and restores from 17[22] 'when he had left off speaking with him.'

J	JE	E	P	
14 L_{5g^b} $7O^a$ w^a z Ct 28[18]	. . . [14] [LN]And Jacob [k]set up a [z]pillar in the place where he spake with him, a pillar of stone: and he [a']poured out a [b']drink offering thereon, and [c']poured oil thereon.			k 215[c]
a' 2 Sam 23[16] 2 Kings 16[13] b' Cp [P]11[8] c' 28[18] [P]12[8] d' Ct 28[19]			[15] And Jacob [d']called the name of the place where God spake with him, Beth-el.	
e' 48[7] 2 Kings 5[19]† f' Cp Ex 13[15] ℌ g' 38[28] Ex 1[16]. † h' 30[24] ct 24 26b cp 29[33] ℌ i' Cp 16[11aN]	[16] [N]And they journeyed from Beth-el; and there was still [e']some way to come to Ephrath: and Rachel travailed, and she had [f']hard labour. [17] And [l]it came to pass when she was in [f']hard labour, that the [g']midwife said unto her, [m]Fear not; for [n]now thou shalt have [h']another son. [18] And [l]it came to pass, as her soul was in departing (for she died), that [i']she called his name [M]Ben-oni: but his father called him [M]Benjamin. [19] [N]And Rachel died, and was buried in the way to Ephrath (*the same is Beth-lehem*).			l 127[b] m 154 n 126
20 L_{5g^b} j' Cp 14 ct 31[45] k' 47[30] Deut 34[6]* l' 12[8] m' Am 5[27] Jer 22[19]† n' Mic 4[8]† o' 22[24]	[20] [LN]And Jacob [k]set up a [j']pillar upon her [k']grave: the same is the Pillar of Rachel's grave [o]unto this day. [21] [N]And [P]Israel journeyed, and [l']spread his [q]tent [m']beyond the tower of [n']Eder. [22a] And [l]it came to pass, while [P]Israel dwelt in that land, that Reuben went and [r]lay with Bilhah his father's [o']concubine: and Israel heard of it. . . .			o 142[b] p 49 q 220 r 175
p' 36[5] 46[27] cp 4[26]	[22b] Now the sons of Jacob were twelve: [23] the sons of Leah; Reuben, Jacob's firstborn, and Simeon, and Levi, and Judah, and Issachar, and Zebulun: [24] the sons of Rachel; Joseph and Benjamin: [25] and the sons of Bilhah, Rachel's handmaid; Dan and Naphtali: [26] and the sons of Zilpah, Leah's handmaid; Gad and Asher: [s]these are the sons of Jacob which [P']were born to him in [g]Paddan-aram. [27] And Jacob came unto Isaac his father to Mamre, to [t]Kiriath-arba [q'](*the same is Hebron*), where Abraham and Isaac sojourned. [28] And the [u]days of Isaac were an [v]hundred and fourscore years. [29] And [r']Isaac [w]gave up the ghost, and died, and was [x]gathered unto his people, [r']old and full of days: and Esau and Jacob his sons [r']buried him.			s 188 t 3 u 181 v 93 w 51 x 75
q' 23[2]				
r' 25[8].				
a Ct 9			36[1] [NT]AND [a]THESE ARE THE GENERATIONS of [a]Esau (*the same is Edom*).	a 77[a]

35[14] This verse is now felt to be inappropriate to **P** who nowhere else recognizes any sacred pillars, or ascribes any acts of sacrifice to the patriarchs (cp *Introd* XIII 2γ). It may be the sequel of **J**'s story of the origin of the *maṣṣébha* in Beth-el cp 28[11aN], which the compiler has inserted where **P**'s narrative of the Beth-el revelation supplied a fresh occasion. It is, however, possible that the latter half of the verse has received editorial enrichment. The chrism has its parallel in 28[18] and may belong to the antique story. But the preceding description of the libation, though not without older counterpart elsewhere, may have taken form here under the influence of the Levitical ritual.

16 In [16–22] the narrative of Jacob's advance is resumed. The determination of the sources is not free from difficulty, many critics assigning [16–20] to **E**. But as in [1] Jacob had been commanded to remain at Beth-el, and no motive is assigned for his departure, it would seem more natural to recognize a change of document. Holzinger assumes that both narratives related the birth of Benjamin in connexion with the death of Rachel, and finds traces of duplication in [16b] and [17a]. On the other hand, Rachel is apparently still alive in 37[10] (**E**), and this contradiction is hardly removed by the supposition that the symbolism of the dream may be independent of the facts. The parallel in [17b] certainly points to **J**, and [16–18], therefore, is assigned (though not without hesitation) to **J**.

18a **M** That is, *The son of my sorrow.*

18b **M** That is, *The son of the right hand.*

19 Further embarrassment arises in [19]. [19] resembles [8] in form, and might therefore naturally be ascribed to **E**, but for the difficulty of 37[10] (which might, however, be more easily evaded on the hypothesis that the dream-story was well fixed in tradition before the family history was organized into a consecutive narrative). Moreover, the opening words seem superfluous after the parenthetic remark in [18], and lend additional strength to the ascription to **E**. It may, however, be argued that the reference to the burial-place (cp parallels in **J**) required the formal announcement of the death; and the words 'for she died' may be a copyist's or editor's gloss. If the verse be **E**'s, what later place can be found for it in the Jacob-Joseph cycle after 37[10]? Dillmann allots it to **P**, but see 48[7N]. The identification of the grave with Beth-lehem seems a late error, cp 1 Sam 10[2] Jer 31[15].

20 The statement of erection resembles that in [14]; **E** in each reference to a sacred pillar employing a different word 28[18] 31[45] Ex 24[4]. The verse is therefore ascribed to **J**. On the other hand the name Jacob, contrasted with Israel [21], seems to imply divergence, and many critics attribute [20] to **E**. But 37[10] still stares them in the face. Moreover the name Jacob has been used by **J** since 32[28], e g 33[1 10 17] and perhaps in 34. The objection, therefore, does not seem conclusive, cp [21N].

21 At this point begins a series of passages marked by the name Israel cp [JE]49. This appears to be characteristic of **J**, and may point to the incorporation of materials from some fresh cycle. The description of Bilhah as Israel's 'concubine' instead of 'handmaid' 30[4], lends some slight confirmation to this view.

36[1] After the death and burial of Abraham **P** proceeded at once to enumerate the descendants of Ishmael, before dealing with the line of Isaac. So here with Esau (**T** *now,* ℌ *and*) before Jacob's *tol*^{e}*dhoth* 37[2]. But the list of the descendants of Esau presents many marks of composite origin. The recurring title 'and these are the generations of Esau' ℌ [1 9] at once points to the union of material from different sources, and this expectation is confirmed by the diversity of the contents of the several sections. In [1–5] the names of Esau's wives cannot be harmonized with those in 26[34] 28[9] ('Zibeon the Hivite' חוי [2] should read 'Horite' חורי cp [20.]). Within the framework [1 2a (?) 5b], therefore, fresh data have been incorporated in agreement

J

P

[2] Esau took his wives of the [b]daughters of Canaan; [b]Adah the daughter of Elon the Hittite, and Oholibamah the daughter of Anah, the [M]daughter of Zibeon the Hivite; [3] and Basemath Ishmael's daughter, sister of Nebaioth. [4] And Adah bare to Esau Eliphaz; [5] and Basemath bare Reuel; and Oholibamah bare Jeush, and Jalam, and Korah: [c]these are the sons of Esau, [c]which were born unto him in the [d]land of Canaan.

[6] [N]And Esau [d]took his wives, and his sons, and his daughters, and all the [e]souls of his house, and his [e]cattle, and all his beasts, and all his [f]possessions, which he had [g]gathered in the [d]land of Canaan; and went into a land away from his brother Jacob. [7] For their [h]substance was [f]too great for them to dwell together; and the [i]land of their sojournings could not [f]bear them because of their cattle. [8] And Esau dwelt in mount Seir: *Esau is Edom.*

[9] And [a]these are the generations of Esau the father of [M]the Edomites in mount Seir: [10] [c]these are the names of Esau's sons; Eliphaz the son of Adah the wife of Esau, Reuel the son of Basemath the wife of Esau. [11] And the [g]sons of Eliphaz were Teman, Omar, [M]Zepho, and Gatam, and Kenaz. [12] And Timna was concubine to Eliphaz Esau's son; and she bare to Eliphaz Amalek: these are the [h]sons of Adah Esau's wife. [13] And these are the sons of Reuel; Nahath, and Zerah, Shammah, and Mizzah: these were the sons of Basemath Esau's wife. [14] And these were the sons of Oholibamah the daughter of Anah, the daughter of Zibeon, Esau's wife: and she bare to Esau Jeush, and Jalam, and Korah.

[15] [Nc]These are the [M][i]dukes of the sons of Esau: the [g]sons of Eliphaz the firstborn of Esau; duke Teman, duke Omar, [16] duke Zepho, duke Kenaz, duke Korah, duke Gatam, duke Amalek: these are the dukes that came of Eliphaz in the [d]land of Edom; these are the sons of Adah. [17] And these are the sons of Reuel Esau's son; duke Nahath, duke Zerah, duke Shammah, duke Mizzah: these are the dukes that came of Reuel in the [d]land of Edom; these are the sons of Basemath Esau's wife. [18] And these are the sons of Oholibamah Esau's wife; duke Jeush, duke Jalam, duke Korah: these are the dukes that came of Oholibamah the daughter of Anah, Esau's wife. [19] These are the sons of Esau, and these are their dukes: the same is Edom.

[20] [N]These are the sons of Seir the Horite, the inhabitants of the land; Lotan and Shobal and Zibeon and Anah, [21] and Dishon and Ezer and Dishan: these are the dukes that came of the Horites, the children of Seir in the [d]land of Edom. [22] And the children of Lotan were Hori and [M]Hemam; and Lotan's sister was Timna. [23] And these are the children of Shobal; [M]Alvan and Manahath and Ebal, [M]Shepho and Onam. [24] And these are the children of Zibeon; Aiah and Anah: [j]this is Anah who found the hot springs in the wilderness, as he fed the asses of Zibeon his father. [25] And these are the children of Anah; Dishon and Oholibamah the daughter of Anah. [26] And these are the children of [M]Dishon; [M]Hemdan and Eshban and Ithran and Cheran. [27] These are the children of Ezer; Bilhan and Zaavan and [M]Akan. [28] These are the children of Dishan; Uz and Aran.

[29] These are the dukes that came of the Horites; duke Lotan, duke Shobal, duke Zibeon, duke Anah, [30] duke Dishon, duke Ezer, duke Dishan: these are the dukes that came of the Horites, [k]according to their dukes in the land of Seir.

[31] [NL]*And [c]these are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, before there reigned any king over the children of Israel.*

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with [10 14 20]., perhaps replacing some earlier enumeration. The migration of Esau [6]. is obviously parallel with the similar migrations of Abraham and Jacob: the separation of the brothers which here follows the death of Isaac is clearly independent of the representations of **JE** in 27 and 33, though it is possible that it may once have occupied an earlier place in the narrative, e g after 35[29]. In [9–19] further difficulties appear. The title is repeated cp [1] with a fresh identification of Esau; the names of Esau's wives [10 14] agree with [2]. (though their nationalities are omitted), so that the two lists have been brought into relation with each other, [12a] having been added, and the awkward phraseology of [14] implying editorial treatment. The frequent repetitions in this section seem due to repeated revisions and insertions; in [16] Korah is evidently out of place cp [14 18], and Gatam should precede Kenaz [16] cp [11]. On the whole, therefore, this section must be regarded as secondary. The material in [20–30] is similarly composite, [29]. being a brief equivalent of [20–28] where the pedigree of Oholibamah indicates connexion with [2b]. . and [14]. . The parallel to the 'dukes of the Horites' [29] is found in the 'dukes of Esau' ℌ [40–43] where the names differ so widely from those in [9–19] (cp Timna [12] Oholibamah [14] who here appear as 'dukes') that the passage cannot be ascribed to the same source. As the phraseology of [40] and [43] coincides with that of **P**, this section (and probably [29].) may be regarded as part of the original *tol*^{e}*dhoth* of Esau. From what sources the compiler drew his materials outside **P** must remain undetermined. Holzinger conjectures a base for [15–19] in **J** cp [31N], but there is nothing either in form or in substance to determine it.

[2] **M** Some ancient authorities have, *son.* See [24].

[9] **M** ℌ *Edom.*

[11] **M** In 1 Chron 1[36], *Zephi.*

[15a] The list of dukes in [15–19] is founded on the same material as that embodied in [1–5], and differs widely from that in [40–43]. It must therefore be regarded as secondary.

[15b] **M** Or, *chiefs.*

[20] Further secondary lists are found in [20–30], where [29]. seems a duplicate of [20]. ., ct 'land of Edom' [21] and 'land of Seir' [30]. The material seems to lie outside of the usual limits of **P** and some of it (as in [24]) is probably of great antiquity, but it has been cast by a compiler into **P**'s forms

[22] **M** In 1 Chron 1[39], *Homam.* [23a] **M** In 1 Chron 1[40], *Alian.* [23b] **M** In 1 Chron 1[40], *Shephi.* [26a] **M** ℌ *Dishan.* [26b] **M** In 1 Chron 1[41], *Hamran.* [27] **M** In 1 Chron 1[42], *Jaakan.*

[31] With this verse **R** introduces an extract [32–39] from a document wholly different in style from the context. Its source is unknown, but on the analogy of other passages of composite origin, e g 10, it is provisionally assigned to **J**.

J JE E P

32 And Bela the son of Beor reigned in Edom; and the name of his city was Dinhabah. 33 And Bela died, and Jobab the son of Zerah of Bozrah reigned in his stead. 34 And Jobab died, and Husham of the land of the Temanites reigned in his stead. 35 And Husham died, and Hadad the son of Bedad, who smote Midian in the [j]field of Moab, reigned in his stead: and the name of his city was Avith. 36 And Hadad died, and Samlah of Masrekah reigned in his stead. 37 And Samlah died, and Shaul of Rehoboth by the River reigned in his stead. 38 And Shaul died, and Baal-hanan the son of Achbor reigned in his stead. 39 And Baal-hanan the son of Achbor died, and [M]Hadar reigned in his stead: and the name of his city was [M]Pau; and his wife's name was Mehetabel, the daughter of Matred, the daughter of Me-zahab.

j Num 21[20]

40 [N]And [c]these are the names of the dukes that came of Esau, according to their [l]families, [m]after their places, [k]by their names; duke Timnah, duke [M]Alvah, duke Jetheth; 41 duke Oholibamah, duke Elah, duke Pinon; 42 duke Kenaz, duke Teman, duke Mibzar; 43 duke Magdiel, duke Iram: [k]these be the dukes of Edom, [n]according to their habitations in the land of their [o]possession. This is Esau the father of [M]the Edomites.

k 25[13] Num 3[17]

l 65[b]
m 18[p]
n 18[g]
o 127[b]

37[1] And Jacob [a]dwelt in the [a]land of his father's sojournings[a], in the [b]land of Canaan.

a Cp 13[12]

a 145[a]
b 4

2[a] [c]THESE ARE THE GENERATIONS of Jacob. [N]Joseph, being seventeen years [d]old, was

c 77[a]
d 119[a]

2[b] [And Joseph was] [e]feeding the flock with his brethren; and he was a [f]lad;

e 208
f 235

2[c] with the sons of Bilhah, and with the sons of Zilpah, his father's wives:

2[d] and Joseph brought the evil [b]report of them unto their father. 3 [N]Now [g]Israel [h]loved Joseph more than all his children, because he was the son of his [i]old age: and he made him [M]a coat of many colours. 4 And his brethren saw that their father [h]loved him more than all his brethren; and they [j]hated him, and could not speak [c]peaceably unto him.

b Num 13[32] 14[36]. (P*)

c Cp 43[27] Ex 18[7]

g 49
h 180
i 63
j 167

5 And Joseph [k]dreamed a dream, and he [l]told it to his brethren: [N]and they hated him yet the [m]more. 6 And he said unto them, Hear, [n]I pray you, this dream which I have dreamed: 7 for, behold, we were [d]binding [e]sheaves in the field, and, lo, my sheaf arose, and [o]also [p]stood upright; and, behold, your sheaves came round about, and made obeisance to my sheaf. 8 And his brethren said to him, Shall thou [q]indeed reign over

d ℌ*
e Ps 126[6]†

k 101
l 218
m 123
n 185
o 126
p 215[b]
q 237

36[39a] **M** In 1 Chron 1[50], and some ancient authorities, *Hadad*.

39b **M** In 1 Chron 1[50], *Pai*.

40a In 40–43 the style of **P** is again clearly marked. Cp the list of Ishmael's descendants 25[13–16] immediately following the record of the death of Abraham.

40b **M** In 1 Chron 1[51], *Aliah*.

43 **M** ℌ Edom.

37[2a] At this point the Editor has inserted into the brief framework of **P** the rich group of stories concerning Joseph and his brethren. Their composite character becomes clear as the combined narrative proceeds, though much uncertainty still attaches to many of the details. For the general distribution of 37 cp [3N 18N]. In 2 clause [b] is assigned to **J**, as **P** nowhere describes the shepherd-life of the patriarchs on which **J** loves to dwell; nor does he employ the word 'lad' (cp margins). 2d likewise involves a view of family relations and a play of character and motive unlike **P**'s treatment of the pre-Mosaic age, and is consequently also allotted to **J**. But in the final redaction of the Hexateuch some critics detect the hand of a reviser, who seems to have added various touches more or less characteristic of later style, especially as exemplified in **P**. Cp Kuenen, *Hex* 327–8. Thus in 2 the phrase 'the evil report of them' excites some suspicion by its grammatical difficulty, while the word 'report' only occurs elsewhere in Num 13[32] 14[36]. **P** in *Hex*, and Jer 20[10] Ezek 36[3] Ps 31[13] Prov 10[18] 25[10]†. Cp 40[2N].

3a That the narrative in 37 is derived from two sources is clearly proved by the divergences in [25b–27 and 28], cp [18N]. It is natural, therefore, to expect traces of duplicate origin in the earlier portion. The following clues may be added to the marginal indications:—

J Israel 37[3 13] || Jacob 37[34] **E**.
J Coat of many colours [3 (23b) 32] || coat [23a 31 32b 33] **E**.
J hated [4 (5b 8b)] || envied [11] cp 30[1] **E**.
J cause of ill-will, Israel's partiality [3.] || Joseph's dreams [5–11] **E**.

3b **M** Or, *a long garment with sleeves*.

5 A harmonizer's touch, referring to 4, not contained in ℌ cp 8. **E** postpones the mention of the brothers' jealousy till 11, when all the dreams have been told.

J	JE	E	P	
	us? or shalt thou [q]indeed have dominion over us? And they [j]hated him yet the [m]more for his dreams, and for his [r]words. [9] And he dreamed yet another dream, and [s]told it to his brethren, and said, Behold, I have dreamed yet a dream; and, behold, the sun and the moon and eleven stars made obeisance to me. [10] And he [s]told it to his father, [N]and to his brethren; and his father [d]rebuked him, and said unto him, What is this dream that thou hast dreamed? Shall I and thy mother and thy brethren [q]indeed come to [t]bow down ourselves to thee to the earth?			r 23[2] s 21[9] t 12[2]
f 30[1] ct 4	[11] And his brethren [f]envied him; but his father kept the [r]saying in mind.			
g 33[18].	[12] And his brethren went to [e]feed their father's flock in [g]Shechem.			
h 31[44] cp 16[2]	[13a] And [g]Israel said unto Joseph, Do not thy brethren [e]feed the flock in Shechem? [h]come, and I will send thee unto them.			
	... [13b] And he said to him, [u]Here am I. [14a] And he said to him, [N]Go [n]now, see whether it be well with the brethren, and well with the flock;			u 10[4]
i Num 13[26] 22[8] Deut 1[22 25] Josh 14[7]	and [i]bring me word again.			
j 20[13]	[14b] So he sent him [N]out of the vale of Hebron, and he came to Shechem.			
	[15] [N]*And a certain man found him, and, behold, he was [j]wandering in the field: and the man asked him, saying, What seekest thou?* [16] *And he said, I seek my brethren: [l]tell me, I pray thee, where they are feeding* [the flock]. [17a] *And the man said, They are departed hence: for I heard*			
k 2 Kings 6[13]†	*them say, Let us go to [k]Dothan.*			
	[17b] And Joseph went after his brethren, and found them in Dothan.			
l 22[4]	[18a] [N]And they saw him [l]afar off.			
m Num 25[18] Mal 1[14] Ps 105[25]† cp 2[N]	...[18b]And [v]before he came near unto them, they [N][m]conspired against him to [n]slay him.			v 13[2]
n 18[25]	[19] And they said [w]one to another, Behold, [o]this [Mx]dreamer cometh.			w 11[2]
o 24[65] ℌ†	[20] Come now therefore, and let us [p]slay him, [N]and cast him into one of			x 10[7]
p Ct 1[8b] ℌ cp JE 21[0]	the [q]pits, and we will say, An evil beast hath devoured him: and we			
q Ex 21[33] ct Gen 40[15] Ex 12[29] ℌ	shall see what will become of his dreams.			
r 32[11]	[21] And [N]Reuben heard it, and [r]delivered him out of their hand; and said,			
s Deut 19[6 11] ℌ	Let us not [s]take his life.			
	[22] And Reuben said unto them, Shed no blood; cast him into this pit			
t 22[12]	that is in the wilderness, but [t]lay no hand upon him: that he might [r]deliver him out of their hand, to restore him to his father. [23] And it came to pass, when Joseph was come unto his brethren, that they stript Joseph of his coat, [N]the coat of many colours that was on him; [24] and			
u 41[27] Deut 32[47]*	they took him, and cast him into the pit: and the pit was [u]empty, there was no water in it. [25a] And they sat down to eat bread.			
v Is 21[13]†	[25b]And they lifted up their eyes and [y]looked, and, behold, a [v]travelling company of Ishmaelites came from Gilead, with their [z]camels bearing [M]spicery and [M]balm and [M]myrrh, going to carry it down to Egypt.			y 5[5] z 1[6]
w Ex 18[21]*	[26] And Judah said unto his brethren, What [w]profit is it if we [p]slay			
27 *L*2*da*	our brother and conceal his blood? [27] [L]Come, and let us [z]sell him to			
x 28[b] 45[4]	the Ishmaelites, and let not our hand be upon him; for he is our			
y 29[14]	brother, our [y]flesh. And his brethren hearkened unto him.			

37[10] The dream has been already narrated to his brothers in [9]. 𝔊 omits [10a] and inserts 'his father' before 'his brethren' in [9].

[14a] A duplicate of 'come' in [13].

[14b] It is doubtful whether **J** ascribed to Jacob a sojourn in Hebron: these words may be due to **R**. Cp Kuenen, *Hexateuch* 225.

[15] In [15–17a] **R**[Je] seems to have supplied the connexion between **J**'s Shechem and **E**'s Dothan.

[18a] The divergence in the following passage between the Ishmaelites who buy Joseph from his brothers, and the Midianites who kidnap him, points plainly to the amalgamation of two narratives. The analysis is founded on the subjoined doublets:—

J the plot to kill Joseph [18b] || proposal to slay him [20] **E**.

J Intervention of Judah [21N 26] cp 43[3 8] 44[14 18] || Reuben [22 29] cp 42[22 37] **E**.

J Joseph is sold [27–28b] 45[4] || kidnapped [28a] 40[15] **E**.

J to Ishmaelites [25 27 28b] 39[1] || by Midianites [28a 36] **E**.

J Sold in Egypt to an unnamed Egyptian 39[1N 2 5], his master [3 7. 16 19]. || Potiphar [36] 40[3]. 41[10 12] **E**.

J Favoured by the keeper of the prison but a prisoner 39[20–23] 40[3b 15b] 41[14b] || servant of the captain of the guard [36] 40 [4 7 14] 41[12] **E**.

[18b] The late use of this word, and the peculiarity of its construction here, lead Kuenen to see in it a sign of **R**'s activity, *Hex* 328.

[19] **M** ℌ *master of dreams.*

[20] Perhaps an editorial preparation for Reuben's proposal [22].

[21] Elsewhere in **J** Judah is the spokesman, cp [26] 43[3 8] 44[16 18]. It is believed that Judah's name stood here originally, and was afterwards altered either by design or inadvertence so as to conform to the next verse. For Reuben see 42[22]. The second 'and said' [22] points to a change of source.

[23] A harmonizing addition.

[25a] **M** Or, *gum tragacanth.* Or, *storax.*

[25b] **M** Or, *mastic.* [25c] **M** Or, *ladanum.*

J JE E P

28 $_{L2}$]a
z 34[10]

28[a] [L]And there passed by Midianites, [z]merchantmen; and they drew and lifted up Joseph out of the pit,
28[b]And [they] [x]sold Joseph to the Ishmaelites for twenty pieces of silver.
a' Ct *bring down* 25 39[1]
b' Cp 34 Num 14[6]
c' 42[13 36] cp 5[24]
28[c] and they [a']brought Joseph into Egypt. 29 And Reuben returned unto the pit; and, behold, Joseph was not in the pit; and he [b']rent his clothes. 30 And he returned unto his brethren, and said, The child [c']is not; and I, whither shall I go? 31 And they took Joseph's coat, and killed a he-goat, and dipped the coat in the blood;
32[a]And they sent the coat of many colours, . . .
32[b] and they brought it to their father; and said, This have we found: [d']know now whether it be thy son's coat or not. 33[a] And he [d']knew it, and said, It is my son's coat; an [e']evil beast hath devoured him.
d' 27[23] ℌ=*discern*
e' Cp 20
f' 44[28]
. . . 33[b] Joseph is [q]without doubt [f']torn in pieces.
g' 44[13] Josh 7[6]
h' Ex 33[4] Num 14[39*] ct 35
i' Num 20[15] Josh 24[7]
34 And Jacob [g']rent his garments, and put sackcloth upon his loins, and [h']mourned for his son [i']many days.
35And all his sons and all his daughters rose up to [a']comfort him; but he refused to be comforted; and he said, For I will [j']go down to [M]the [b']grave to my son [h']mourning. And his father [i']wept for him. a' 20[a] b' 75
j' Cp 42[38]
k' ℌ* cp 50[10]
l' 50[3] ct 34
m' 40[2 7]
n' 21[22]
1-11 $_{L1f}a$
a 21[22]
b 16 2 Sam 2[19]
c 2 6 16[1b]
36 And the [M]Midianites sold him into Egypt unto Potiphar, an [m']officer of Pharaoh's, the [Mm']captain of the guard.
38[1] [NL]And it came to pass [a]at that time, that Judah went down from his brethren, and [b]turned in to a certain Adullamite, [c]whose name was Hirah. 2 And Judah saw there a daughter of a certain Canaanite [c]whose name was Shua; and he took her, and went in unto her. 3 And she [a]conceived, and bare a son; and [N]he called his name Er. 4 And she a 21
conceived again, and bare a son; and she called his name Onan. 5 And she yet again bare a son, and called his name Shelah: and he was at Chezib, [d]when she bare him. 6 And Judah [e]took a wife for Er his [f]firstborn, [c]and her name was Tamar. 7 And Er, Judah's firstborn, was [g]wicked in the sight of Yahweh; and Yahweh [h]slew him. 8 And Judah said unto Onan, Go in unto thy brother's wife, and [M]perform the duty of an husband's brother unto her, and raise up seed to thy brother. 9 And Onan knew that the seed should not be his; and it came to pass, when he went in unto his brother's wife, that he spilled it on the ground, [b]lest he should [i]give seed to his brother. 10 And the thing which he b 61
did was [g]evil in the sight of Yahweh: and he slew him also. 11 Then said Judah to Tamar his daughter in law, Remain a widow in thy father's house, till Shelah my son be grown up: for he said, Lest he also die, like his brethren. And Tamar went and dwelt in her father's
house. 12 And in [j]process of time Shua's daughter, the wife of Judah, died; and Judah was [c]comforted, and went up unto his [k]sheepshearers c 20[a]
to Timnah, he and his friend Hirah the Adullamite. 13 And it was told Tamar, saying, Behold, thy [l]father in law goeth up to Timnah to [k]shear his sheep. 14 [L]And she [m]put off from her the garments of her [n]widowhood, and [o]covered herself with her [o]veil, and [p]wrapped herself, and sat in the gate of Enaim, which is by the way to Timnah; for she saw that Shelah was grown up, and she was not given unto him to wife. 15 When Judah saw her, he [q]thought her to be an [r]harlot; for she had covered her face. 16 And he [b]turned unto her by the way, and said, Go to, I pray thee, let me come in unto thee: for he knew not that she was his daughter in law. And she said, What wilt thou give me, that thou mayest come in unto me? 17 And he said, I will send
i Num 20[21] ℌ†
j Cp 26[8] ℌ
k 31[19]
l 25 1 Sam 4[19 21]†
14–26 $_{L1m}a$
m 8[13b]
n 19 2 Sam 20[3] Is 54[4]†
o 24[65]
p Cp Cant 5[14]
q Cp 15[6] ℌ
r 34[31]

37[35] M ℌ *Sheol*, the name of the abode of the dead, answering to the Greek Hades, Acts 2[27].

36[a] M ℌ *Medanites.* 36[b] M ℌ *chief of the executioners.*

38[1] This narrative, which breaks the sequence of the Joseph story, bears many marks of the style and language of J, and is accordingly assigned to the group thus designated. But of its ultimate source nothing is known, though it doubtless belongs to the cycle of traditions relating the origins of tribal clans; for Er [3] cp 1 Chron 4[21]. It appears designed to illustrate and justify the Levirate law, but it has also been thought to have some affinities with the story at the base of *Judges* 19. As that narrative partly depends on Gen 19, so here in [27–30] there is a distinct parallel with 25[24–26]. On the chronological difficulty cp *Introd* IV 1γ.

[3] (ℌ Sam 𝔗 *she called*, as in [4]. Cp 16[11N].

[8] M See Deut 25[5].—ℌ†.

J	JE	E	P
s 27[9]	thee a [s]kid of the goats from the flock. And she said, Wilt thou give		
t 20 ℌ†	me a [t]pledge, till thou send it? [18] And he said, What pledge shall		
u Ex 28[21]	I give thee? And she said, Thy [u]signet and thy [v]cord, and the staff		
v 25 ct Ex 28[-28]	that is in thine hand. And he gave them to her, and came in unto her,		
	and she conceived by him. [19] And she arose, and went away, and [m]put		
	off her veil from her, and put on the garments of her [n]widowhood.		
	[20] And Judah sent the [s]kid of the goats by the hand of his friend the		
	Adullamite, to receive the [t]pledge from the woman's hand: but he		
w 26[7]	found her not. [21] Then he asked the [w]men of her place, saying, Where		
	is the [M]harlot, that was at Enaim by the way side? And they said,		
	There hath been no [M]harlot here. [22] And he returned to Judah, and		
	said, I have not found her; and also the [w]men of the place said, There		
	hath been no [M]harlot here. [23] And Judah said, Let her take it to her,		
x Prov 12[8]†	lest we be [x]put to shame: behold, I sent this kid, and thou hast not		
	found her. [24] And it came to pass about three months after, that it		
	was told Judah, saying, Tamar thy daughter in law hath played the		
y 16[11]	harlot; and moreover, behold, she is [y]with child by [z]whoredom. And		
z Hos 1[2] 2[4] *al*	Judah said, Bring her forth, and let her be [a']burnt. [25] When she was		
a' Ct Lev 21[9]	brought forth, she sent to her [t]father in law, saying, By the man, whose		
	these are, am I [y]with child: and she said, Discern, I pray thee, whose		
b' ℌ†	are these, the [b']signet, and the cords, and the staff. [26] And Judah		
c' Cp 19[9]	acknowledged them, and said, She is more [c']righteous than I; [d]forasmuch		d 35
	as I gave her not to Shelah my son. And he [e]knew her again no more.		e 50
d' 31[10]*	[27] And it came to pass [d']in the time of her travail, that, behold, [e']twins		
e' 25[24]	were in her womb. [28] And it came to pass, when she travailed, that		
f' 35[17]	one put out a hand: and the [f']midwife took and [g']bound upon his hand		
g' Josh 2[18 21]	a scarlet thread, saying, This came out first. [29] And it came to pass, as		
	he drew back his hand, that, behold, his [t]brother came out: and she		f 14
	said, [M]Wherefore hast thou [g]made a breach for thyself? therefore his		g 80
	name was called [M]Perez. [30] And afterward came out his brother, that		
	had the scarlet thread upon his hand: and his name was called Zerah.		
a 37[25] 43[7] 44[21] 45[13] cp 12[10] ct 37[28c]	**39**[1] And Joseph was brought [a]down to Egypt; and [N]Potiphar, an officer		
	of Pharaoh's, the captain of the guard, an Egyptian, [b]bought him of the hand		
b 47[19]	of the [c]Ishmaelites, which had brought him down thither. [2] And		
c 37[25. 28b]	Yahweh was [a]with Joseph, and he was a [b]prosperous man; and he was		a 130
d 26[28]	in the house of his master the Egyptian. [3] And his master [d]saw that		b 66
	Yahweh was [a]with him, and that Yahweh made all that he did to		
	[b]prosper in his hand. [4a] And Joseph [c]found grace in his sight,		c 31[a]
	[4b] [N]and he [d]ministered unto him:		d 109
e 5 41[34] ct 40[4] ℌ	[4c]and he made him [e]overseer over his house, and all that he [e]had he [f]put		e 84
f 8 32[16]	into his hand. [5] And it came to pass [g]from the time that he made him		
g Ex 4[10] 5[23] 9[24] Josh 14[10]*	[e]overseer in his house, and over all that he [e]had, that Yahweh [t]blessed		f 10[a]
h 12[13]	the Egyptian's house for Joseph's [h]sake; and the blessing of Yahweh		
	was upon all that he [e]had, in the house and in the field.		
	[6a] And he left all that he had in Joseph's hand.		
	[6b]And [M]he knew not aught [that was] with him, save the bread which he		
	did eat.		
i 29[17] ℌ 7–12 L11*c*	[6c] And Joseph was [i]comely, and well favoured. [7a] [L]And it came to pass		
	[g]after these things . . .		g 95
j ℌ = *lifted up* cp 17[6a]	[7b] [T]And his master's wife [j]cast her eyes upon Joseph; and she said, Lie		
	with me. [8] But he refused, and said unto his master's wife, Behold,		
	my master [M]knoweth not what is with me in the house, and he hath [f]put		

38[21 22] **M** ℌ *kedeshah*, that is, a woman dedicated to impure heathen worship. See Deut 23[17] Hos 4[14].

29a **M** Or, *how hast thou made a breach! a breach be upon thee.*

29b **M** That is, *A breach.*

39[1] An editorial insertion, accommodating the data of **E**, 37[36], into **J**.

4b This clause has probably been incorporated from **E**, cp the usage of the verb 'ministered' 40[4] Ex 24[13], and was perhaps originally continuous with 37[36]. Similar traces probably exist in 6., ct 'all that he had' ℌ 6a. Other passages may contain further material now amalgamated beyond recognition.

6b **M** Or, *with him he knew not.* 7 So ℌ. **T** *that.*

8 **M** Or, *knoweth not with me what is* &c.

J JE E P

all that he [e]hath into my hand; [9] [M]there is none [k]greater in this house than I; neither hath he [l]kept back any thing from me but thee, [m]because thou art his wife: how then can I do this great [n]wickedness, and sin against God? [10] And it came to pass, as she spake to Joseph [o]day by day, that he hearkened not unto her, to lie by her, [or] to be with her. [11] And it came to pass about this time, that he went into the house to do his [p]work; and there was none of the men of the house there within. [12] And she [q]caught him by his garment, saying, Lie with me: and he left his garment in her hand, and [r]fled, and got him [h]out. [13] And it came to pass, when she saw that he had left his garment in her hand, and was fled forth, [14] that she called unto the men of her house, and spake unto them, saying, [s]See, he hath brought in an Hebrew unto us to [t]mock us; he came in unto me to lie with me, and I cried with a loud voice: [15] and it came to pass, when he heard that I lifted up my voice and cried, that he left his garment by me, and fled, and got him out. [16] And she laid up his garment by her, until his master came home. [17] And she spake unto him [i]according to these words, [u]saying, The Hebrew servant, which thou hast brought unto us, came in unto me to mock me: [18] and it came to pass, as I lifted up my voice and cried, that he left his garment by me, and fled out. [19] And it came to pass, when his master heard the words of his wife, which she spake unto him, saying, [i]After this manner did thy servant to me; that his wrath was kindled. [20] And Joseph's master took him, and put him into the [v]prison, [N]the place where the king's prisoners were bound: and he was there in the prison. [21] But Yahweh was [a]with Joseph, and shewed [w]kindness unto him, and [j]gave him favour in the sight of the [k]keeper of the prison. [22] And the keeper of the prison [f]committed to Joseph's hand all the prisoners that were in the prison; and whatsoever they did there, he was the doer of it. [23] The keeper of the prison looked not to any thing that was under his hand, [m]because Yahweh was [a]with him; and that which he did, Yahweh made it to [b]prosper.

40[1] [N]And it came to pass [a]after these things,—[that] the [a]butler of the [b]king of Egypt and his [a]baker [c]offended their [d]lord the [b]king of Egypt—[2] [NT]that Pharaoh was [e]wroth against his two [f]officers, against the [b]chief of the butlers, and against the [b]chief of the bakers. [3] And he put them in [g]ward in the house of the [b]captain of the guard, into the [h]prison, the place where Joseph was bound. [4] And the captain of the guard [i]charged Joseph with them, and he [c]ministered unto them: and they continued a [j]season [g]in ward. [5] And they [d]dreamed a dream both of them, each man his dream, in one night, each man according to the [e]interpretation of his dream, [J]the [a]butler and the [a]baker [k]of the [b]king of Egypt, which were bound in the [h]prison. [6] And Joseph came in unto them in the morning, and saw them, and, behold, they were [l]sad. [7] And he asked Pharaoh's

h 1

i 2

j 31[b]
k 191

a 95

b 191

c 109
d 101
e 106

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k 41[40]
l 20[6]
m 23 ℌ*
n ℌ=*hurt* 26[29] cp 31[29]
o Ex 16[5]*
p Ct P177
q Cp 4[21] Josh 8[8] 23
r Ex 4[3]
s 31[50]
t 17 19[14]
u Cp P185
v 20-23 40[3] 5†
w Cp 57

a Ct 2 *chief of the butlers*
b Ct 2 *Pharaoh*
c ℌ=*sin against* 39[9]
d ℌ=*master* 39[2]
e 41[10] Deut 1[34] *al*
f 37[36]
g 41[10]
h Cp 39[20N]
i Ct 39[4]
j Cp 4[3]
k 29[9] 41[43] 47[4] ℌ
l Prov 19[3] 2 Chron 26[19] Dan 1[10]†

39[9] **M** Or, *he is not.*

[20] Apparently an editorial preparation for the narrative in 40[2]··, which is founded on the idea that Joseph's master, a high court-officer 40[3] 37[36], was himself in charge of offenders against the royal pleasure. It is noteworthy that both the keeper of the prison 39[21–23], and the captain of the guard 40[3], are designated by the same title *sar*.

40[1] The opening words of this verse contain one of **E**'s recurring phrases, and probably led direct to [2]. **R** appears to have incorporated words from a similar narrative of **J**.

[2] **T** *And.* The narrative of Joseph's life as a slave in the house of the captain of the guard, and his interpretation of the dreams first of the royal servants and then of Pharaoh himself, is derived almost wholly from **E**, as the criteria noted in the margins will show. In a few passages 40[3 5 15] the harmonist has endeavoured to combine **E**'s conception with **J**'s story of his imprisonment in consequence of the false charge of Potiphar's wife; and from this source is probably derived the statement in 41[14b]. Both documents, however, appear to have narrated his prediction of the years of plenty and famine, and his elevation to the post of Pharaoh's chief minister. From 41[30] onwards the narrative exhibits frequent signs of diversity of material, but its resolution into its original factors can only be attempted with much reserve as to detail. The critical problem is further complicated by the occasional appearance of words or expressions indicating that this whole group of narratives has passed through a much later redaction, cp Giesebrecht, *ZATW* i 237, and Kuenen, *Hex* 328. Instances will be found in 40[13] 41[13 47] 42[6] 43[14] 45[19] 23. To these may be added the recurring formulae 'land of Canaan' 42[5 7] &c P4 (though this may be naturally explained as due to contrast with the 'land of Egypt') and 'spake . . . saying' 39[17 19] 42[14] 50[4] cp P185[a], elsewhere in Gen **JE** only in an allied phrase P185[d]. In 42[5] the appearance of the 'sons of Israel' has been attributed to the same influence cp 46[5], but (as it would seem) unnecessarily. The frequency of the expression 'land of Egypt' (usual in **P**), e g fifteen times in **JE** 41[19–56] ct [57] 42[1–3] 43[2 15] &c has also been quoted in this connexion: but its repeated recurrence (for example) in **JE** Ex 9–11 renders this explanation doubtful, unless, indeed, it be extended to this group of narratives also.

J JE E P

[f]officers that were [x]with him [g]in ward in his master's [m]house, saying,
Wherefore [n]look ye so sadly to-day? [8] And they said unto him, We
have [d]dreamed a dream, and there is none that can [e]interpret it. And
Joseph said unto them, Do not interpretations belong to [o]God? tell
it me, I pray you. [9] And the chief butler told his dream to Joseph,
and said to him, In my dream, behold, a vine was before me; [10] and
in the vine were three [p]branches: and it was as though it [q]budded,
[and] its [r]blossoms shot forth; [and] the [s]clusters thereof [t]brought forth
ripe [u]grapes: [11] and Pharaoh's [v]cup was in my hand; and I took the
grapes and [w]pressed them into Pharaoh's cup, and I gave the cup into
Pharaoh's hand. [12] And Joseph said unto him, This is the [e]interpre-
tation of it: the three branches are three days; [13] [x]within yet three
days shall Pharaoh [y]lift up thine head, and restore thee unto thine
[z]office: and thou shalt give Pharaoh's cup into his hand, after the
former [a']manner when thou wast his butler. [14] [x]But have me in thy
remembrance when it shall [b']be well with thee, and [f]shew kindness, f 57[b]
I pray thee, unto me, and make mention of me unto Pharaoh, and
bring me out of this house: [15] for indeed I was [c']stolen away out of
the land of the Hebrews: [J]and [a']here also have I done nothing that they should
put me into the [e']dungeon. [16] When the chief baker saw that the interpre-
tation was good, he said unto Joseph, I also was in my dream, and,
behold, three [f']baskets of [w]white bread were on my head: [17] and in
the uppermost basket there was of all manner of bakemeats for Pharaoh;
and the birds did eat them out of the basket upon my head. [18] And
Joseph answered and said, This is the interpretation thereof: the three
baskets are three days; [19] [x]within yet three days shall Pharaoh [y]lift
up thy head from off thee, and shall [g']hang thee on a tree; and the
birds shall eat thy flesh from off thee. [20] And it came to pass the
[h']third day, which was Pharaoh's [i']birthday, that he made a [j']feast
unto all his servants: and he [y]lifted up the head of the chief butler
and the head of the chief baker among his servants. [21] And he restored
the chief butler unto his butlership again; and he gave the cup into
Pharaoh's hand: [22] but he hanged the chief baker: as Joseph had
interpreted to them. [23] Yet did not the chief butler remember Joseph,
but [k']forgat him.

41[1] And it came to pass at the [a]end of two [b]full years, that Pharaoh
[a]dreamed: and, behold, he [c]stood by the [M]river. [2] And, behold, there a 101
came up out of the river seven kine, well favoured and fatfleshed;
and they fed in the [d]reed-grass. [3] And, behold, seven other kine came
up after them out of the river, ill favoured and leanfleshed; and stood
by the other kine upon the [c]brink of the river. [4] And the ill favoured
and leanfleshed kine did eat up the seven well favoured and fat kine.
So Pharaoh [f]awoke. [5] And he [g]slept and [a]dreamed a second time: and,
behold, seven [h]ears of corn came up upon one [i]stalk, [M]rank and good.
[6] And, behold, seven ears, thin and [j]blasted with the east wind, sprung
up after them. [7] And the thin ears swallowed up the seven [M]rank and
full ears. And Pharaoh [f]awoke, and, behold, it was a dream. [8] And
it came to pass in the [k]morning that his spirit was [l]troubled; and he
[m]sent and called for all the [M]magicians of Egypt, and all the wise men
thereof: and Pharaoh told them his dream; but there was none that
could [b]interpret them unto Pharaoh. [9] Then [n]spake the [o]chief butler b 106
unto Pharaoh, [n]saying, I [M]do remember my faults this day: [10] Pharaoh
was [p]wroth with his servants, and put me in ward in the house of
the captain of the guard, me and the chief baker: [11] and we dreamed

m Ct 39[20]
n Neh 2[2] ℌ†
o 41[16 38].
p [12] Joel 1[7]†
q Cp Num 17[5]
r Cp Is 18[5] Job 15[33]†
s Num 13[23]. Deut 32[32]*
t ℌ Hiph†
u 49[11] Num 13[20 23] *al*
v [13 21] ℌ* ct 44[2]
w ℌ†
x [19] Josh 1[11]
y 2 Kings 25[27]
z 41[13] cp Dan 11[7 20. 38]
a' Cp Josh 6[15] ct Lev 5[10] ℌ
b' 12[13]
c' 37[28a] cp 117
d' 22[5]
e' 41[14] Ex 12[29]
f' Ex 29[3] Judg 6[19]
g' [22] 41[13] Josh 8[29] 10[26ab] Deut 21[22.]*
h' 22[4] cp 119[d]
i' Ezek 16[4]†
j' 21[8] cp 155
k' 27[45b] 41[30]
a 86
b Cp 29[14] ℌ
c [17] 24[30]
d [18] Job 8[11]†
e [17] Ex 2[3] 7[15]
f [7 21] ct 28[16]
g 2[21*]
h ℌ*
i Ct Ex 25[31]
j [23 27] ℌ†
k 40[6]
l Dan 2[3] cp Ps 77[4]
m [14] 31[4]
n Cp P 18[5e]
o 40[2]
p 40[3].

40[7] According to E Joseph is the slave of Pharaoh's chief executioner 37[36], but he is not himself a prisoner, as is implied in 'with him,' which must therefore be due to R.

[14] The phraseology of this verse has echoes of J, and the last clause 'bring me out of this house' is rather the language of a prisoner than a slave cp 15[b]. Had J also a story of the dreams?

41[1] M ℌ *Yeor*, that is, the Nile. [5] M ℌ *fat*.

[8] M Or, *sacred scribes*. [9] M Or, *will make mention of*.

J	JE	E	P	
	a dream in one night, I and he; we dreamed each man according to the interpretation of his dream. [12] And there was with us there			
q Cp 37[18N]	a young man, an Hebrew, [q]servant to the captain of the guard; and			
r 40[9]	we [r]told him, and he interpreted to us our dreams; to each man according to his dream he did interpret. [13] And it came to pass, as			
s 40[13]	he interpreted to us, so it was; [M]me he [s]restored unto mine [s]office, and			
t 40[19]	him he [t]hanged. [14] Then Pharaoh [m]sent and called Joseph, [u]and they			
u 40[15] cp 40[2N]	brought him [c]hastily out of the [u]dungeon: and he shaved himself, and			c 70
v 2 Sam 12[20] ℌ Piel†	[v]changed his raiment, and came in unto Pharaoh. [15] And Pharaoh			
w 40[8]	said unto Joseph, [w]I have dreamed a dream, and there is none that			
	can interpret it: and I have heard say of thee, that when thou hearest			
	a dream thou canst interpret it. [16] And Joseph answered Pharaoh,			
x Ct 44 14[24]	saying, [x]It is not in me: [y]God shall give Pharaoh an answer of peace.			
y 40[8] 45[8]	[17] And Pharaoh spake unto Joseph, [z]In my dream, behold, I stood upon			
z 40[9]	the brink of the river: [18] and, behold, there came up out of the river			
	seven kine, fatfleshed and well favoured; and they fed in the reed-grass:			
	[19] and, behold, seven other kine came up after them, poor and very			
	ill favoured and leanfleshed, such as I never saw in all the land of			
	Egypt for badness: [20] and the lean and ill favoured kine did eat up			
	the first seven fat kine: [21] and when they had eaten them up, it could			
	not be known that they had eaten them; but they were still ill			
	favoured, as [d]at the beginning. So I [f]awoke. [22] And I saw in my			d 8[b]
	dream, and, behold, seven ears came up upon one stalk, full and good:			
a′ ℌ†	[23] and, behold, seven ears, [a′]withered, thin, [and] [f]blasted with the east			
	wind, sprung up after them: [24] and the thin ears swallowed up the			
	seven good ears: and I told it unto the magicians; but there was none			
	that could declare it to me. [25] And Joseph said unto Pharaoh, The			
	dream of Pharaoh is one: what [y]God is about to do he hath declared			
	unto Pharaoh. [26] The seven good kine are seven years; and the seven			
	good ears are seven years: the dream is one. [27] And the seven lean			
	and ill favoured kine that came up after them are seven years, and also			
b′ 37[24]	the seven [b′]empty ears [f]blasted with the east wind; they shall be seven			
	years of famine. [28] That is the thing which I spake unto Pharaoh;			
	what [y]God is about to do he hath shewed unto Pharaoh. [29] [N]Behold,			
c′ 29–31 34 47 53 Prov 3[10] Eccl 5[12]†	there come seven years of great [c′]plenty throughout all the land of			
	Egypt: [30] and there shall arise after them seven years of famine; and			
	all the plenty shall be forgotten in the land of Egypt; and the famine			
	shall consume the land.			
	...[31]And the plenty shall not be known in the land by reason of that			
	[e]famine which followeth; for it shall be very [e]grievous.			e 29
d′ 27[36]	[32] And for that the dream was [h]doubled unto Pharaoh [d′]twice, it is			
	because the thing is established by God, and God will [f]shortly bring			f 43
e′ 22[8]	it to pass. [33] Now therefore let Pharaoh [e′]look out a man [f′]discreet and			
f′ 39 Deut 1[13] 4[6]	wise, and set him over the land of Egypt.			
g′ 39[5]	[34]Let Pharaoh do [this], and let him [g′]appoint [h]overseers over the land,			

41[13] **M** Or, *I was restored . . . and he was hanged.*

[29] The recital of Pharaoh's dreams is practically homogeneous, save for the insertion from **J** in [14]. There are, indeed, some small phraseological differences in the repetition (e g [1] 'by the river,' [17] 'on the brink of the river'; ct מראה [2–4] and תאר [18]. cp **J** in 39[6] but also **E** 29[17]), but these seem altogether inadequate to establish any diversity of origin. The account of Joseph's counsel to the king, however, and his subsequent promotion shows various marks of its dual source. Thus [30] and [31] seem to contain duplicate predictions: in [33] Pharaoh is advised to nominate one minister with full responsibility, but in [34] a fresh suggestion is made for the appointment of a number of officers, while the reservation of one-fifth of the produce is plainly different from the recommendation to collect 'all the food' of the coming plenteous years. But [33] is the natural sequel of [32], and [35a] apparently refers to [29] (the plural subject being an editorial accommodation). The food was to be stored in the cities [35c 48], where its sale was under Joseph's direction [56b 42[6]]; and this points to a different arrangement from the migrations rendered necessary in 47[21]. The investiture of Joseph [41–43] with power over 'all the land of Egypt' is described in terms harmonious with **J**, and contrasting with his elevation 'over Pharaoh's house' [40] cp 45[8]. But many critics, it may be noted, attribute [42a] (in whole or part) to **E**. The name Poti-phera, however, bears a most suspicious likeness to Potiphar, Joseph's master, according to **E** 37[36]. It seems possible that the same name was lodged in the traditions, but was variously applied in **J** and **E**. If [45] is rightly assigned to **J**, the name in [50] is due to the harmonist. The duplicates in [45b] and [46b] suggest that in [45b 46a] there is an extract from **P**'s brief notice of Joseph's administration: the datum of age is in **P**'s manner, and is hardly to be reconciled with the description of Benjamin's youth in **JE**.

J E JE J E P

and [a']take up the [k']fifth part [a']of the land of Egypt in the seven plenteous years,

35[a] And let them [i']gather all the food of these good years that come, 35[b]and [j']lay up corn [k']under the hand of Pharaoh for food,

35[c] in the [l']cities, and let them keep it. 36[a] And the food shall be for a [m']store to the land against the seven years of famine, which shall be in the land of Egypt;

36[b]that the land [n']perish not through the famine.

37 And the thing [o']was good in the eyes of Pharaoh, and in the eyes of [p']all his servants. 38 And Pharaoh said unto his servants, Can we find such a one as this, a man in whom the spirit of God is? 39 And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, Forasmuch as [z]God hath shewed thee all this, there is none so [f']discreet and wise as thou: 40 thou shalt be [q']over my house, and [r']according unto thy word shall all my people [M]be ruled: only in the throne will I be greater than thou. . . .

41 And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, [s']See, I have [t']set thee over all the land of Egypt. 42 And Pharaoh took off his [u']signet ring from his hand, and put it upon Joseph's hand, and [v']arrayed him in vestures of [M]fine linen, and put a gold [w]chain about his neck; 43 and he made him to ride in the second [x']chariot which he had; and they cried before him, [M]Bow the knee: and he [t']set him over all the land of Egypt. 44 And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, I am Pharaoh, and without thee shall no man lift up his hand or his foot in all the land of Egypt. 45[a] [L]And Pharaoh [y']called Joseph's name Zaphenath-paneah; and he gave him to wife Asenath the daughter of Poti-phera priest of On.

. . . 45[b] And Joseph went out over the land of Egypt. 46[a] And Joseph was thirty years [g]old when he stood before Pharaoh king of Egypt. g 119[a]

46[b]And Joseph went out from the presence of Pharaoh, and [z']went throughout all the land of Egypt.

47 And in the seven plenteous years the earth brought forth by [a'']handfuls. 48 And he [i']gathered up all the food of the seven years which were in the land of Egypt, and laid up the food in the [l']cities: the food of the field, which was round about every city, laid he up in the same.

49[a]And Joseph [j']laid up corn as the [b'']sand of the sea, [c'']very much, until he [d'']left [e'']numbering; for it was without number.

50 And unto Joseph [f'']were born two sons before the year of famine came, which [g'']Asenath the daughter of Poti-phera priest of On bare unto him. 51 And Joseph called the name of the firstborn [M]Manasseh: For, [said he], God hath made me forget all my [h'']toil, and all my [i'']father's house. 52[a]And the name of the second called he [b]Ephraim: For God hath made me [j'']fruitful in the land of my [k'']affliction. 53 And the seven years of plenty, that was in the land of Egypt, [l'']came to an end. 54 And the seven years of famine [m'']began to come, according as Joseph had said: and there was famine in all lands; but in all the land of Egypt there was bread. 55 And when all the land of Egypt was [n'']famished, the people [h]cried to Pharaoh for bread: and Pharaoh said unto all the Egyptians, Go unto Joseph; [o'']what he saith to you, do. h 141

56[a]And the famine was over [p'']all the face of the earth.

56[b] And Joseph opened all the [N]storehouses, and sold unto the Egyptians; [q'']and the famine was [r'']sore in the land of Egypt.

41[40] **M** Or, *order themselves.* Or, *do homage.*—ℌ 'kiss' cp 143.
42 **M** Or, *cotton.*
43 **M** *Abrech*, probably an Egyptian word, similar in sound to the Hebrew word meaning *to kneel.*
51 **M** That is, *Making to forget.*
52 **M** From a Hebrew word signifying *to be fruitful.*
56[a] Apparently a doublet of 54.
56[b] ℌ literally 'all in which was . . .' Sam adds 'corn,' 𝔊𝔏𝔖𝔗 point to words equivalent to the *RV.* ℌ is generally regarded as corrupt. The last clause, omitted by 𝔊, may be due to R[p].

J E JE J E P

[57] And all [N]countries came into Egypt to Joseph for to buy corn; [N]because the famine was [r]sore in all the earth.

42[1] [N]Now Jacob saw that [a]there was corn in Egypt, and Jacob said unto his sons, Why do ye [a]look one upon another? . . .

...[2]And he said, [b]Behold, I have heard that [a]there is corn in Egypt: get you down thither, and buy for us from thence; [c]that we may live, and not die.

[3] And [d]Joseph's ten brethren went down to buy corn from Egypt.

[4]But Benjamin, Joseph's brother, Jacob sent not with his brethren; for he said, Lest peradventure [e]mischief befall him. [5] And the sons of [f]Israel came to buy among those that came: for the famine was in the [N]land of Canaan.

[6] And Joseph [N]was the [g]governor over the land; he it was that [h]sold to all the people of the land: and Joseph's brethren came, and [b]bowed down themselves to him with their [i]faces to the earth.

[7a]And Joseph saw his brethren, and he knew them, but [j]made himself strange unto them, [[7bN]] [7c] and he said unto them, Whence come ye? And they said, From the land of Canaan to buy [k]food. . . .

[8] And Joseph knew his brethren, but they knew not him. [9] And Joseph [l]remembered the [c]dreams which he [c]dreamed [m]of them,—[7b] [N]and he spake [n]roughly with them;—and said unto them, Ye are spies; to see the nakedness of the land ye are come. [10] And they said unto him, Nay, [d]my lord, but to buy food are [e]thy servants come. [11] We are all one man's sons; we are [o]true men, [e]thy servants are no spies. [12] And he said unto them, Nay, but to see the nakedness of the land ye are come. [13] And they said, We [e]thy servants are twelve brethren, the sons of one man in the land of Canaan; and, behold, the youngest is this day with our father, and one [p]is not. [14] And Joseph said unto them, That is it that I [q]spake unto you, [q]saying, Ye are spies: [15] hereby ye shall be [r]proved: by the life of Pharaoh ye shall not go forth hence, except your youngest brother come hither. [16] Send one of you, and let him [s]fetch your brother, and ye shall be [t]bound, that your words may be [r]proved, whether there be truth in you: or else by the life of Phaiaoh surely ye are spies. [17] And he [u]put them all together into ward three days. [18] And Joseph said unto them the [v]third day, This do, and [w]live; for I [f]fear God: [19] if ye be true men, let one of your brethren be [t]bound in your prison house; but go ye, carry corn for the [x]famine of your

a ℌ Hithpa* *b* 27[6] *c* 43[8] 47[19] *d* Ct 5 cp 6 *e* 38 44[29] Ex 21[22].† *f* Cp **49** *g* Eccles 7[19] 8[8] 10[5] ℌ† *h* 41[56b] *i* 19[1] cp 37[10] *j* ℌ Hithpa* cp **145** *k* 43[2 20 22] 44[25] *l* 40[14 23] *m* 37[5]. *n* Cp [N]**85** *o* 19 31-34 ℌ* *p* 36 37[30] *q* Cp [P]**85** *r* ℌ* *s* 27[45] *t* 19 24 cp 39[20] ct 46[29] Ex 14[6] *u* ℌ=*gathered* 29[22] *v* 22[4] cp **119**[d] *w* 20[7] ℌ *x* 33 Ps 37[19]† *a* 84 *b* 12[a] *c* 101 *d* 56[a] *e* 73 *f* 102

41[57a] ℌ 'all the earth' followed by a plural verb: cf the plural of the same noun in [54] 'all lands.'

[57b] This clause has somewhat the air of an editorial annotation, hardly needed after [56a]: the word 'was sore' is not J's usual phrase cp [56b].

42[1] The narrative in 42–45 presents the same general characteristics as that in 40–41; there are considerable portions which are clearly uncompounded; there are others in which the interlacing of different documents appears extremely close. To the indications already enumerated the following parallels and contrasts may be added:—

J

Israel 42[5] 43[6 8 11] 45[28].

Joseph recognizes his brethren 42[7].

He does not disclose himself but makes kindly inquiries 42[7c] 43[7. . 27. . .]. His brothers describe him as 'the man' 43[3–5 7] &c.

The money is found in the mouth of the sacks, when one of them is opened for provender on the way 42[27 28a] 43[12 18 21] 44[8].

J employs the word *amtahath* for sack 42[27b 28] 43[12 18 21–23 28] 44[8 11]†.

E

Jacob 42[1 36] 45[27]. 42[8].

Speaks roughly and accuses them of being spies [7b 9. . 30]. His brothers describe him as 'the man, the lord of the land' 42[30 33].

The money is found in the sacks on being emptied when they reach Jacob, provision for the way being furnished separately 42[25 35].

E uses *saq* 42[25 35]; its occurrence in 42[27a] seems due to the compiler.

J

The brothers wait till the corn is consumed before making a second journey 43[2].

Judah takes the lead 43[3 8] 44[14 18].

E

They are to return at once with Benjamin for the release of Simeon and permission to continue trading 42[33. 36] 43[14 23b].

Reuben is prominent 42[22 37] cp 37[22].

The analysis founded on these differences both of substance and form cannot, however, attain in many cases to more than various degrees of probability, and it is sometimes possible that a passage which seems to be simple may comprise diverse elements. Thus in 43[9] 'of my hand shalt thou require him' may be a doublet (E) of 'surety' (J); so that [9b 10] may conceivably be drawn from E. Similarly in 45[7] 'to preserve you a remnant' (J), and 'to save you alive'? (E). The linguistic affinities are not by any means always decisive: an attempt is made in the margin to indicate their conflicting character: as in the story of Jacob, so here, the similarities of style are very close. Thus two words are used for corn, *shēbher* 42[1. 19 26] 43[2] 44[2] 47[14*] and *bar* 41[35 49] 42[3–25] 45[23]. Both seem employed by each writer as by Amos 8[5].

[5] On the expression 'land of Canaan' [5 7 13 29 32] cp 40[2N].

[6] This clause may be due to R, cp the late usage of יִשְׂרָאֵל; in Chaldee frequent in Daniel and in Ezr 4[20] 7[24]; cp 40[2N].

[7b] This clause seems out of place in the present text of [7], and appears to suit E's bitter accusation 'ye are spies' better than J's friendly inquiry 'whence come ye?' It is therefore transposed to [9].

houses: 20 and bring your youngest brother unto me; so shall your
words be *y*verified, and ye shall not die. And they did so. 21 And they
said *z*one to another, We are *z*verily *a'*guilty concerning our brother, in
that we saw the *b'*distress of his soul, when he *c'*besought us, and we
would not hear; *h*therefore is this *b'*distress come upon us. 22 And
*d'*Reuben answered them, saying, Spake I not unto you, saying, Do not
sin against the child; and ye would not hear? therefore also, behold,
his blood is required. 23 And they knew not that Joseph understood
them; for there was an *r*interpreter between them. 24 And he turned
himself about from them, and wept; and he returned to them, and
spake to them, and took Simeon from among them, and *t*bound him
before their eyes. 25 Then Joseph commanded to fill their vessels with
corn, and to *e'*restore every man's money into his *f'*sack, and to *g'*give
them provision for the way: and thus was it done unto them. 26 And
they *h'*laded their asses with their corn, and departed thence.

...27And as one of them opened his sack to give his ass *i*provender in
the *j*lodging place, he *i'*espied his money; and, behold, it was in the
mouth of his *j'*sack. 28a And he said unto his brethren, My money is
restored; and, lo, it is *k'*even in my *j'*sack: and their heart failed them[N].
29 And they came unto Jacob their father unto the land of Canaan, and
told him all that had befallen them; 30 saying, The man, the lord of
the land, spake *n*roughly with us, and took us for spies of the country.
31 And we said unto him, We are *o*true men; we are no spies: 32 we
be twelve brethren, sons of our father; one *p*is not, and the youngest is
this day with our father in the land of Canaan. 33 And the man, the
lord of the land, said unto us, Hereby shall I know that ye are *o*true
men; leave one of your brethren with me, and take [corn for] the
*x*famine of your houses, and go your way: 34 and bring your youngest
brother unto me: then shall I know that ye are no spies, but that ye
are *o*true men: so will I deliver you your brother, and ye shall *l'*traffick
in the land. 35 And it came to pass as they *m'*emptied their *j'*sacks,
that, behold, every man's *r*bundle of money was *n'*in his *f'*sack: and
when they and their father saw their bundles of money, they were
*o'*afraid.—28b [N]And they turned *p'*trembling *z*one to another, saying, What
is this that God hath done unto us?—36 And Jacob their father said
unto them, Me have ye *k*bereaved of my children: Joseph *p*is not, and
Simeon is not, and ye will take Benjamin away: all these things are
*M*against me. 37 And *d'*Reuben spake unto his father, saying, *q'*Slay my
two sons, if I bring him not to thee: deliver him into my hand, and
I will *e'*bring him to thee again.

...38And he said, My son shall not go down with you; for his brother
is *r'*dead, and he only is *s'*left: if *e*mischief befall him by the way in the
which ye go, then shall ye *t'*bring down my *u'*gray hairs with *v'*sorrow to
*M*the *l*grave.

431 And the famine was *a*sore in the land. 2 And it came to pass,
when they had *c*eaten up the corn which they had brought out of Egypt,
their father said unto them, Go again, buy us a *b*little *b*food. 3 And
Judah spake unto him, saying, The *c*man did solemnly *d*protest unto
us, saying, *e*Ye shall not see my face, except your brother be with you.
4 *f*If thou *c*wilt send our brother with us, we will *g*go down and buy
thee food: 5 but if thou wilt not send him, we will not go down: for
the *c*man said unto us, Ye shall not see my face, except your brother
be with you. 6 And *d*Israel said, Wherefore *h*dealt ye so ill with me, as
to tell the *c*man whether ye had yet a brother? 7 And they said, The
*c*man *i*asked straitly concerning ourselves, and concerning our *e*kindred,

y Cp Num 12⁷ ℌ Deut 7⁹ 28⁵⁹*
z 17¹⁹
a' 2 Sam 14¹³ Ezr 10¹⁹†
b' 35³
c' Deut 3²³*
d' 37 37²²
e' 37²²
f' 35 ct 27
g' 45²¹
h' Cp 31¹⁷ 46⁵ ℌ
i' 29²
j' Cp 1[N] 43¹² 21
k' 18⁹ ℌ
l' 34¹⁰
m' 14¹⁴
n' Ct 27 43²¹
o' 28¹⁷
p' Ex 19¹⁶
q' Ex 1¹⁶ 21²⁹ cp Gen 18²⁵
r' 44²⁰ ct 13
s' 7²³ cp 69, ct ℌ 44²⁰
t' 44²⁹ 31
u' Ct 15¹⁵ ℌ
v' 44²⁹ 31*
a 18³³ ℌ
b 42⁷ᶜ
c 5-7 &c 44²⁶ ct 42³⁰ 33
d Ex 19²¹ 23 Deut 4²⁶
e 44²³
f 24⁴² ⁴⁹ ℌ*
g 42²
h 19⁷
i 24⁴⁷ cp 237

P: i 67; j 53; g 112; h 85; k 98; l 75; a 26; b 51; c 84; d 49; e 60

4228 The rest of this verse 28b is marked by E's phraseology, cp 'one to another,' 'Elohim,' and seems misplaced here. It appears most appropriate after 35, when the discovery is made that each man's money has been returned to him cp 42[1N].

36 **M** Or, *upon*.

38 **M** ℌ *Sheol*. See 37³⁵.

J E JE J E P

saying, Is your father [f]yet alive? [c]have ye [another] brother? and we
told him [j]according to the tenor of these words: could we in any wise
know that he would say, [k]Bring your brother down? 8 And Judah said
unto [d]Israel his father, Send the lad with me, and we will arise and go;
that we may [l]live, and not die, [s]both we, and thou, and also our [b]little
ones. 9 I will [m]be surety for him; of my hand shalt thou [n]require
him: if I bring him not unto thee, and [i]set him before thee, then [M]let
me bear the blame [o]for ever: 10 for [p]except we had [q]lingered, [p]surely
we had now returned a [r]second time. 11 And their father [d]Israel said
unto them, If it be so [s]now, do this; take of the [t]choice fruits of the
land in your vessels, and [k]carry down the [c]man a [u]present, a [b]little
[M]balm, and a [b]little honey, [v]spicery and myrrh, [M]nuts, and almonds:
12 and take double money in your hand; and the money that was
[w]returned in the [x]mouth of your [y]sacks carry again in your hand;
[j]peradventure it was an [z]oversight: 13 take also your brother, and
arise, go again unto the [c]man.

. . . 14 and [M]God Almighty [a']give you [b']mercy before the [c]man, that he may release unto you your [c']other brother and Benjamin. And if I be [k]bereaved of my children, I am bereaved.

15 And the men took that [u]present, and they took double money in
their hand, and Benjamin; and rose up, and went down to Egypt, and
stood before Joseph. 16 And when Joseph saw Benjamin with them,
he said to the [d']steward of his house, Bring the men into the house,
and [e']slay, and [f']make ready; for the men shall dine with me at [g']noon.
17 And the man did as Joseph bade; and the man brought the men into
Joseph's house. 18 And the men were afraid, because they were
brought into Joseph's house; and they said, [k']Because of the money
that was [w]returned in our [y]sacks [l]at the first time are we brought in;
that he may [M]seek occasion against us, and [i']fall upon us, and take us
for bondmen, and our asses. 19 And they [j']came near to [t]the [d']steward
of Joseph's house, and they spake unto him at the door of the house,
and said, 20 [m]Oh my lord, we came indeed down [l]at the first time
to buy food: 21 and [n]it came to pass[n], when we came to the [o]lodging
place, that we opened our [y]sacks, and, behold, every man's money was
in the [x]mouth of his sack, our money in full [k']weight: and we have
brought it again in our hand. 22 And other money have we [l]brought
down in our hand to buy food: we know not who put our money in our
[y]sacks. 23 And he said, [l']Peace be to you, fear not: your God, and the
[p]God of your father, hath given you [t]treasure in your sacks: I had
your money. [E]And he brought [c']Simeon out unto them. 24 And the man
brought the men into Joseph's house, and gave them water, and they
[m']washed their feet; and he gave their asses [q]provender. 25 And
they [f']made ready the [u]present against Joseph came at [g']noon: for
they heard that they should eat bread there. 26 And when Joseph came
home, they brought him the [u]present which was in their hand into
the house, and [r]bowed down themselves to him to the earth. 27 And
he asked them of their [l']welfare, and said, Is your father [l']well, the
old man [n']of whom ye spake? Is he [f]yet alive? 28 And they said,
[o']Thy servant our father is [l']well, he is [f]yet alive. And they [s]bowed
the head, and made obeisance. 29 And he lifted up his eyes, and saw
Benjamin his brother, his mother's son, and said, Is this your youngest
brother, [n']of whom ye spake unto me? And he said, God be [p']gracious
unto thee, my son. 30 And Joseph [t]made haste; for his [q']bowels did
[r']yearn upon his brother: and he [s']sought where to weep; and he
entered into his [l']chamber, and wept there. 31 And he washed his face,

j Ex 34[27] Deut 17[10]. ct 41[40] ℌ
k 11 22 39[1]
l 42[2]
m 44[32]* cp 38[17] ℌ
n 31[39]
o 44[32] cp [D]13[a]
p 31[42]
q 19[16]
r Cp 27[36] ℌ
s 27[33]
t ℌ*
u 43
v 37[25]
w ℌ=*restored* 28
x 42[27]
y 42[1N]
z ℌ†
a' Cp 39[21]
b' Ct [30] Deut 13[17]* Jer 42[12]
c' 42[19 24]
d' Cp 39[4] 44[1 4]
e' Ex 22[1] Deut 28[31]*
f' 25 Josh 1[11] *al*
g' 25 Deut 28[29]*
h' 12[17]
i' Deut 9[18 25] Ezek 10[1] Hithpa†
j' 18[23]
k' 24[22]
l' 27. cp 29[6] Ex 18[7] Judg 6[23]
m' 18[4]
n' Cp 26[2] ℌ
o' Cp 73
p' 33[5]
q' Ct 14 ℌ
r' 1 Kings 3[26] Hos 11[8] cp Lam 5[10]†
s' Ex 2[15] 4[24]
t' Ex 8[3] cp Judg 15[1] 2 Sam 13[10] 1 Kings 1[15] ℌ

f 91[b]
g 11
h 52
i 74
j 64
k 98
l 8[b]
m 56[b]
n 3
o 53
p 120[b]
q 67
r 12[a]
s 12[b]
t 43

43[9] **M** ℌ *I shall have sinned against thee for ever.*
11a **M** See 37[25]. 11b **M** That is, *pistachio nuts.*
14 **M** ℌ *El Shaddai.*—The occurrence of this name (cp [P]1) seems due to the late redaction which has left its traces on other portions of the Joseph-cycle cp 40[2N].
18 **M** ℌ *roll himself upon us.*

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and came out; and he [u']refrained himself, and said, Set on bread.
[32] And they set on for him by himself, and for them by themselves, and for the Egyptians, which did eat with him, by themselves: because the Egyptians might not eat bread with the Hebrews; for that is an [v']abomination unto the Egyptians. [33] And they sat before him, the firstborn according to his [w']birthright, and the youngest according to his [z]youth: and the men [t]marvelled one with another. [34] And [N]he took [and sent] [t]messes unto them from before him: but Benjamin's [t]mess was five [x']times so much as any of theirs. And they drank, and [N y']were merry with him.

44[1] And he commanded the [a]steward of his house, saying, Fill the men's sacks with food, as much as they can carry, [N]and put every man's money in his sack's mouth. [2] And put my [b]cup, the silver cup, in the [c]sack's mouth of the youngest, and his corn money. And he did [a]according to the word that Joseph had spoken. [3] As soon as the morning was light, the men were sent away, they and their asses. [4] [And] when they were gone out of the city, and were not yet [d]far off, Joseph said unto his [a]steward, Up, follow after the men; and when thou dost [e]overtake them, say unto them, Wherefore have ye rewarded evil for good? [N][Wherefore have ye stolen my silver cup?] [5] [L]Is not this it in which my lord drinketh, and whereby he indeed [f]divineth? ye have [g]done evil in so doing. [6] And he [e]overtook them, and he spake unto them these words. [7] And they said unto him, Wherefore speaketh [b]my lord [a]such words as these? [h]God forbid that [c]thy servants should do such a thing. [8] Behold, the money, which we found in our [c]sacks' mouths, we [i]brought again unto thee out of the land of Canaan: [j]how then should we steal out of thy lord's house silver or gold? [9] With whomsoever of [c]thy servants it be found, let him [k]die, and we also will be [b]my lord's bondmen. [10] And he said, Now also let it [l]be [a]according unto your words: he with whom it is found shall be my bondman; and ye shall be [m]blameless. [11] Then they [d]hasted, and took down every man his [c]sack to the ground, and opened every man his sack. [12] And he [n]searched, [and] [e]began at the eldest, and [o]left at the youngest: and the [b]cup was found in Benjamin's [c]sack. [13] Then they [p]rent their clothes, and [q]laded every man his ass, and returned to the city. [14] And [r]Judah and his brethren came to Joseph's house; and he was [f]yet there: and they [s]fell before him on the ground. [15] And Joseph said unto them, What deed is this that ye have done? know ye not that such a man as I can indeed [f]divine? [16] And [N]Judah said, What shall we say unto [b]my lord? what shall we speak? or how shall we [t]clear ourselves? God hath found out the [w]iniquity of [c]thy servants: [s]behold, we are [b]my lord's bondmen, [s]both we, [s]and he also in whose hand the cup is found. [17] And he said, [h]God forbid that I should do so: the man in whose hand the cup is found, he shall be my bondman; but as for you, get you up [v]in peace unto your father.

[18] Then Judah came near unto him, and said, [b]Oh my lord, let [c]thy servant, I pray thee, speak a word in my lord's [w]ears, and let not thine anger burn against [c]thy servant: for thou art even as Pharaoh. [19] [b]My lord asked [c]his servants, saying, [i]Have ye a father, or a brother? [20] And we said unto [b]my lord, We [i]have a father, an old man, and a child of his [j]old age, a little one; and his brother is [x]dead, and he alone is [y]left of his mother, and his father loveth him. [21] And thou saidst unto [c]thy servants, [z]Bring him down unto me, that I may set mine eyes upon

P: a 2 | b 56 | c 73 | d 43 | e 8 | f 91[a] | g 11 | h 56[b] | i 84 | j 63

u' 45[1]* | v' 46[34] Ex 8[26] | w' 25[32] | x' 47[24] ℌ | y' 9[21] | a 43[16] | b 12 16. Ex 25[31] &c Jer 35[5]† | c 42[27] | d 21[16] | e 6 31[25] | 5 L5j | f 30[27] | g 19[7] | h 17 ℌ 18[25] | i 43[21] | j 34 26[9] 39[9] Josh 9[7] cp Ex 6[12] 30* | k Ct 31[32] | l 30[34] | m ℌ=*clear* 24[41b] | n 31[35] | o 18[33] | p 37[34] ℌ | q ℌ* | r Cp 43[3] ct 42[38 37] | s 50[18] | t ℌ Hithpa† cp 199[b] | u 4[13] | v 43[27] ℌ | w 50[4] Ex 11[2] cp 23[10] Num 14[28] | x 42[38] | y 32[24] | z 39[1] ct 42[34]

43[34a] **M** Or, *messes were taken.* [34b] **M** ℌ *drank largely.*

44[1] The return of each man's money *a second time* can hardly be part of the original story. The device of the cup is designed to test the loyalty of the brothers to Benjamin. But a repetition of the gift of the money (by which their honesty had been already successfully proved [8]) has no further significance. And when the sacks are opened [11], nothing is said of its discovery, ct 42[27] and 42[35].

[4] The words in brackets found in 𝔊 𝔏 𝔖 seem to have dropped accidentally out of the text.

[16] Some critics propose to read 'they' as in [7]. Judah seems first to act as spokesman in [18].

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him. [22] And we said unto [b]my lord, The lad cannot leave his father: for if he should leave his father, his father would die. [23] And thou
a′ 43[3] [a′]saidst unto [c]thy servants, Except your youngest brother come down with you, ye shall see my face no more. [24] And [k]it came to pass[k] when we came up unto [c]thy servant my father, we told him the words of [b]my
b′ 43[2] lord. [25] And our father said, [b′]Go again, buy us a [l]little food. [26] And we said, We cannot go down: if our youngest brother [l]be with us, then
c′ 43[3] will we go down: for we may not see the [c′]man's face, except our youngest brother be with us. [27] And thy servant my father said unto us, Ye know that my wife bare me two sons: [28] and the one went out
d′ 37[33b] from me, and I said, Surely [d′]he is torn in pieces; and I have not seen
e′ 29[27 33] 35[17] ℌ him since: [29] and if ye take [e′]this one also from me, and [f′]mischief befall
f′ 42[38] him, [f′]ye shall bring down my gray hairs with [M]sorrow to [M]the [m]grave. [m] 75
[30] Now therefore when I come to thy servant my father, and the lad be not with us; seeing that [M]his life is bound up in the lad's life; [31] it shall come to pass, when he seeth that the lad is not [with us], that he will die: and [c]thy servants shall [f′]bring down the gray hairs of thy servant our father with sorrow to [M]the [m]grave. [32] For [c]thy servant became
g′ 43[9] [g′]surety for the lad unto my father, saying, If I bring him not unto thee, then shall I [g′]bear the blame to my father for ever. [33] Now therefore, let [c]thy servant, I pray thee, abide instead of the lad a bondman to [b]my lord; and let the lad go up with his brethren. [34] For [j]how shall I go up to my father, and the lad be not with me? lest I see the evil that shall come on my father.

a 43[31] **45**[1a] [N]Then Joseph could not [a]refrain himself before all them that stood by him; and he cried, Cause every man to go out from me.

b Num 12[6] **E**† [1b] And there stood no man with him, while Joseph [b]made himself
c Cp Num 14[1b] known unto his brethren. [2] And he [MC]wept aloud: and the Egyptians heard,
d 50[4] ct [16] ...[2b]and the [d]house of Pharaoh heard.
e Ct 43[27] 44[19-34] [3] And Joseph said unto his brethren, I am Joseph; [e]doth my father yet
f Ex 15[15*] live? And his brethren could not answer him; for they [f]were troubled at his presence.
g 27[26]. [4]And Joseph said unto his brethren, [g]Come near to me, I pray you. And they came near. And he said, I am Joseph your brother, whom
h 5 37[28] ye [h]sold into Egypt. [5a] And now be not [a]grieved, [a] 79
i 31[35] ℌ† . . . [5b] [T]And be not [i]angry with yourselves,
[5c] that ye [h]sold me hither:
j Ct Lev 13[10 24] ℌ* . . . [5d] for God did send me before you to [j]preserve life. [6] For these two years hath the famine been [k]in the land: and there are yet five years, in the which there shall be neither [l]plowing nor [m]harvest. [7] And God sent me before you to preserve you a [n]remnant in the earth, and to [o]save you alive [M]by a great [p]deliverance. [8] So now it was not you that sent me hither, but God: and he hath made me a father to Pharaoh, and lord of all his [q]house, and [r]ruler over all the land of Egypt.
k 48[16] ℌ
l Ex 34[21] 1 Sam 8[12]†
m 8[22] Ex 23[16]
n ℌ* Am 1[8] *al*
o 50[20] Ex 1[17]
p 32[8]
q 41[40]
r 8 26 cp 24[2]
[9] [b]Haste ye, and go up to my father, and say unto him, Thus saith thy [b] 43

44[29a 31] **M** ℌ *evil.*—Cp Ex 32[12] ℌ.

[29b 31] **M** ℌ *Sheol.* See 37[35].

[30] **M** Or, *his soul is knit with the lad's soul.* See 1 Sam 18[1].

45[1] The narrative of Joseph's disclosure of himself and the subsequent invitation to his father and brethren is obviously composite, but some uncertainty still hangs about the details. The opening seems to be derived from **J** in sequel to the pleading of Judah, and with this is associated the allusion to the transaction with the Ishmaelites [4]. Joseph's message to his father follows in [9] with the promise of residence in Goshen [10]. The urgency of [9] is repeated in [13]; in [14] Joseph falls on Benjamin's neck cp [2]28; the 'little ones' [19] also seem to belong to **J**, and in [28] it is Israel who accepts his son's proposal. On the other hand a number of indications plead for **E**. In [1b] 'stood' represents a different ℌ compared with [1a]; 'made himself known' 'wept aloud' each occur but once elsewhere and both in **E**; the question in [3] is **E**'s parallel to the inquiry in 43[27]; in [5b-8] the use of Elohim makes for **E** (cp the marginal passages) as do the parallels to [12] and [15]. The account of Pharaoh's command to Joseph [16-18] is a duplicate of Joseph's instructions [9-11], while the gifts of Joseph in [21b-23] produce the desired effect on Jacob [25-27] (ct Israel [28]). In the sequel **J** represents Joseph as only informing Pharaoh about his family when they have actually reached Goshen 46[28..]; there is thus a clear divergence between the two narratives.

[2] **M** ℌ *gave forth his voice in weeping.*

[5] So ℌ, **T** *nor angry with yourselves.*

[7] **M** Or, *to be a great company that escape.*

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son Joseph, [N]God hath made me lord of all Egypt: come down unto me, tarry not: [10] and thou shalt dwell in the land of [c]Goshen, and thou shalt be near unto me, thou, and thy children, and thy children's children, and thy [d]flocks, and thy herds, and all that thou hast: [11] and there will I [s]nourish thee; for there are yet [t]five years of famine; lest thou [u]come to poverty, thou, and thy household, and all that thou hast.

[12] And, behold, your eyes see, and the eyes of my brother Benjamin, that it is my mouth that speaketh unto you.

[13]And ye shall tell my father of all my glory in Egypt, and of all that ye have seen; and ye shall [b]haste and bring down my father hither.

[14] And he [e]fell upon his brother Benjamin's neck, and wept; and Benjamin wept upon his neck.

[15] And he kissed all his brethren, and wept upon them: and after that his brethren talked with him. [16] And the [v]fame thereof was heard in Pharaoh's house, saying, Joseph's brethren are come: and it [w]pleased Pharaoh well, and his servants. [17] And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, Say unto thy brethren, This do ye; [x]lade your [y]beasts, and go, get you unto the land of Canaan; [18] and take your father and your households, and come unto me: and I will give you the [z]good of the land of Egypt, and ye shall eat the fat of the land.

...[19N]*Now thou art commanded,* this do ye; take you [a']wagons out of the land of Egypt for your [f]little ones, and for your wives, and bring your father, and come. [20] Also [b']regard not your stuff; for the [z]good of all the land of Egypt is yours. [21a] And the [c']sons of Israel [d'] did so:

[21b] And Joseph gave them [a']wagons, [e']*according to the commandment of Pharaoh,* and [f']gave them provision for the way. [22] To all of them he gave each man [g']changes of raiment; but to Benjamin he gave three hundred pieces of silver, and [h']five changes of raiment. [23] And to his father he sent [i']after this manner; ten asses laden with the [z]good things of Egypt, and ten she-asses laden with corn and bread and [j']victual for his father by the way. [24] So he sent his brethren away, and they departed: and he said unto them, See that ye [k']fall not out by the way. [25] And they went up out of Egypt, and [l']came into the land of Canaan unto Jacob their father. [26] And they told him, saying, Joseph is [m']yet alive, and he is [r]ruler over all the land of Egypt. And his heart [n']fainted, for he [o']believed them not. [27] And they told him all the words of Joseph, which he had said unto them: and when he saw the [a']wagons which Joseph had sent to carry him, the spirit of Jacob their father [p']revived.

...[28]And Israel said, It is [q']enough; Joseph my son is [r']yet alive: I will go and see him before [s']I die.

46[1a] And [a]Israel [a]took his journey with [b]all that he had, [N]*and came to Beer-sheba.*

[2] And God [b]spake unto [N]Israel in the [c]visions of the night, and said, [d]Jacob, Jacob. And he said, [c]Here am I. [3] And he said, I am God,

s 47[12] 50[21]*
t Cp 6
u ℌ Niph Prov 20[13] 23[21] 30[9]†
v Ct 2[b]
w 41[37]
x ℌ† ct 44[13]
y Ex 22[5] cp Num 20[4]
z 20 28 24[10]
a' 21 27 46[5] Num 7[3 6 8]*
b' Cp Deut 7[16]
c' 42[5]
d' 29[28] Ex 17[6] Josh 5[15]
e' Cp [P]19
f' 42[25]
g' 41[14]
h' 43[34]
i' Josh 7[20]*
j' 2 Chron 11[23] Dan 4[12 21]†
k' ℌ=*tremble* Ex 15[14] Deut 2[25]*
l' 42[29]
m' Cp 3
n' Hab 1[4] Ps 77[3] 38[8]†
o' 15[6]
p' ℌ *lived* cp Ps 22[26] 69[32]
q' Ex 9[28]
r' 43[27]
s' 46[30] 27[4]
a 11[2]
b 22[3]
c Num 12[6]* cp 15[1]
d Cp 22[11]

a 49
b 12[4]
c 10[4]

45[9] The language of this verse is not inconsistent with J ('haste' [JE]43, 'tarry not' 19[17] cp Josh 10[19]) except in the use of 'Elohim' which is no longer dramatically appropriate as in 43[23] [29] 44[16] between supposed strangers, and may be due to editorial assimilation, cp 50[24N]. The words can hardly be referred to E who ascribes to Pharaoh [17]. the first invitation to Jacob and his sons to settle in Egypt.

[19] The first words of this verse 'now thou art commanded' do not seem to cohere with what precedes or follows. The instructions begin in [17]. from Pharaoh to Joseph: they are continued without a break in [19] from Joseph to his brethren. [19] appears to come from another hand. In the opening phrase the Hebrew conjugation (found elsewhere only in P Ex 34[34] Lev 8[35] 10[13] Num 3[16] 36[2], and Ezek 12[7] 24[18] 37[7]) is unusual; 𝔊 reads 'command thou,' Sam 'I have commanded.' The uncertainty of the text is probably due to editorial touches which cannot now be fully traced. But it does not seem necessary to ascribe the whole of [19]. to R cp 46[31]: the peculiar phrase in [20a] 'your eye shall not pity,' though common in D 43[b] in another application, is not exclusively Deuteronomic Ezek 5[11] 7[4 9] &c Is 13[18] cp 1 Sam 24[10]: in [20b] 'the good of all the land' seems an original parallel to [18], rather than an editorial addition which would have been superfluous. But the union of [19]. with [17]. begot some slight touches in [21] from R. It would seem from [9]. 46[31] that the initiative in sending for Jacob, according to J, lay with Joseph: E also ascribes the gift of wagons to him [21 27]; the references to Pharaoh, therefore, in [21] and 46[5] must be later editorial interpretations of Joseph's action.

46[1a] This clause is probably due to the editor who combined J and E. In 37[14] (J) Israel seems to be living in Hebron: while E 46[5] apparently regards Beer-sheba as his home. [1b] seems the sequel of the vision in [3]., and is therefore placed after [4].

[2] Probably *Jacob* originally as in [2b].

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the [e]God of thy father: [d]fear not to go down into Egypt; for [f]I will there [e]make of thee a great nation: [4] I will go down [g]with thee into Egypt; and I will [f]also [g]surely [h]bring thee up again: and Joseph shall [i]put his hand upon thine eyes.—[1b] [LN]And [he] [h]offered sacrifices unto the God of his father Isaac.—[5] And Jacob [j]rose up from Beer-sheba. [N]*And the sons of Israel carried Jacob their father, and their* [k]*little ones, and their wives, in the wagons which Pharaoh had sent to carry him.*

. . . [6] And they [i]took their cattle, and their [l]goods, which they had [l]gotten in the [m]land of Canaan, and came into Egypt, Jacob, [n]and all his seed [o]with him: [7] his sons, and his sons' sons [o]with him, his daughters, and his sons' daughters, and all his seed brought he with him into Egypt.

[8] [N]And [P]these are the names of the children of Israel, which came into Egypt, Jacob and his sons: Reuben, Jacob's firstborn. [9] And the sons of Reuben; Hanoch, and Pallu, and Hezron, and Carmi. [10] And the sons of Simeon; [M]Jemuel, and Jamin, and Ohad, and [M]Jachin, and [M]Zohar, and Shaul the son of a Canaanitish woman. [11] And the sons of Levi; [M]Gershon, Kohath, and Merari. [12] And the sons of Judah; Er, and Onan, and Shelah, and Perez, and Zerah: but Er and Onan [j]died in the [m]land of Canaan. And the sons of Perez were Hezron and Hamul. [13] And the sons of Issachar; Tola, and [M]Puvah, and Iob, and Shimron. [14] And the sons of Zebulun; Sered, and Elon, and Jahleel. [15] [P]These are the sons of Leah, which she bare unto Jacob in [q]Paddan-aram, [k]with his daughter Dinah: all the [r]souls of his sons and his daughters were thirty and three. [16] And the sons of Gad; [M]Ziphion, and Haggi, Shuni, and [M]Ezbon, Eri, and [M]Arodi, and Areli. [17] And the sons of Asher; Imnah, and Ishvah, and Ishvi, and Beriah, and Serah their sister: and the sons of Beriah; Heber, and Malchiel. [18] [P]These are the sons of Zilpah, which Laban gave to Leah his daughter, and these she bare unto Jacob, even sixteen [r]souls. [19] The sons of Rachel Jacob's wife; Joseph and Benjamin. [20] And unto Joseph in the land of Egypt were born Manasseh and Ephraim, which [l]Asenath the daughter of Poti-phera priest of On bare unto him. [21] And the sons of Benjamin; [m]Bela, and Becher, and Ashbel, Gera, and Naaman, [M]Ehi, and Rosh, [M]Muppim, and [M]Huppim, and Ard. [22] These are the sons of Rachel, which [n]were born to Jacob: all the souls were fourteen. [23] And the sons of Dan; [M]Hushim. [24] And the sons of Naphtali; [M]Jahzeel, and Guni, and Jezer, and [M]Shillem. [25] These are the sons of Bilhah, which Laban gave unto Rachel his daughter, and these she bare unto Jacob: all the souls were seven. [26] All the [M]souls that came with Jacob into Egypt, which [o]came out of his loins[o], [s]besides Jacob's sons' wives, all the souls were threescore and six; [27] and the sons of Joseph, which [P]were born to him in Egypt, were two souls: all the souls of the house of Jacob, which came into Egypt, [q]were threescore and ten.

[28] [N]And he sent [r]Judah before him unto Joseph, to [s]shew the way before him unto [t]Goshen; and they came into the land of Goshen. [29] And Joseph [t]made ready his chariot, and went up to [u]meet [a]Israel his father, to [t]Goshen; and he presented himself unto him, and [v]fell on his neck, and wept on his neck a good while. [30] And [a]Israel said unto Joseph,

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e 31[5] Ex 3[6] cp 120
f 21[13]
g Cp 28[20] 31[5]
h 1[b] 17*a f* 31[54]
i 12[5]
j 38[7] 10
k Ct 35[23] 30[21]
l 41[50]
m Num 26[38]..
n 𝔊 Sam *she bore* cp 15
o Ex 1[5]†
p 35[26]
q Ex 1[5] cp Deut 10[22]
r Cp 43[3] 44[18]
s 𝔊 Sam 𝔖 *present himself* 29
t 𝔓=*bound* Ex 14[6]

d 154
e 193
f 126
g 237
h 136
i 194
j 128
k 52
l 155
m 4
n 162
o 176
p 188
q 6
r 146
s 31
t 39
u 183
v 28

46[1b] This clause may originally have followed the theophany in [2–4] cp 12[7] 26[24]. 31[24 54].

[5] An addition by **R**, perhaps on a basis of **J** cp 45[19 21]. In 45[27] the wagons were sent by Joseph. The designation 'sons of Israel' may be due to **R**[p] cp [8]; but cp 45[21b].

[8] This list appears to be of a secondary character. It possesses many of the marks characteristic of **P**, but on the other hand it is by no means in entire accord with other data, cp [21] with Num 26[38]. . The variations in 𝔊 show to how late a date editorial manipulation continued. One of the difficulties was to fill up the traditional number of seventy persons [27] cp Deut 10[22] *. The method of the table is not quite consistent. According to [8–15] Dinah is not reckoned in the computation, but in [16–18] Serah the daughter of Asher is counted. The reference in [12b] seems to exclude Er and Onan; but the total thirty-three in [15] is only reached by including them or else adding in Dinah and Jacob himself. If [12b] be the correction of an editor acquainted with 38, the latter solution is possible (Dillmann); but the statement in [8] 'which came into Egypt' must not be taken too literally; [20] includes Joseph's sons who were born in Egypt, and Er and Onan may be therefore counted loosely among the children of Israel. The general evidence points to a writer familiar with **P**, but also acquainted with other documents besides; and the list will belong to the group of later materials designated as **P**[s] cp *Introd* XIII **10**.

10a **M** In Num 26[12] 1 Chron 4[24] *Nemuel.*
10b **M** In 1 Chron 4[24] *Jarib.*
10c **M** In Num 26[13] 1 Chron 4[24] *Zerah.*
11 **M** In 1 Chron 6[16] *Gershom.*
13 **M** In 1 Chron 7[1] *Puah, Jashub.* See Num 26[23]..
16a **M** In Num 26[15] *Zephon.*
16b **M** In Num 26[16] *Ozni.*
16c **M** In Num 26[17] *Arod.*
21a **M** In Num 26[38] *Ahiram.*
21b **M** In Num 26[39] *Shephupham*, in 1 Chron 7[12] *Shuppim.*
21c **M** In Num 26[39] *Hupham.*
23 **M** In Num 26[42] *Shuham.*
24a **M** In 1 Chron 7[13] *Jahziel.*
24b **M** In 1 Chron 7[13] *Shallum.*
26 **M** Or, *souls belonging to Jacob that came.*

[28] The sequel of 46[1a]: the reference to Goshen shows that the story follows on 45[10]. As it appears from 47[1]. . that Pharaoh hears of the arrival of Joseph's family for the first time, it is plain that the invitation in 45[17]. . is from a different hand.

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* Strack has pointed out a curious instance of artificial arrangement. Leah's descendants number thirty-two without Dinah while Rachel has fourteen. The numbers for the corresponding handmaids are halved, Zilpah having sixteen and Bilhah seven. See *Genesis* (in *Kurzgef Comm*) 149.

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[w]Now let me die, since I have [x]seen thy face, that thou art [w]yet alive.
31 And Joseph said unto his brethren, and unto his [y]father's house, I will
go up, and [z]tell Pharaoh, and will say unto him, My brethren, and my
[y]father's house, which were in the land of Canaan, are come unto me;
32 and the men are [a']shepherds, *for they have been keepers of* [b']*cattle;* and they
have brought their [c']flocks, and their [c']herds, and [d']all that they have.
33 And [v]it shall come to pass, [v]when Pharaoh shall [e']call you, and shall
say, What is your [w]occupation? 34 that ye shall say, [f']Thy servants have
been keepers of [b']cattle from our [x]youth even [y]until [g']now, [h']both we,
and our fathers: [i']that ye may dwell in the land of [t]Goshen; for every
[a']shepherd is an [z]abomination unto the Egyptians.

47 1 Then Joseph went in and [a]told Pharaoh, and said, My father and
my brethren, and their flocks, and their herds, and all that they have,
are come out of the [a]land of Canaan; and, behold, they are in the land
of [b]Goshen. 2 And from among his brethren he took [b]five men, and
[c]presented them unto Pharaoh. 3 And Pharaoh said unto his brethren,
What is your [c]occupation? And they [d]said unto Pharaoh, [d]Thy servants
are shepherds, [e]both we, and our fathers. 4 [N]And they said unto
Pharaoh, To [e]sojourn in the land are we come; for there is no [f]pasture
for thy servants' flocks; for the [f]famine is sore in the land of Canaan:
now therefore, we pray thee, let thy servants dwell in the land of
[b]Goshen. [N][And Pharaoh said unto Joseph]—[6b] In the land of [b]Goshen
let them dwell: and if thou knowest [g]any [M]able men among them, then
make them rulers over my [h]cattle.—

[And [g]Jacob and his sons [h]came into Egypt to Joseph. And Pharaoh the
[i]king of Egypt heard.] 5 [N]And Pharaoh [i]spake unto Joseph, saying, [j]Thy
father and thy brethren are come unto thee: [6a] the land of Egypt is [k]before
thee; in the [l]best of the land make thy father and thy brethren to [m]dwell;
7 And Joseph brought in Jacob his father, and [j]set him before Pharaoh:
and Jacob blessed Pharaoh. 8 And Pharaoh said unto Jacob, How many
are the [n]days of the years of thy life? 9 And Jacob said unto Pharaoh, The
days of the years of my [Tk]sojournings are an [l]hundred and thirty years: few
and evil have been the days of the years of my life, and they have not
[o]attained unto the days of the [m]years of the life of my fathers in the days of
their [Tk]sojournings. 10 And Jacob blessed Pharaoh, and went out from the
presence of Pharaoh. 11 And Joseph [m]placed his father and his brethren,
and gave them a [n]possession in the land of Egypt, in the [l]best of the land,
in the land of [P]Rameses, as Pharaoh had commanded:

12 And Joseph [q]nourished his father, and his brethren, and all his father's
household, with bread, [Tr]according to the number of their [o]little ones.
13 [N]And there was no bread in all the land; for the [f]famine was very
sore, so that the land of Egypt *and the land of Canaan* [s]fainted by reason of
the famine. 14 And Joseph [t]gathered up all the money that was [u]found
in the land of Egypt, *and in the land of Canaan,* for the [v]corn which they

u 45[28] cp 91[b]
v 12[12] cp 3
w 47[3] Ex 5[13]
x 8[21]
y 32[4]
z 43[32]
a 46[31]
b Cp 43[34]
c 46[33]
d 46[34]
e 12[10]
f ℌ* cp 165
g 46[8]
h 46[6 8 26.] ct 28
i 41[46]
j Ct 46[31]
k 34[10]
l Ex 22[5] 1 Sam 15[9] 15†
m 11 Lev 23[43*]
n 25[7]
o Ct 44[4] Ex 14[9] ℌ
p Ct 6[b]
q 45[11]
r Cp P19[b]
s Prov 26[18]† cp 19[11] ℌ
t Lev 19[9. 23][22] Pi* cp 31[46]
u 19[15]
v 42[2]

w 62
x 203
y 153
z 218
a′ 208
b′ 18
c′ 33
d′ 124
e′ 139
f′ 73
g′ 187
h′ 11
i′ 221
a Cp P4
b 39
c 74
d 73
e 11
f 29
g 84
h 18
i 185
j 141
k 145
l 93
m 182
n 127
o 52[a]

47[4] These words are perhaps repeated accidentally from [3].

[4b] The text here adopted in [5.] is derived from the Greek which places [6b] between [4] and [5]; the words found in ℌ but absent from ℌ are inserted in brackets.

[6b] **M** Or, *men of activity.*—Cp Ex 18[21] 25*.

[5] **P**'s parallel to the preceding story of Israel's settlement in **J**: ct [7] with [2], 'land of Rameses' [11] with 'land of Goshen' [4] [6]: the sequel is found in [27b] [28].

[9] So **M**. **T** *pilgrimage.*

[12] So **M**. **T** *according to their families.*

[13] The account of the progress of the famine, leading up to the explanation of Egyptian fiscal arrangements in [26], has seemed to some critics out of place here. Wellhausen finds it appropriate neither to **J** nor **E** in its present connexion and suggests that it was derived originally from some parallel to 41. Others more confidently attach it to 41[56]. It is supposed that the second year [18] would then fit the date in 45[6 11]. The marks of **J**'s authorship are, however, numerous, cp the margins, and the parallels especially in [18. 24].. Yet one or two peculiarities, at least, may be detected: thus the word 'give' [15] is used with an object as in 29[31] 30[1] **E**, contrasted with **J**'s employment of it as an interjection cp 164: and the phrase 'the famine was sore' [20] is identical with that in 41[56].. These instances are hardly adequate to support a plea for **E**'s presence when the text shows none of the incongruities of a composite narrative: but the possibility of it must at any rate be admitted, though further proof seems wanting (Holzinger thinks the probability especially strong in [19–26]). The references to 'the land of Canaan' [13–15] can hardly have belonged originally to the narrative which related how the soil of Egypt was gradually bought up for Pharaoh, and must be assigned to **R**.

J E JE J E P

[v] bought: and Joseph brought the money into Pharaoh's house. [15] And
[w] 18 cp Josh 3[16] when the money was [w]all spent in the land of Egypt, *and in the land of*
[x] Cp 29[21] 30[1] ℌ *Canaan*, all the Egyptians came unto Joseph, and said, [x]Give us bread:
[y] Is 16[4] 29[20] Ps 77[8]† for why should we die in thy presence? for [our] money [y]faileth. [16] And
[z] 𝔊 Sam 𝔏 *bread* Joseph said, Give your [h]cattle; and I will give [z]you for your cattle, if
[a'] Ex 9[3] money [y]fail. [17] And they brought their cattle unto Joseph: and Joseph
gave them bread in exchange for the [a']horses, and for the [M]flocks, and
for the herds, and for the asses: and he [M]fed them with bread in exchange
for all their cattle for that year. [18] And when that year was [w]ended,
they came unto him the second year, and said unto him, We will not
[b'] Josh 7[19] Pi* [b']hide from [P]my lord, how that our money is [w]all spent; and the herds p 56
[c'] 42[38] of cattle are my lord's; there is nought [c']left in the sight of my lord,
[d'] ℌ* [q]but our [d']bodies, and our lands: [19] wherefore should we die before thine q 138
[e'] 39[1] eyes, [e]both we and our land? [e']buy us and our land for bread, and we
[f'] 44[9] and our land [f']will be servants unto Pharaoh: and give us seed, [g']that
[g'] 42[2] we may live, and not die, and that the land be not [h']desolate. [20] So
[h'] Lev 26[22]. . Num 21[30]* Joseph [e']bought all the land of Egypt for Pharaoh; for the Egyptians
sold every man his field, because the famine was [i']sore upon them: and
[i'] 41[56]. the land became Pharaoh's. [21] And as for the people, [M]he removed them
[j'] 41[35] [M]to the [j']cities from one [k']end of the border of Egypt even to the other
[k'] 19[4] ℌ end thereof. [22] [N]Only the land of the priests bought he not: for the
[l'] Ezek 16[27] Prov 30[8] 31[15] priests had a [l']portion from Pharaoh, and did eat their portion which
Pharaoh gave them; [r]wherefore they sold not their land. [23] Then r 85
[m'] Ezek 16[43]† Joseph said unto the people, Behold, I have [e']bought you this day and
[n'] 26[12] your land for Pharaoh: [m']lo, here is seed for you, and ye shall [n']sow the
land. [24] And it shall come to pass at the ingatherings, that ye shall
[o'] 43[34] give a fifth unto Pharaoh, and four [o']parts shall be your own, for seed
of the field, and for your food, and for them of your households, and for
[p'] 19[19] food for your [o]little ones. [25] And they said, Thou hast [p']saved our lives:
let us [s]find grace in the sight of [P]my lord, and we [f']will be Pharaoh's
[26] *L* [a,b] servants. [26] [L]And Joseph [q']made it a statute concerning the land of
[q'] 1 Sam 30[25] Egypt [t]unto this day, that Pharaoh should have the fifth; only the land t 142[b]
of the priests alone became not Pharaoh's.
[27a]And [u]Israel dwelt *in the land of Egypt*, in the land of [b]Goshen. u 49

[27b] [N]And they [v]gat them possessions therein, and were [w]fruitful, and multiplied v 127 w 73
exceedingly.
[28] And Jacob lived in the land of Egypt [r']seventeen years: so the days of
[r'] Cp 9 Jacob, [m]the years of his life, were an [x]hundred forty and seven years. x 93

[29] [N]And the [s']time drew near that [u]Israel must die: and he called his son
[s'] ℌ=*the days* Deut 31[14] 1 Kings 2[1]† cp Gen 27[41] Joseph, and said unto him, If now I have [s]found grace in thy sight,
[t'] 24[2] put, I pray thee, [t']thy hand under my thigh, and [y]deal kindly and truly y 57
[u'] Deut 31[16]* with me; bury me not, I pray thee, in Egypt: [30] but when I [u']sleep
[v'] ℌ=*bring* 45[19 27] with my fathers[u'], thou shalt [v']carry me out of Egypt, and bury me in
[w'] 35[20] [N]their [w']buryingplace. And he said, I will do [z]as thou hast said. z 2
[x'] 24[9] [31] And he said, Swear unto me: and he [x']sware unto him. And [u]Israel bowed
[y'] 48[2b] 49[33b] Ex 33* himself upon the [y']bed's head.
48[1] [N]And it came to pass [a]after these things, that one said to Joseph, a 95

47[17a] **M** ℌ *cattle of the flocks, and for the cattle of the herds.*—26[14] 2 Chron 32[29]† cp 33.

17b **M** ℌ *led them* as a shepherd.—Cp Ex 15[13] Hithpa 33[14]*.

21a **M** According to Sam 𝔊 𝔏, *he made bondmen of them, from &c.*

21b **M** Or, *according to their cities.*

22 The clauses relating to the priests' land 22 2[3] may possibly be later additions.

27b The sequel of 11.

29 The manner of the oath exacted by Israel from Joseph presents an unmistakable parallel to that demanded by Abraham from his servant 24[2], and is unanimously assigned to **J**.

30 This verse seems to have been altered by the harmonizer who has in view the statements of 49[29].. 50[12b 13]. The oath subsequently recited by Joseph 50[5] specifies Jacob's own burying-place. Bruston has conjectured, *ZATW* 1887, 206 ff, that the original form of 48[7] once stood between 29 and 30, and that **J** represented Jacob as desirous of interment in Rachel's grave.

48[1] With the exception of 3–7 which is at once recognized as belonging to **P**, this chapter presents several perplexities. The burial-oath in 47[29–31] is the preparation for the funeral solemnities of 50[1–10], but before the narrative of Israel's death both **J** and **E** seem to have included a special blessing on

J	E	JE	J	E	P
		Behold, thy father is [a]sick: and he took with him his [b]two sons, Manasseh and Ephraim. [2a] And one told Jacob, and said, Behold, thy son Joseph cometh unto thee:			
		...[2b] and [b]Israel [c]strengthened himself, and sat upon the [d]bed.			b 49
		[3] And Jacob said unto Joseph, [M]God [c]Almighty appeared unto me at [e]Luz in the [d]land of Canaan, and [f]blessed me, and said unto me, [4] [g]Behold, I will make thee [e]fruitful, and multiply thee, and I will [h]make of thee a [i]company of peoples; and will [j]give this land to [f]thy seed after thee for an [g]everlasting [h]possession. [5] And [k]now thy two sons, which were born unto thee in the land of Egypt before I came unto thee into Egypt, are mine; Ephraim and Manasseh, even as Reuben, and Simeon, shall be mine. [6] And thy [l]issue, which thou [Mi]begettest after them, shall be thine; they shall be called after the name of their brethren in their inheritance. [7] [N] *And as for [l]me, when I came from [k]Paddan, Rachel died [M]by me in the [d]land of Canaan in the way, when there was still some way to come unto Ephrath: and I buried her there in the way to Ephrath (the same is Beth-lehem).*			c 1 d 4 e 73 f 162 g 62 h 127 i 30 j 94 k 6
		[8] And [b]Israel [r]saw Joseph's sons, and said, [m]Who are these? [9a] And Joseph said unto his father, They are my sons, whom God hath given me here.			
		[9b] And he said, [n]Bring them, I pray thee, unto me, and I will bless them. [10a] Now the [o]eyes of [b]Israel were [l]dim for age, so that he could not see.			l 78
		[10b] And he brought them near unto him; and he [p]kissed them, and [q]embraced them. [11] And [b]Israel said unto Joseph, I had not [r]thought to [s]see thy face: and, lo, God hath let me see thy seed also. [12] And Joseph brought them out from between his knees; and he [m]bowed himself with his face to the earth.			m 12[a]
		[13] And Joseph [t]took them both, Ephraim in his right hand toward [b]Israel's left hand, and Manasseh in his left hand toward Israel's right hand, and [u]brought them near unto him. [14] And [b]Israel stretched out his right hand, and laid it upon Ephraim's head, who was the [n]younger, and his left hand upon Manasseh's head, [M]guiding his hands wittingly; for Manasseh was the firstborn. [15] And he blessed [N]Joseph, and said, The God before whom my fathers Abraham and Isaac did [v]walk, the God which hath [o]fed me [w]all my life long unto this day, [16] the [p]angel which hath [x]redeemed me from all evil, [q]bless the lads; and let my name be named on them, and the name of my fathers Abraham and Isaac; and let them [y]grow into a [z]multitude in the midst of the earth.			n 92 o 208 p 4 q 10[a]

[a] ℌ* ct 47[29]
[b] 41[50]
[c] Num 13[20]*
[d] 47[31]
[e] 35[6] cp 35[9N]
[f] 35[9]
[g] 6[13] ℌ
[h] 17[6] ℌ
[i] 28[3]
[j] 35[12]
[k] Cp JE 18[7b]
[l] Ct JE 6[0]
[m] 33[5]
[n] 45[18]
[o] 27[1]
[p] Cp 17[3N]
[q] ~ 13..
[r] ℌ Piel*
[s] Cp 11[9a]
[t] ℌ=*bring* 9b ct 10b ℌ
[u] 27[25] ct 10b
[v] 24[40]
[w] Num 22[30] ℌ† cp 9[1]
[x] Cp Ex 6[6]
[y] ℌ†
[z] 3[0]30

Joseph's house. Two blessings are here recorded [15.] and [20], one being pronounced on 'the lads' [16], the other being uttered in the singular 'in thee' [20]. Moreover, the two sons of Joseph are twice 'brought near' to their grandfather [10b] and [13b]. The narrative therefore shows signs of composition from two sources. In 48[1–2a] the indications point slightly to **E**, while [2b] is obviously connected with 47[31]. At [8] the reappearance of the name 'Israel' suggests **J** once more; but the statement that Israel 'saw' Joseph's sons conflicts with 'could not see' [10], and it appears better therefore to attribute the clause to **E**, the use of 'Israel' for 'Jacob' being due to **R** cp [11 21]. The sequel of [9b 10a] is found in [13], where Joseph fulfils the injunction of [9b], while [11] belongs to [8 9a]. The action of [12], where Joseph removes his sons from Jacob's embrace, presupposes [10b], while he reverently prepares to receive his father's blessing himself. The incident in [13. 17–19] has been regarded by Kuenen as a later insertion in **E**'s narrative: but these verses are entirely coherent with the passage previously assigned to **J**, and the marginal references confirm the ascription. On the blessings cp [15N].

48[3] **M** ℌ *El Shaddai.*

[6] **M** Or, *hast begotten.*

[7a] This verse has no connexion with the prophecy about Ephraim and Manasseh. In its present form it depends on 35[19]. It has been conjectured that a reference to Rachel may have followed 49[31]. If **P** supposed Rachel to have been buried with Leah at Machpelah, the discrepancy, when **JE** was combined with it, may have been too glaring, and the present passage may have been inserted editorially, based on the older document.

[7b] **M** Or, *to my sorrow.*

[8] **T** *beheld.* ℌ=*saw*, ct [10a] 'could not see,' cp [11] 'see thy face,' 'see thy seed.' By analogy with [17] the sequence of verbs in [8] might be translated 'and when Israel saw Joseph's sons, he said.'

[14] **M** Or, *crossing his hands.*—ℌ Piel† cp Gen 3[6] Deut 29[8] 32[8 29] Josh 1[7]. Hiph*.

[15] (ℌ *them.* A confusion seems to have arisen in the combination of the two stories. According to [9b] Israel desires to bless his grandchildren, and Joseph brings them to him [13.]. It would be natural for the blessing to follow, and it is found accordingly in [15.], cp 'walk' 24[40], the references to the fathers cp 28[13], the phrases 'all my life long,' 'grow into a multitude,' and the general prophetic character. But in [20] another blessing is pronounced on 'them,' yet it is delivered in the singular, 'in thee.' It would seem that this is the benediction on Joseph cp [15], for which preparation was made as he prostrated himself to receive it [12]. In **J**, therefore, the blessing on 'the lads' has been accidentally transferred to Joseph: in **E** the benediction on Joseph alights upon his sons. The critical difficulty would perhaps be most easily settled by transposing the two introductions [15a] and [20a].

J E JE J E P

[17] And when Joseph saw that his father laid his right hand upon the head of Ephraim, it [a']displeased him: and he [b']held up his father's hand, to remove it from Ephraim's head unto Manasseh's head. [18] And Joseph said unto his father, [c']Not so, my father: for this is the first-born; put thy right hand upon his head. [19] And his father refused, and said, I know [it], my son, I know [it]: he also shall become a people, and he also shall be great: [d']howbeit his younger brother shall be greater than he, and his seed shall become [M]a multitude of nations.

[20] And he blessed them that day, saying, [M]In thee shall Israel bless, saying, God make thee as Ephraim and as Manasseh: and he set Ephraim before Manasseh. [21] And Israel said unto Joseph, [e']Behold, I die: but God shall be [r]with you, and [f']bring you again unto the [g']land of your fathers. [22] Moreover I have given to thee one [M]portion above thy brethren, which I took out of the hand of the [s]Amorite with my [h']sword and with my bow[h'].

49[1a] [N]And Jacob [a]called unto his sons,

...[1b] And [he] said: [b]Gather yourselves together, that I may tell you that which shall [c]befall you [N]in the latter days.

[2] [Nd]Assemble yourselves, and hear, ye sons of Jacob;
And hearken unto Israel your father.
[3] Reuben, thou art my [e]firstborn, my [f]might, and the [M]beginning of my [g]strength;
The excellency of [h]dignity, and the excellency of [i]power.
[4] [Mj]Unstable as water, [M]thou shalt not have the excellency;
Because thou wentest up to thy [k]father's bed:
Then defiledst thou it: he went up to my [l]couch.
[5] [Lm]Simeon and Levi are brethren;
Weapons of violence are their [Mj]swords.
[6] O my soul, come not thou into their [M]council;
Unto their assembly, my [n]glory, be not thou [o]united;
For in their anger they [p]slew [M]a man,
And in their selfwill they [q]houghed [M]an ox.
[7] Cursed be their anger, for it was [r]fierce;
And their [s]wrath, for it was [t]cruel:
I will divide them in Jacob,
And [u]scatter them in Israel.
[8] Judah, thee shall thy brethren [v]praise:
Thy hand shall be on the neck of thine enemies;
Thy father's sons shall bow down before thee.
[9] Judah is a [w]lion's whelp;
From the [x]prey, my son, thou art gone up:
He [y]stooped down, he [z]couched as a lion,
And as a lioness; who shall rouse him up?
[10] [L]The sceptre shall not depart from Judah,
Nor [M]the [a']ruler's staff from between his feet,
[M]Until Shiloh come;
And unto him shall the [b']obedience of the peoples be.

48[19] **M** ℌ *fulness.* [20] **M** Or, *By.*—Cp 12[3].

[22] **M** Or, *mountain slope*, ℌ *shechem*, shoulder.—A reference to the future home of the tribe of Ephraim. The representation in 33[19] implies peaceful acquisition and not conquest. Kuenen has suggested that the text should read as in Josh 24[12] 'not with my sword nor with my bow,' the negative being omitted by the editor to harmonize with the story in 34, in which, however, E's share is doubtful.

49[1a] This clause seems to have formed part of P's recital of Jacob's last instructions to his sons, cp the sequence 'called to' 'blessed' 28[b], 'charged' [29], with the identical series 28[1]. J, however, must also have had some introduction.

[1b] Perhaps a gloss; cp Stärk, *ZATW* 1891, 251, on the other hand, Cheyne, *Introd to the Book of Isaiah* 11[2].

[2] This poem is incorporated in J's narrative, but it is probably of independent origin; cp *Introd* XIV 2. A few points of phraseological contact are noted in the margins.

[3] **M** Or, *firstfruits.* [4a] **M** Or, *Bubbling over.*
[4b] **M** Or, *have not thou.* [5] **M** Or, *compacts.*
[6a] **M** Or, *secret.*—Cp Am 3[7]. [6b] **M** Or, *men.*
[6c] **M** Or, *oxen.* [10a] **M** Or, *a lawgiver.*
[10b] **M** Or, *Till he come to Shiloh, having the obedience of the peoples.* Or, as read by Ⓢ, *Until that which is his shall come &c.* Another ancient rendering is, *Till he come whose it is &c.*

J	JE	E	P
	11 Binding his [c']foal unto the vine, And his ass's colt unto the [d']choice vine; He hath washed his [e']garments in wine, And his [j]vesture in the blood of grapes:		
	12 His eyes shall be [j]red with wine, And his teeth white with milk.		
	13 Zebulun shall [f']dwell at the [M]haven of the sea: And he shall be for an [M]haven of [g']ships; And his [h']border shall be [M]upon Zidon.		
	14 Issachar is a [i']strong ass, [z]Couching down between the [j']sheepfolds:		
	15 And he saw [M]a resting place that it was good, And the land that it was [k']pleasant; And he bowed his shoulder to [l']bear, And became a servant under [m']taskwork.		
	16 Dan shall [n']judge his people, As one of the tribes of Israel.		
	17 Dan shall be a [o']serpent in the way, An [M,j]adder in the path, That [p']biteth the horse's [q']heels, So that his [r']rider falleth backward.		
	18 [N]*I have* [s']*waited for thy* [t']*salvation, O Yahweh.*		
	19 Gad, [M]a [u']troop [M]shall [v']press upon him: But he shall press upon their [q']heel.		
	20 [M]Out of [w']Asher his bread shall be [x']fat, And he shall yield royal [y']dainties.		
	21 Naphtali is a [z']hind let loose: He giveth [j]goodly [a'']words.		
	22 Joseph is [M]a [b'']fruitful bough, A fruitful bough by a fountain; His [M]branches [c'']run over the [d'']wall.		
	23 The archers have [e'']sorely grieved him, And [f'']shot at him, and [g'']persecuted him:		
	24 But his [h'']bow abode in [i'']strength, And the arms of his hands were made [M]strong, [N]By the hands of the [j'']Mighty One of Jacob, ([M]From thence is [k'']the shepherd, the stone of Israel,)		
	25 Even by the [l'']God of thy father, who shall help thee, And by the [m'']Almighty, who shall bless thee, With blessings of heaven [n''] above, Blessings of the [o'']deep that [z]coucheth beneath, Blessings of the [p'']breasts, and of the womb.		
	26 The blessings of thy father Have [q'']prevailed above [M]the blessings of my progenitors Unto the utmost [j]bound of the [r'']everlasting hills[r'']: They shall be on the head of Joseph, And on the [s'']crown of the head of him [M]that was separate from his brethren.		
	27 Benjamin is a [t'']wolf that [u'']ravineth: In the morning he shall devour the [v'']prey, And at even he shall divide the [w'']spoil.		

[c'] 32^{16}*
[d'] Cp Is 5^{2} Jer 2^{21}†
[e'] 2 Sam 1^{24}
[f'] 9^{27}
[g'] Deut 28^{68}* Judg 5^{17}
[h'] Ct Ex 26^{22}. &c*
[i'] Prov 17^{22} 25^{15} ℌ
[j'] Judg 5^{16}
[k'] * 2 Sam 1^{26}
[l'] * Is 46^{4} 53^{4}
[m'] Cp Deut 20^{11} Josh 16^{10} 17^{13}*
[n'] 30^{6}
[o'] Cp JE**206**
[p'] Num 21^{9}
[q'] 3^{15}
[r'] Ex 15^{1}
[s'] * Is 8^{17} Ps 25^{5}
[t'] Ex 14^{13} 15^{2}
[u'] Ct 30^{11}
[v'] Hab 3^{16}
[w'] 30^{13}
[x'] Num 13^{20}
[y'] * Lam 4^{5}
[z'] * Hab 3^{19} Ps 18^{33}
[a''] Num $24^{4\ 16}$ Deut 32^{1} Josh 24^{27}
[b''] Cp 41^{52}
[c''] Judg 5^{4}
[d''] Ps 18^{29}
[e''] Ex 1^{14}
[f''] Ps 18^{14}M
[g''] 27^{41} 50^{15}*
[h''] 48^{22}
[i''] Num 24^{21}
[j''] Is 1^{24}
[k''] Cp 48^{15}
[l''] 31^{5}
[m''] Cp P**1**
[n''] 27^{39}
[o''] Cp 1^{2} Ex 15^{5} Deut 8^{7} 33^{13}
[p''] * Hos 2^{2}
[q''] 7^{18}.· Ex 17^{11}*
[r''] Deut 33^{15} Hab 3^{6}†
[s''] Deut $33^{16\ 20}$
[t''] * Is 11^{6}
[u''] 37^{33}
[v''] * Is 33^{23}
[w''] Ex 15^{9}

49[13ab] **M** ℌ *beach.*—Deut 1^{7} Josh 9^{1} cp Judg 5^{17}.
[13c] **M** Or, *by.* [15] **M** Or, *rest.*—Num 10^{33} Deut 12^{9}*.
[17] **M** Or, *horned snake.*
[18] The devotional style of this verse, contrasted with the descriptive character of the rest of the poem, suggests that it was originally a marginal annotation by a pious scribe. Cp Fripp, *Genesis* 135.
[19a] **M** ℌ *gedud*, a marauding band.—Ps 18^{29}.
[19b] **M** ℌ *gad*, to press.
[20] **M** According to some ancient versions, *Asher, his bread &c.*
[22a] **M** ℌ *the son of a fruitful* tree.
[22b] **M** ℌ *daughters.*
[24a] **M** Or, *active.*—Cp 2 Sam 6^{16}†.
[24b] The description of Joseph is much fuller than that of any of the other tribes, and between [25] and Deut 33^{13-16} there is an obvious connexion. It is not so certain, however, on which side lies the originality. On the probability that this passage is a later addition to the text, cp Fripp, *ZATW* 1891, 262–6: or the addition may begin at [25].
[24c] **M** Or, *From thence*, from *the shepherd.* Or, as otherwise read, *by the name of the shepherd.*
[26a] **M** According to some ancient authorities, *the blessings of the ancient mountains, the desire* (or, *desirable things*) *of the everlasting hills.*
[26b] **M** Or, *that is prince among.*—Ct Num 6^{2}.

J P

[28] N *All* [a]*these are the twelve tribes of Israel: and this is it that their father spake unto them,* and blessed them; every one according to his blessing he blessed them. [29] And he charged them, and said unto them, [b]I am to be [c]gathered unto my people: [x''']bury me with my fathers in the [y''']cave that is in the field of [d]Ephron the Hittite, [30] in the cave that is in the field of [e]Machpelah, which is [f]before Mamre, in the [g]land of Canaan, which Abraham [z''']bought with the field from Ephron the Hittite for a [h]possession [a''']of a buryingplace: [31] there they buried [z''']Abraham and Sarah his wife; there they buried [b''']Isaac and Rebekah his wife; and there I buried Leah[N]: [32] the [c''']field and the cave that is therein, which was purchased from the children of Heth. [33a] And when Jacob [d''']made an end of charging his sons,

...[33b N]he gathered up his feet into the bed,...

[33c]he [i]yielded up the ghost, and was [c]gathered unto his people.

50[1] N And Joseph [a]fell upon his father's face, and wept upon him, and kissed him. [2] And Joseph commanded his servants the physicians to [b]embalm his father: and the physicians embalmed [a]Israel. [3] And forty days were [c]fulfilled for him; for so are fulfilled the days of [b]embalming: and the Egyptians wept for him threescore and ten days.

[4] And when the days of [d]weeping for him were past, Joseph [e]spake unto the [f]house of Pharaoh, [e]saying, If now I have [b]found grace in your eyes, speak, I pray you, in the [g]ears of Pharaoh, saying, [5] My father [h]made me swear, saying, [i]Lo, I die: in my [j]grave which I [N]have [l]digged for me in the [l]land of Canaan, there shalt thou bury me. Now therefore let me go up, I pray thee, and bury my father, and I will come again. [6] And Pharaoh said, Go up, and bury thy father, according as he made thee swear. [7] And Joseph went up to bury his father: and with him went up all the servants of Pharaoh, the elders of his house, and all the elders of the land of Egypt, [8] and all the house of Joseph, and his brethren, and his father's house: only their [c]little ones, and their [d]flocks, and their herds, they left in the land of [e]Goshen. [9] And there went up with him [f]both chariots and horsemen: and it was a very [g]great [m]company. [10] And they came to the threshing-floor of Atad, which is [n]beyond Jordan, and there they [o]lamented with a very great and [g]sore [p]lamentation: and he made a [q]mourning for his father seven days. [11] And when the inhabitants of the land, the [r]Canaanites, saw the [q]mourning in the floor of Atad, they said, This is a [g]grievous [M]mourning to the Egyptians: [h]wherefore the name of it was called Abel-mizraim, which is [n]beyond Jordan.

[12] N And [s]his sons did unto him according as he [t]commanded them: [13] for his sons carried him into the land of Canaan, and buried him in the [u]cave of the field of Machpelah, which Abraham bought with the field, for a possession of a buryingplace, of Ephron the Hittite, before Mamre.

[14] And Joseph [v]returned into Egypt, he, and his brethren, and [w]all that went up with him to bury his father, after he had buried his father.

[15] N And when Joseph's brethren saw that their father was dead, they

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49[28] These clauses, in **P**'s manner, seem due to the compiler, who has incorporated the previous poem from **JE**. With the subsequent instructions for burial ct 47[29–31], and cp 50[12b 13].

[31] It has been suggested that **P** here added the name of Rachel cp 48[7N].

[33b] A touch probably incorporated by **R** from **J**'s account of the death of Jacob cp 47[31] 48[2].

50[1] The narrative of the mourning for Israel is studded with the characteristic phrases of **J**. This does not exclude the possibility of the incorporation of touches from **E**; but the indications adduced by Holzinger ([10b] cp [3b] and [10a], and the two clauses in [2]) are not very strong. The recital of the oath in [5] reproduces 47[29], ct 49[29]..

[5] **M** Or, *bought.*—Ges-Brown, *Hebr Lex*, unhesitatingly identifies ℌ with the meaning 'dig' cp 26[25] Ex 21[33] Num 21[18] 2 Chron 16[14]. [11] **M** ℌ *ebel.*

[12] The conclusion of **P**'s narrative of Jacob, following 49[29–33].

[15] The petition of Joseph's brethren for forgiveness appears in the main to be derived from **E** cp [19]. But it may be questioned whether the story is quite homogeneous. The opening of [16] ויצוו can hardly be correct; the same verb occurs

J E JE J E P

said, [x]It may be that Joseph will [y]hate us, and will fully requite us all the evil which we [z]did unto him. 16 And they sent a message unto Joseph, saying, Thy father did command [a']before he died, saying, 17 So shall ye say unto Joseph, [b']Forgive, [c']I pray thee now, the transgression of thy brethren, and their sin, for that they [z]did unto thee evil: and now, we pray thee, forgive the transgression of the servants of the [d']God of thy father. And Joseph [e']wept when they spake unto him.

...18 And his brethren also went and [f']fell down before his face; and they said, [g']Behold, we be thy servants.

19 And Joseph said unto them, Fear not: for [h']am I in the place of God? 20 And as for you, ye meant evil against me; but God meant it for good, to bring to pass [i']as it is this day, to [j']save much people alive.

...21 Now therefore fear ye not: I will [k']nourish you, and your [e]little ones. And he [l]comforted them, and [l']spake [m]kindly unto them. i 20[a]

22 And Joseph dwelt in Egypt, he, and his father's house: [N]and Joseph lived an hundred and ten years. 23 And Joseph saw [m']Ephraim's children of the third generation: the children also of [n']Machir the son of [m']Manasseh [o']were born [p']upon Joseph's [N]knees.

24 [N]And Joseph said unto his brethren, I [q']die: but God will surely [r']visit you, and [j]bring you up out of this land unto the land which he [k]sware to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob. j 13[6] k 21[7]

25 And Joseph took an oath of the children of Israel, saying, God will surely [r']visit you, and ye shall [j]carry up my bones from hence. 26 So Joseph died, [s']being an hundred and ten years old: and they [b]embalmed him, and he was put in a [t']coffin in Egypt.

x Cp 30[34]
y 27[41]
z 17 ℌ*
a' 27[7b]
b' Ex 23[21] Josh 24[19] cp Ex 10[17] 32[32] 34[7]
c' Ex 32[31] ℌ*
d' 31[5]
e' 42[24] 45[2] 15 cp 43[30]
f' 44[14]
g' 44[16]
h' 30[2]
i' Cp [D]33
j' 45[7]
k' 45[11] 47[12]*
l' 34[3]
m' 41[51].
n' Num 32[39]
o' 41[50] ℌ
p' 30[3a]
q' Cp 5
r' Ex 3[16] cp 21[1]
s' Cp 22[N]
t' ℌ=*ark* Ex 25[10] Deut 10[1]

EXODUS*

1[1] [N]Now [a]these are the names of the sons of Israel, which came into Egypt; every man and his household came with a 18[8]

immediately after, =‘command’; can it be translated ‘send a message’ just before? Moreover (𝔊 has ‘and they came.’ If that reading be adopted, there is no difficulty in the closing words of 17, which otherwise have no apparent reference in the text. But in that case, why should the brethren need to go and fall down before him 18? Is there not here an extract from a parallel narrative of J? Another trace of such a counterpart may perhaps be found in 21, where ‘fear ye not’ is a duplicate of 19; and ‘nourish’ ‘little ones’ and ‘comfort’ all point to J (‘spake kindly’ may be due to amalgamation, cp the doubtful ascription to J in 34[3*]). Ball follows (𝔊 in 16, and adopts Vatke’s emendation ‘and his brethren also *wept*’ in 18. But there seems a difference in tone between the entreaty of 17 and the humble submission which follows.

50[21] **M** ℌ *To their heart.*

22 This clause is sometimes assigned to **P** cp 5[3] &c, but the word ‘hundred’ ℌ does not correspond to **P**’s peculiar usage. The same difficulty arises in 26, where the form of phrase suggests **R**[P] (cp [P]וַיִּקְבְּרוּ). A sufficient parallel, however, seems found in Josh 24[29]. 23 Sam reads ‘in the days of Joseph.’

24 This verse has been commonly ascribed to **E** on the ground of the phrase ‘God will surely visit you’ cp 25. But (1) the reference to the oath to the patriarchs is not after the manner of **E** cp [JE]2[17]: (2) the promise of deliverance is in harmony with **J** Ex 3[8] 33[1], while (3) the announcement of a divine visitation for the purpose of ‘bringing Israel up’ is actually realized in Ex 3[16]. There remains the use of the name ‘Elohim.’ This appears to be due to the peculiar revision through which the Joseph stories have passed. The name ‘Yahweh’ does not occur in **J** after 39[23]. It might have been expected in 43[29] (cp 39[3] where an Egyptian recognizes Yahweh’s presence with Joseph) cp 44[16] 45[9].

1[1] This list has been regarded as an abbreviation of that in Gen 46[8]‥. It seems hardly likely, however, that the same writer would find it necessary to repeat himself so soon. The enumeration here, therefore, is treated as primary, embodying the traditional number ‘seventy’ 5 cp Deut 10[22]. Its formulae obviously connect it with **P**.

* The book of Exodus is concerned with the circumstances of the children of Israel contrasted with the previous biography of Jacob and his sons. The incidents in the family life of the patriarchs give place to the fortunes of the nation. The narrative opens with the increase of the people after the death of Joseph, and extends to the erection of the Dwelling in the wilderness on the first day of the second year after the Exodus. Within the narrative are lodged important groups of legislation, attached to the night of deliverance, the march through the desert, and the camp at the sacred mountain. Both narratives and laws will be found to belong to the documents already distinguished in Genesis, **J** **E** and **P**, the last-named, however, assuming here a greater prominence as the depositary of priestly law. It may, however, be observed that while the portions of **P** can be for the most part discriminated with practical certainty, the detailed partition of **J** and **E** is often precarious, especially in the earlier chapters. One of the leading criteria of **E** ceases to be regularly available after the revelation of the divine name Yahweh in 3. In other respects the frequent correspondence in general methods of representation and in phraseological usage, causes additional difficulty; and the results in the text can in many cases only claim a higher or lower degree of probability. The composite character of the narrative of Israel’s sojourn in Egypt 1–13[16] is, however, sufficiently plain, as the divergences of representation are unmistakable. (1) The two revelations of the name Yahweh 3[15] and 6[3] have been already discussed, *Introd* i 29. Each of the two documents to which they belong contributes material to the opening description; in 2[24] Elohim remembers his covenant with Abraham Gen 17 (**P**); in 1[17] the midwives fear

J	JE	E	P	
			Jacob. [2] Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah; [3] Issachar, Zebulun, and Benjamin; [4] Dan and Naphtali, Gad and Asher. [5] And all the [b]souls that [a]came out of the loins[a] of Jacob were seventy souls: and Joseph was in Egypt already.	b 146
	[6] And Joseph [b]died, and all his brethren, and all that [c]generation.			
			. . . [7] And the children of Israel were [c]fruitful, and [d]increased abundantly, and [c]multiplied, and [N]waxed [e]exceeding [d]mighty; and the [e]land was filled with them.	c 73 d 157 e 63
	[8] Now there arose a new king over Egypt, which [f]knew not Joseph. [9] And he said unto his people, Behold, the people of the children of Israel are [M]more and [f]mightier than we: [10] [g]come, let us [g]deal wisely with them; lest they [h]multiply, and [h]it come to pass, that, [h]when there [i]falleth out any war, they [i]also join themselves unto [j]our [j]enemies, and			f 59 g 164 h 3[b] i 126 j 167

a Gen 46[26]†
b Ct Gen 50[26]
c Gen 7[1] cp Judg 2[10]
d Cp JE59
e Gen 6[11]
f Cp Gen 39[6]
g Eccles 7[16]†
h Cp 7 12 20b Gen 7[17b]
i Gen 42[4] 49[1]
j ℌ = *them that hate us* Gen 24[60]

1[7] This verse shows some signs of combination. P's usual formula is 'be fruitful and multiply,' but he also employs the verb 'to swarm.' On the other hand he does not use the verb 'wax mighty' or the derivative adjective, save in Num 32[1] (probably founded on earlier materials). The verb is found in [20] and in Gen 26[16]*; the adjective in [9] Gen 18[18] Num 14[12] 22[6] (as well as seven times in D). But J must have related the increase of the Israelites cp [9b], and J also uses the verb 'to multiply' cp [10] [20b] Gen 7[17b] 16[10] 22[17] (Hiph). The words 'and multiplied and waxed mighty' may be provisionally ascribed to incorporation by R, and [20b] is perhaps an accidental duplicate of the same original, misplaced.

[9] M Or, *too many and too mighty for us.*

Elohim JE102 and he deals well with them [20a]. Traces of the Yahwist are seen at once in 3[2 7. 16–18], and the allusions to the affliction of Israel [7] seem to rest on 1[11]·. After 6[2]·· the distinction founded on the varying use of the divine name ceases to be applicable, though in some rare cases Elohim is still preferentially employed, e g 13[17–19]. (2) Side by side with these variations of theological conception are corresponding historical differences. According to J Gen 45[10] 46[28] 47[27a] Israel is settled in Goshen, and this view is found in 8[22] 9[26]. As a pastoral people their flocks and herds Gen 46[32] 47[1] 50[8] are of the utmost importance to them 10[9. 24] 12[32 38]. Their men are 600,000 in number, beside women and children; and Pharaoh takes 'his people' 13[6] in pursuit of them. But in E Gen 46[18] and P Gen 47[11] the Israelites settle in Egypt. There they are accordingly found in close proximity with Egyptian neighbours, from whom they can ask for valuables 3[22] 11[2], or from whose houses they must carefully distinguish their own that Yahweh may pass over them 12[13]. They are near enough to the capital for the king to communicate with the Hebrew midwives, and few enough to need only two 1[15]··; while Pharaoh thinks 600 chariots sufficient for their capture on the march 14[7a]. (3) The story of Moses further shows some interesting variations. In 2[15]. he dwells in the land of Midian, and [16 21] marries the daughter of the priest of Midian and has one son [21]. cp 4[19]·. When he returns to Egypt his wife and son accompany him 4[20]. In 3[1], however, his father in law is named Jethro cp 4[18], and Moses leads the flock to the mountain of God, identified as Horeb cp 'this mountain' [12]. On his return to Egypt his wife remains behind, and when Jethro brings her to her husband she has two sons 18[5]·; later on, she is described as a Cushite, Num 12[1]. (4) In the interviews with Pharaoh one set of demands is urged by Moses alone in the name of 'Yahweh God of the Hebrews' 3[18] 5[3] 7[16] 9[1. 13] 10[3]†; and Moses asks leave to go three days' journey into the wilderness to sacrifice to Yahweh 3[18] 5[3] 8[27], or serve him 7[16] 8[1 20] 9[1 13] 10[3] &c. Another formula is found in 3[12] 'serve Elohim upon this mountain,' while in the name of 'Yahweh God of Israel' Moses requires the release of Israel that they may hold a feast to him in the wilderness 5[1]. A third demand is made by Aaron 7[2–7]. (5) On the special narratives of the plagues cp 7[8N], and on the rod of Moses 4[2N]. (6) Different laws will be found in 12 and 13 concerning the Passover and Unleavened Bread, and concerning the firstling dues. In 12[1–20 43–50] the language bears very numerous marks of P; the laws are divinely addressed to Moses and Aaron [1 43], and designed for the congregation [2]. But in [21] 13[3] Moses speaks alone to the elders [21] or the people [27b] 13[3] and the legal phraseology shows affinities of a quite different type. While details must be sought in the Analysis, the Word-lists, and the conspectus of the Laws, the general significance of these data may be exhibited for the opening chapters in the following table :—

J	E	P
The people in Goshen 8[22] 9[26].	The people in Egypt 1[15]·. 3[22] 11[2].	The people in Egypt 1[7] 12[13].
They are afflicted 1[11]. and Yahweh sees it 3[7] [17], and their cry comes to him 3[9a].	[Elohim] sees their oppression 3[9b].	Elohim hears their groaning 2[24] 6[5].
Yahweh promises to deliver them 3[8] 5[23], and bring them up to a land flowing with milk and honey 3[8 17] 13[5]: Moses reluctant 4[10], Aaron assigned as his spokesman, he being Aaron's God 4[16].	Elohim proposes to send Moses to Pharaoh 3[10], and promises to be with him 3[12]: the name Yahweh given 3[15]: Moses very great in Pharaoh's eyes 11[3].	Elohim reveals himself as Yahweh 6[2]; promises to take Israel for a people 6[6]. and bring it into the land concerning which he lifted up his hand 6[8]: Moses to go in to Pharaoh 6[11], and made his god, Aaron being Moses' prophet 7[1].
Yahweh God of the Hebrews 3[18] 5[3] 7[16] 9[1. 13] 10[3].	Yahweh God of Israel 5[1].	
Demand for permission to go three days' journey 5[3] 8[27].	Moses sent to Pharaoh to bring Israel forth 3[10–12].	Yahweh will bring them forth 6[6].
Sacrifice to Yahweh 3[18] 5[3] 8[5 25].	Serve Elohim on this mountain 3[12].	Yahweh will be to Israel for Elohim 6[7].
Moses marries Zipporah, daughter of the priest of Midian 2[21] and has one son [22]; they go with him to Egypt 4[19]·.	Moses marries the daughter of Jethro 3[1]; they have two sons who remain with their mother under Jethro's care 18[1 5]·.	
Moses' rod changed to a serpent 4[2]··.	The rod of God given to Moses 4[20b], cp 7[20b] 9[23] 10[13].	Aaron's rod changed to a reptile 7[9] cp [19] 8[5. 16].

J JE E P

[k] fight against us, and get them up out of the land. 11 Therefore they did [l] set over them [k] taskmasters to [l] afflict them with their [m] burdens. And they [n] built for Pharaoh [o] store cities, Pithom and [p] Raamses. 12 But the more they [l] afflicted them, the more they [h] multiplied and the more they [m] spread abroad. And they [N] were [q] grieved because of the children of Israel:

13 And the Egyptians [r] made the children of Israel to [r] serve with [s] rigour[N]

14a [N] and they [t] made their lives [t] bitter with [u] hard service, in [v] mortar and in brick, and in all manner of service in the field.

14b all their service, wherein they made them serve with [s] rigour.

15 [N] And the king of Egypt [w] spake to the Hebrew [x] midwives, of which the name of the one was Shiphrah, and the name of the other Puah: 16 and he [w] said, When ye [x] do the office of a midwife to the Hebrew women, and see them upon the [y] birthstool; if it be a son, then ye shall [z] kill him; but if it be a daughter, then she shall live. 17 But the midwives [n] feared God, and did not as the king of Egypt commanded them, but [a'] saved the [o] men children alive. 18 And the king of Egypt [p] called for the midwives, and said unto them, [b'] Why have ye [q] done this thing, and have [a'] saved the men children alive? 19 And the midwives said unto Pharaoh, Because the Hebrew women are not as the Egyptian women; for they are lively, and are delivered [r] ere the midwife come unto them. 20a And God [s] dealt well with the midwives:

20b And the people [h] multiplied, and [t] waxed very mighty.

21 and [t] it came to pass, because the midwives [n] feared God, that he made them houses.

22 And Pharaoh charged all his people, saying, Every son [c'] that is born ye shall cast into [M] the river, and every daughter ye shall [d'] save alive.

2¹ [N] And there went a man of the house of Levi, [N] and [a] took [to wife] a daughter of Levi. 2 And the woman [a] conceived, [b] and bare a son: and when she saw him that he was a goodly child, she [c] hid him three months. 3 And when she could not longer [c] hide him, she took for him an [d] ark of [M] bulrushes, and [e] daubed it with [M] slime and with [f] pitch; and she put the child therein, and laid it in the [g] flags by the [h] river's brink. 4 And his sister stood [i] afar off, to [N] know what would be done to him. 5 And the daughter of Pharaoh came down to bathe at the river; and her maidens walked along by the [h] river side; and she saw the ark among the [g] flags, and sent her [b] handmaid to fetch it. 6 And she opened it, and saw the child: [N] and, behold, the babe wept. And she had

k Ⱨ† cp 19¹
l 3⁷ 4³¹ Gen 16⁶
m 2¹¹ 5⁴. 6⁶.†
n Gen 4¹⁷
o Ⱨ* 1 Kings 9¹⁹
p 12³⁷
q Num 22³ᵇ cp Gen 27⁴⁶ Lev 20²³ Num 21⁵*
r 6⁵ Hiph* cp Ezek 29¹⁸
s 14 Lev 25⁴³ ⁴⁶ ⁵³ cp Ezek 34⁴†
t Gen 49²³ Is 22⁴ Piel† Ex 23²¹ Hiph*
u 6⁹ Deut 26⁶
v Gen 11³
w Ⱨ=*said* cp Gen 22⁷
x Gen 35¹⁷ 38²⁸†
y Jer 18³†
z Gen 42³⁷
a' Gen 45⁷
b' 18¹⁴ Gen 40⁷ cp 230
c' Josh 5⁵* ct 16
d' Gen 12¹²
a Gen 20² ct J82
b Cp Gen 30¹⁷ ¹⁹
c ³ Josh 24* ct 12 Ⱨ
d Gen 6¹⁴ 7¹
e Ⱨ*
f Is 34⁹†
g Is 19⁶
h 7¹⁵ Gen 41³*
i Gen 22⁴

k 156
l 193
m 80
n 102
o 234
p 139
q 146ᵃ
r 132
s 38
t 3ᵃ
a 18
b 99

1¹² M Or, *abhorred*. 13 The verb finds its complement in 14b.
14a In this verse, also, mingled elements may be traced. 14a seems a doublet of 13; 'hard service' undoubtedly stood in JE as well as in P (6⁹) cp Deut 26⁶ (*Introd* i 174); while the allusion to 'mortar and brick' recalls the language of Gen 11³. The hand of the expander may probably be traced in the awkward grammatical collocation of the words 'wherein' &c.
15 The story of the midwives contrasts with the command in 22: the use of Elohim 17 20. suggests E, who elsewhere seems to love the detail of names (cp *Introd* XII 3 i 116).
22 M See Gen 41¹.
2¹ᵃ The linguistic indications in 1 and 5 point to E rather than J.
1b This clause seems to owe its present form to R. Ⱨ would be strictly rendered 'and took the daughter of Levi.' Either the name of the future mother of Moses has dropped out accidentally; or it has been omitted designedly on account of divergence from the definite statements of P; or the words 'the daughter of Levi' have been editorially inserted instead of the more common formula 'a wife of the daughters of Levi' to harmonize with Num 26⁵⁹ (cp Dillmann).
3a M That is, *papyrus*.—Cp Is 18² 35⁷ Job 8¹¹†.
3b M That is, *bitumen*.—Cp Gen 11³ 14¹⁰†.
4 For the peculiar form of infinitive cp Gen 46³ JE119.
6 The use of the second word 'babe' and the further phrase 'had compassion' has suggested to some critics (Wellhausen, Dillmann, Bacon, among them) that this clause is derived from a parallel narrative by J.

J E JE J E P

j Gen 19¹⁶

k Cp Gen 35⁸
l Cp Gen 24⁴³*

m ℌ†
n Gen 15¹
o Gen 21⁸

p Cp 2³
q Gen 6⁴
r 1¹¹

s ℌ=*turned* Gen 24⁴⁹ *al*
t Gen 35⁴··

u Cp Gen 13⁸ ℌ

v Gen 28¹⁶*
w 4²⁴
x Gen 16⁶

y Gen 24¹¹·· 29²··
z 19 Prov 20⁵ Ps 30¹†
a′ ℌ=*gutters* Gen 30³⁸
b′ Gen 3²⁴
c′ ℌ=*saved* 14³⁰
d′ Gen 26²⁷
e′ Cp Gen 27²⁰ ℌ
f′ Gen 32¹¹

g′ Gen 31⁵⁴

h′ Gen 18²⁷ ℌ

i′ 4²⁵ 18²*
j′ Cp 4²⁵ ct 18²
k′ Gen 12¹⁰
l′ Cp Gen 37¹⁵

m′ ℌ* Ezek 9⁴ 21⁶ *al*
n′ ℌ=*service* 1¹⁴
o′ Josh 8¹⁶* ct JE14¹
p′ ℌ* ct Gen 18²⁰
q′ 6⁵
r′ 6⁵ Judg 2¹⁸ Ezek 30²⁴†
s′ Gen 6¹²
1 L10a*b*
a Ct 2¹³

[j]compassion on him, and said, This is one of the Hebrews' children. 7 Then said his sister to Pharaoh's daughter, Shall I go and call thee a [k]nurse of the Hebrew women, that she may nurse the child for thee? 8 And Pharaoh's daughter said to her, Go. And the [l]maid went and called the child's mother. 9 And Pharaoh's daughter said unto her, [m]Take this child away, and nurse it for me, and I will give thee thy [n]wages. And the woman took the child, and nursed it. 10 [o]And the child grew, and she brought him unto Pharaoh's daughter, and he became her son. And she called his name [M]Moses, and said, Because I [M]drew him out of the water. . . .

. . . 11 [N]And [P]it came to pass [q]in those days, when Moses was grown up, that he went out unto his brethren, and looked on their [r]burdens: and he saw an Egyptian smiting an Hebrew, one of his brethren. 12 And he [s]looked this way and that way, and when he saw that there was no man, he smote the Egyptian, and [t]hid him in the sand. 13 And he went out the second day, and, behold, two men of the Hebrews strove together: and he said to him that did the wrong, Wherefore smitest thou thy fellow? 14 And he said, Who made thee [u]a prince and a judge over us? thinkest thou to kill me, as thou killedst the Egyptian? And Moses feared, and said, [v]Surely the thing is known. 15 Now when Pharaoh heard this thing, he [w]sought to slay Moses. But Moses fled [x]from the face of Pharaoh, and [N]dwelt in the land of Midian: and he sat down by a [y]well. 16 Now the priest of Midian had seven daughters: and they came and [z]drew water, and filled the [a′]troughs to water their father's flock. 17 And the shepherds came and [b′]drove them away: but Moses stood up and [c′]helped them, and watered their flock. 18 And when they came to [N]Reuel their father, he said, [d′]How is it that ye are [e′]come so [e]soon to day? 19 And they said, An Egyptian [f′]delivered us out of the hand of the shepherds, and moreover he [z]drew water for us, and watered the flock. 20 And he said unto his daughters, And [d]where is he? [e]why is it that ye have left the man? [g′]call him, that he may eat bread. 21 And Moses [h′]was content to dwell with the man: and he gave Moses [i′]Zipporah his daughter. 22 And she bare [j′]a son, and he called his name Gershom: for he said, I have been [M]a [k′]sojourner in a [l′]strange land.

23a [N]And [P]it came to pass in the course of those many days, that the king of Egypt died. [→4¹⁹]

23b And the children of Israel [m′]sighed by reason of the [n′]bondage, and they [o′]cried, and their [p′]cry came up unto God by reason of the bondage. 24 And God [q′]heard their [r′]groaning, and God [r]remembered his covenant with Abraham, with Isaac, and with Jacob. 25 And God [s′]saw the children of Israel, and God took knowledge [of them].

3¹ [NL]Now Moses was [a]keeping the flock of [a]Jethro his father in law,

c 43
d 90
e 89b
f 135
a 208

2¹⁰a **M** ℌ *Mosheh.* 10b **M** ℌ *mashah*, to draw out.

11 Many critics assign 11–14 or 11–15a to **E**. The indications are slight, but the balance seems in favour of **J**.

15 The words 'dwelt' and 'sat down' are the same ℌ, and this awkward repetition is perhaps to be explained out of the amalgamation of different stories. 𝔊 attempts to mitigate it by rendering 'and dwelt in the land of Midian, *and having come into the land of Midian* he sat down on the well.'

18 The priest of Midian who in 21 becomes the father in law of Moses has in 16 no name, but in 18 he is called Reuel cp Num 10²⁹†. In 3¹ 4¹⁸b 18¹··, however, he is designated Jethro (4¹⁸a Jether) and in Num 10²⁹ Judg 4¹¹ Hobab son of Reuel (on the meaning of חתן see Dillm, and Ges-Brown, *Hebr Lex*). The name Jethro seems clearly to belong to **E**, while 'Hobab son of Reuel' may be assigned to **J**. It is supposed by some critics that **R** has struck out the name which probably once stood in 16, and that Reuel in 18 is likewise editorial. 22 **M** ℌ *Ger.*

23 𝔊 repeats 23a before 4¹⁹ which was probably its original place. The compiler may have transferred it as a suitable connecting link with the summary of **P** 23b–25, the continuation of 1¹⁴. But it is also possible that 23a rightfully follows 22 and that 4¹⁹. 24–26 stood in immediate sequence with it. The death of the king, in this view, was the immediate cause of Moses' return. The strange incident in 4²⁴–²⁶ seems better placed before the great commission in 3¹⁶··, for why should Yahweh seek to kill the leader to whom he has entrusted the deliverance of Israel? According to this arrangement, adopted by Bacon and Battersby, the revelation in the bush took place on the journey back, or in Goshen.

3¹a All three documents **J E P** related the divine commission to Moses to deliver the Israelites. In **E** and **P** this is combined with a solemn revelation of God by the name of Yahweh (cp *Introd* i 112 and 121). **P**'s account is postponed till 6²···, but **E**'s narrative has been amalgamated with **J**'s. The main elements of the united product can be separated by the usual criteria. But the importance of this crisis in the career of Moses for the subsequent history of Israel has apparently

J E	JE	J E	P	
	[N]the priest of Midian: and he [b]led the flock to the back of the wilderness, and came to the [c]mountain of God, [N]unto [b]Horeb.			b 105
	...[2] And the [c]angel of Yahweh appeared unto him in a [c]flame of fire out of the midst of a [e]bush: and he [d]looked, and, behold, the bush [f]burned with fire, and the bush was not consumed. [3] And Moses said, I will [g]turn aside [e]now, and see this great sight, [h]why the bush is not burnt. [4a] [T]And Yahweh saw that he turned aside to see,			c 4 d 55 e 186
	[4b] And God called unto him out of the midst of [N]the bush, and said, [i]Moses, Moses. And he said, [f]Here am I.			f 104
	[5]and he said, Draw not nigh [j]hither: [k]put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place [l]whereon thou standest is [m]holy ground.			
	[6] [T]And he said, I am [g]the [n]God of thy father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. And Moses [o]hid his face; for he was [p]afraid to [b]look upon God.			g 94[b] h 179
	[7]And Yahweh said, I have [l]surely [q]seen the [r]affliction of my people which are in Egypt, and have heard their [j]cry by reason of their [k]task-masters; for [s]I know their [t]sorrows; [8] and I am [l]come down to [u]deliver them out of the hand of the Egyptians, and to [n]bring them up out of that land unto a [v]good land and a large, unto a [n]land flowing with milk and honey[n], [N]unto the place of the Canaanite, and the Hittite, and the Amorite, and the Perizzite, and the Hivite, and the Jebusite. [9a] And [o]now, behold, the [j]cry of the children of Israel is [w]come unto me.			i 237 j 23 k 83 l 19 m 136 n 34 o 187
	... [9b] [NP]Moreover I have seen the [x]oppression wherewith the Egyptians [v]oppress them. [10] [z]Come [o]now therefore, and I will [a']send thee unto Pharaoh, that thou mayest bring forth my people the children of Israel out of Egypt. [11] [N]And Moses [b']said unto God, Who am I, that I should go unto Pharaoh, and that I should bring forth the children of Israel out of Egypt? [12] And he said, [c']Certainly I will [q]be with thee; and this shall be the [d']token unto thee, that I have sent thee: when thou hast brought forth the people out of Egypt, ye shall [e']serve God upon this mountain. [13] And Moses said unto God, Behold, when I come unto the children of Israel, and shall say unto them, [g]The God of your fathers hath sent me unto you; and they shall say to me, What is his name? what shall I say unto them?			p 126 q 130
	[14] [N]*And God said unto Moses,* [M]*I AM THAT I AM: and he said,* [r]*Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel,* [M]*I AM hath sent me unto you.*			r 222[b]
	[15] And God said moreover unto Moses, [r]Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, [M]Yahweh, [g]the God of your fathers, the God of			

b Gen 31[18]
c 4[27] 18[5] 24[13]*
d ℌ†
e 2-4 Deut 33[16]†
f Cp Deut 4[11]
g Gen 19[2]
h Gen 26[27]
i Gen 22[11]
j Gen 16[13]*
k Josh 5[15] ct Deut 7[1] ℌ
l 8[22] ℌ
m Cp 19[12]. [P]89
n Gen 46[3] cp 15
o Deut 31[17]
p Cp 102
q 4[31] Gen 29[32]
r 17 ct 9b cp 1[11].
s 19 4[14]
t ℌ* Jer 45[3]
u 5[23] 12[27] 18[8]. . Gen 32[11]
v Cp [P]69[b]
w Gen 18[21]
x Deut 26[7]* ct 7
y 22[21] 23[9]
z Gen 37[20] cp 162
a' 12-15 4[28]
b' Ct 4[10]. . 6[12] 7[1]
c' Cp Gen 20[11] ℌ
d' ℌ = *sign* ct 4[8. 17]
e' Cp 5[1] 24[4]. .

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begotten a variety of editorial amplifications, designed partly to prepare the way for the great struggle between Moses and Pharaoh, partly to introduce Aaron, and partly to bring conflicting details into harmony. In the process of compilation each document, it would seem, has suffered excision and curtailment, and it is probable that some passages have been dislocated from their original setting and transposed cp 2[23N]. The general justification of the analysis will be found in the margins.

3[1b] Some critics think that according to **E** the father in law of Moses was not himself priest. If so, these words must be regarded as a harmonistic addition cp 2[18N].

1c Possibly an editorial explanation; 𝔊 has 'mount Horeb' as in 33[6] cp 17[6].

4a **T** *And when Yahweh saw . . . God called.* ℌ runs literally 'And Yahweh saw . . . and God called . . . and he said.' [4a] may thus quite well introduce 5, while [4b] opens **E**'s theophany.

4b ℌ as in 2 may be rendered 'a' or 'the.' If the latter rendering be preferred, these words must be regarded as **R**'s addition (so Bacon). But both **J** and **E** may quite well have preserved the same detail: cp **E**'s reference in Deut 33[16].

6 **T** *moreover.* But the conjunction is the same as in 4. The repetition 'and he said' suggests another hand cp Gen 16[1bN (9-11)].

8 Similar enumerations will be found in 17 13[5] 23[23 28] 33[2] 34[11] Deut 7[1] 20[17] Josh 3[10] 9[1] 11[3] 12[8] 24[11]. Opinion is divided as to their character in **JE**; are they original, or are they editorial amplifications? The longer lists in Gen 10[16-18] 15[19-21] have certainly the air of additions. In the present passage the phrases 'good land' 'flowing with milk and honey' have a Deuteronomic sound. On the other hand, the phraseology of **D** cannot be wholly new; it must have had some basis in prior usage; and it would be natural that the earlier writers should use sparingly and on the most solemn occasions a terminology which had already become traditional: moreover, the term 'place' is not found again in this connexion, but cp [JE]6[5]. The repetition in 17 (inverting the order of the clauses) is more likely to be due to **R**. 𝔊 in both passages adds 'the Girgashite,' thus bringing the list up to the Deuteronomic 'seven' Deut 7[1]. Cp Holzinger, *Einl* 483.

9b ℌ = *and also*, apparently an editorial connexion, [9b] being a duplicate of 7.

11 Each narrative describes the reluctance of Moses to undertake the difficult task of the liberation of Israel, cp **J** 4[10]. ., **P** 6[12] 7[1].

14a At this point **E** discloses for the first time the name Yahweh. But the real answer to the question in 13 is contained in 15. The form employed in [14b] is never employed elsewhere, and 14 appears to be a later insertion designed to explain the divine name Yahweh which is here connected with the verb *hayah* 'to be.' The two answers are editorially linked by the particle rendered *moreover* (= 'again' Gen 4[25] 35[9]).

14b **M** Or, *I AM, BECAUSE I AM.* Or, *I AM WHO AM.* Or, *I WILL BE THAT I WILL BE.* 14c **M** Or, *I WILL BE.* ℌ *Ehyeh.*

15 ℌ *Jehovah*, from the same root as *Ehyeh*.

J E JE J E P

Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, hath sent me unto you: this is my name for ever, and this is my [f']memorial unto [g']all generations.

[16] Go, and [h']gather the [s]elders of Israel together, and say unto them, [N]Yahweh, [g]the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, hath appeared unto me, saying, I have [t]surely [i']visited you, and [seen] that which is [t]done to you in Egypt: [17] and I have [j']said, I will [m]bring you up out of the [r]affliction of Egypt unto the land of the Canaanite, and the Hittite, and the Amorite, and the Perizzite, and the Hivite, and the Jebusite, unto a [n]land flowing with milk and honey.

[18] [L]And they shall [u]hearken to thy voice: and thou shalt come, thou and the [s]elders of Israel, unto the king of Egypt, and ye shall say unto him, Yahweh, the [v]God of the Hebrews, hath [w]met with us: and [o]now let us go, [e]we pray thee, [x]three days' journey into the wilderness, that we may [k']sacrifice to Yahweh our God.

[19] [N]*And [y]I know that the king of Egypt will not give you leave to go, no, not by a [l']mighty hand.* [20] *And I will [z]put forth my hand, and smite Egypt with all my [m']wonders which I will do [w']in the midst thereof: [o']and after that he will let you go.*

. . . [21] [N]And I will [a']give this people favour in the sight of the Egyptians: and [b']it shall come to pass, that, when ye go, ye shall not go [p']empty: [22] but [q']every woman shall ask of her [r']neighbour, and of her that sojourneth in her house, [s']jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and [c']raiment: and ye shall put them upon your sons, and upon your daughters; and ye shall [t']spoil the Egyptians.

4[1] And Moses answered and said, But, [a]behold, they will not [a]believe me, nor [b]hearken unto my voice: for they will say, Yahweh hath not [b]appeared unto thee. [2] And Yahweh said unto him, What is that in thine hand? And he said, A [N]rod. [3] And he said, Cast it on the ground. And he cast it on the ground, and it became a [M]serpent; and Moses [c]fled from before it. [4] And Yahweh said unto Moses, [c]Put forth thine hand, and [d]take it by the tail: (and he put forth his hand, and [e]laid hold of it, and it became a rod in his hand:) [5] that they may [a]believe that [f]Yahweh, the [d]God of their fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, hath appeared unto thee. [6] And Yahweh said furthermore unto him, Put now thine hand into thy [g]bosom. And he put his hand into his bosom: and when he took it out, behold, his hand was [h]leprous, as [white as] snow[h]. [7] And he said, Put thine hand into thy bosom again. (And he put his hand into his bosom again; and when he took it out of his bosom, behold, it [i]was turned again as his [other] flesh.) [8] And it shall come to pass, if they will not [a]believe thee, neither [b]hearken to the voice of the first sign, that they will believe the voice of the latter sign. [9] And it shall come to pass, if they will not [a]believe [e]even these two signs, neither [b]hearken unto thy voice, that thou shalt take of the water of the river, and pour it upon the dry land: and the water which thou takest out of the river shall become [N]blood upon

s 15[1]
t 146[b]
u 44
v 87[c]
w 131
x 86
y 174
z 205[b]
a′ 31[b]
b′ 3[b]
c′ 16[1]
a 13[4]
b 44[b]
c 205[b]
d 120[b]
e 12[6]

f′ Hos 12[5]
g′ Prov 27[24] ℌ† cp 17[16]
h′ 4[29] Num 11[16]
i′ 4[31] Gen 50[24]
j′ Cp 8
18. . L7ac
k′ 5[3 8 17 8 8 25 27] 10[25]
l′ Cp D80[b]
m′ Ex 34[10] Josh 3[5*]
n′ 10[1] cp 58
o′ 11[8] cp Gen 32[20] *al*
p′ Gen 31[42]
q′ 11[2] 12[35]
r′ Cp 12[4*]
s′ Gen 24[53]
t′ 12[36*] 2 Chron 20[25]
a Cp 8[26]
b 3[16]
c Gen 39[12]
d Gen 25[26]
e Gen 19[16]
f 3[16]
g Gen 16[5]
h Num 12[10*] 2 Kings 5[27]
i 2 Kings 5[14]

3[16] This phrase coinciding with that in [15] cp [13] may be due to the harmonizer, but cp 4[5].

[19] These verses do not seem in their present form to belong either to **J** or to **E**. Not to **J** because (1) they interrupt the connexion between 3[16–18] and 4[1], and (2) they contain distinct literary marks of **E**, 'give you leave' JE11[8], and the peculiar infinitive 'to go' ℌ JE11[9a]. Yet on the other hand the phrase 'by a mighty hand' does not belong to **E**, but tends to appear in passages kindred with **D** cp D80[b]: for 'wonders' cp 34[10]. The passage seems to have been amplified from **E** by R[je].

[21] These instructions must obviously belong to the narrator who regards the Israelites as settled, not apart in the land of Goshen, but among the Egyptians themselves cp 7[8N].

4[2] The rod was one of the ancient elements of the tradition. Here it is represented as the shepherd's staff which was naturally in Moses' hands, and it becomes the medium of the display of the divine power to him. In **E** it is apparently given him by God [17], and consequently bears the name 'rod of God' [20b] (cp 'mountain of God'): as such, it is the instrument with which Moses achieves the wonders 7[20b] 9[23] 10[13]. **P** transfers the rod to Aaron, and supplies a different occasion for its conversion into a serpent cp 7[8–13]. **J**'s story of the signs seems to be considerably abbreviated. It is not made clear from [1–8] that the signs are to be repeated for the persuasion of the incredulous Israelites; but this becomes plain from [9] cp [30]. [8] may have read originally 'if they will not believe the first sign, neither hearken to thy voice.'

[3] **M** ℌ *nahash*.—Cp 206 and ct 7[9].

[9] A reference to a third sign which has become in **E** and **P** the basis of one of the plagues, no longer designed for the assurance of the Israelites, but for the punishment of Pharaoh cp **E** 7[15 17b 20b], **P** 7[19].

	J E	JE	J E P	
	the dry land. [10] And Moses said unto Yahweh, [f]Oh Lord, I am not			f 56[b]
j 5^{23} 9^{24} Gen 39^{5} ℌ	[M]eloquent, [g]neither [h]heretofore, nor [j]since thou hast spoken unto [i]thy servant: for I am [j]slow of speech, and of a slow tongue. [11] And Yahweh said unto him, Who hath made man's mouth? or who maketh [a man] dumb, or deaf, or seeing, or blind? is it not I Yahweh?			g 11 h 169 i 73 j 78
k Gen 46^{28} Ex 15^{25} 24^{12} *al*	[12] [k]Now therefore go, and I will [l]be with thy mouth, and [k]teach thee what thou shalt speak.			k 187 l 130
	[13] [N]And he said, [f]Oh Lord, send, [m]I pray thee, by the hand of him whom thou wilt send.			m 186
14.. [L]IIb*a* *l* Cp Gen 13^{9} 37^{13} ℌ	[14] [L]And the [n]anger of Yahweh was kindled against Moses, and he said, [l]Is there not Aaron thy brother the Levite? I know that he can speak well. [N]And also, behold, he cometh forth [o]to meet thee: and when he seeth thee, he will be [m]glad in his [m]heart. [15] And thou shalt speak unto him, and put the words in his mouth: and I will [l]be with thy mouth, and with his mouth, and will [k]teach you what ye shall do. [16] And he shall be thy spokesman unto the people: and it shall come to pass, that he shall be to thee a mouth, and thou shalt be to him [o]as God.			n 233 o 183
o Cp [P]26 *p* Cp [2N]	. . . [17] And thou shalt take in thine hand [N]this [p]rod, wherewith thou shalt do the signs.			
q 3^{1}	[18] And Moses went and returned to [M]Jethro his [q]father in law, and said unto him, Let me go, I pray thee, and return unto my brethren which are in Egypt, and see whether they be [r]yet alive. And Jethro said to Moses, Go [s]in peace.			
r Gen 45^{3} ℌ cp 91[b] *s* Gen 44^{17}	[19N] And Yahweh said unto Moses in Midian, Go, return into Egypt: for all the men are dead which [t]sought thy life. [20a] And Moses took his wife and his [N]sons, and [u]set them upon an ass, and he returned to the land of Egypt.			
t 2^{15}	[20b] And Moses took the [p]rod of God in his hand.			
u ℌ=*made them to ride* Gen 41^{43} Deut 32^{13}*	[21] [N]*And Yahweh said unto Moses, When thou goest back into Egypt, see that thou do before Pharaoh all the [v]wonders which I have put in thine hand: but I will [M]harden his heart, and he will not let the people go.* [22] *And thou shalt say unto Pharaoh, [P]Thus saith Yahweh, Israel is my son, my [w]firstborn:* [23] *and I have said unto thee, Let my son go, that he may [x]serve me; and thou hast [q]refused to let him go: behold, I will slay thy son, thy firstborn.*			p 87[a]
v 7^{3} 9 11^{9}. ct 3^{20} ℌ				q 68
w Gen 27^{19}				
x 7^{16} 10^{3} 7 11 24 26 12^{31}				
24.. [L]6m*a*	... [24] [NL]And it came to pass on the way at the [r]lodging place, that			r 53

4[10] **M** ℌ *A man of words.*—This passage is the counterpart in **J** of 3[11].. **E**, cp 4[12] and 3[12].

[13] In [13–16] it is not apparent in what way the anger of Yahweh expresses itself against the reluctance of Moses. It is believed, therefore, that this is really a later insertion to prepare for the introduction of Aaron, for whom a place had to be found in the story. The want of uniformity in his appearances, the curious alternation between plural and singular verbs in the immediate context of his entry into the narrative (cp 8[8] 12[a] 25 28 9[27] 10[16] 17[b] with 8[9] 12[b] 29 9[33] 10[7a] 18), and the fact that in the earliest extant account of the sanctuary he had no function, Joshua being the servitor of Moses in the Tent of Meeting **Ex** 33[11], render it probable that the passages narrating his activity are all secondary as compared with the original **J**. The description of Aaron as 'the Levite' (in the sense of priest) on whom devolves the duty of proclaiming to the people the divine teaching, points in the same direction; ct 18[20].. where Moses is himself the giver of teaching (*torah*). Cornill ascribes his appearance here, as well as in [27. 29.] and the rest of the passages in 5–10 to **R**[P], cp Num 1[1N]. But this seems to overlook the parallel in 6[12] 7[1]. which cannot be regarded as the source of 4[13].. The passage is therefore viewed as secondary in **J** but older than **P**.

[14] This passage is certainly related to [27]. But it can hardly be by the same writer (Bacon), for it implies that Aaron has already started, whereas according to [27] he has not yet received the divine command to join Moses in the wilderness. It seems better, therefore, to regard it as a sign of editorial preparation, introduced by the connecting link 'and also.' Its removal improves the connexion of [14a] and [15].

[17] Cp [2N] and [20] 7[15b] [17b] [20b] 9[23] 10[13] 14[16] 17[5] 9. Dillmann conjectures that the pronoun 'this' is due to **R** replacing 'rod of God' as in [20b]. But the passage seems rather to indicate a gift on the part of God (like the stone tables). The 'signs' are probably not to be interpreted of those recounted in [2–9]; they are those to be hereafter performed against Pharaoh. In that case the passages in **E** preparing Moses for the resistance of Pharaoh have been set aside in the process of uniting **J** and **E**.

[18] **M** ℌ *Jether.*

[19] According to 3[16] Moses has already received instructions to return, so that in the original narrative of **J** this passage may have preceded the theophany in 3[2]. . now combined with **E**. It is suggested, therefore, that it followed 2[23a].

[20] **J** has only related the birth of one son 2[22], and [25] implies that there was no second. The plural seems to be an editorial reference to 18[2–4].

[21a] The commission to Moses in this passage may be founded upon older elements, but its place here is due to **R**, who has attached it to [19–20] with the echoing phrase 'when thou goest to return into Egypt'; the word 'wonders' recurs later in **P** cp Deut 4[34] &c. The message to Pharaoh in [22]. is never repeated, and if the passage is not to be assigned to editorial preparation, it must have been transposed from some later scene, such as the beginning of 11[4] (Dillm 10[28]).

[21b] **M** ℌ *make strong.*—Cp 10[20] [27], ct 7[14].

[24] The story in [24–26] has many peculiar features. The sudden and unexpected intervention of Yahweh, the perplexing silence concerning its cause and purpose especially after the great task just assigned to Moses, the remedy adopted by Zipporah, her archaic use of the flint knife, and the obscurity of her utterance—these are all marks of great antiquity. The source from which the incident has been drawn, prior to its incorporation in **J**, cannot be determined; its interpretation belongs to the history of circumcision.

J E JE J E P

Yahweh [y]met him, and [z]sought to [a']kill him. 25 Then [b']Zipporah took a [c']flint, and cut off the foreskin of her son, and [M]cast it at his feet; and she said, Surely a [d']bridegroom of blood art thou to me. 26 So he let him alone. Then she said, [M]A bridegroom of blood [art thou], because of the circumcision.

27 And Yahweh said to Aaron, Go into the wilderness to meet Moses. And he went, and [y]met him in the [e']mountain of God, and kissed him. 28 And Moses told Aaron all the words of Yahweh wherewith he had sent him, and all the [f']signs wherewith he had charged him.

29 And Moses and Aaron went and [g']gathered together all the elders of the children of Israel: 30 and [N]Aaron spake all the words which Yahweh had spoken unto Moses, and did the signs in the sight of the people. 31 And the people believed: and when they heard that Yahweh had [g']visited the children of Israel, and that he had [h']seen their affliction, then they [s]bowed their heads and worshipped. s 12b

5[1] [N]And afterwards Moses and Aaron came, and said unto Pharaoh, [a]Thus saith Yahweh, the God of Israel, Let my people go, that they may [c]hold a feast unto me in the wilderness. 2 And Pharaoh said, Who is Yahweh, that I should [b]hearken unto his voice to let Israel go? I know not Yahweh, and moreover I will not let Israel go. a 87 b 44b

...3 And they said, [b]The God of the Hebrews hath [c]met with us: let us go, we pray thee, [c]three days' journey into the wilderness, and [d]sacrifice unto Yahweh our God; lest he [e]fall upon us with [e]pestilence, or with the sword. c 86

4 And the king of Egypt said unto them, Wherefore do ye, Moses and Aaron, [f]loose the people from their [g]works? get you unto your [h]burdens. 5 And Pharaoh said, Behold, the people of the land are now many, and ye [i]make them rest from their [h]burdens. 6 And the same day Pharaoh commanded the [d]taskmasters of the people, and their [N]officers, saying, 7 Ye shall no more give the people [k]straw to make [l]brick, as heretofore: let them go and [m]gather straw for themselves. 8 And the [n]tale of the bricks, which they did make heretofore, ye shall lay upon them; ye shall not [o]diminish aught thereof: for they be [p]idle; therefore they cry, saying, Let us go and [d]sacrifice to our God. 9 Let [d]heavier [q]work be laid upon the men, that they may labour therein; and let them not [r]regard lying words. 10 And the taskmasters of the people went out, and their [j]officers, and they [s]spake to the people, saying, Thus saith Pharaoh, I will not give you straw. 11 Go yourselves, get you straw where ye can find it: for nought of your [q]work shall be [o]diminished. 12 So the people were [f]scattered abroad throughout all the land of Egypt to [m]gather [t]stubble for straw. 13 And the taskmasters were [u]urgent, saying, Fulfil your [g]works, [your] [v]daily tasks, as when there was straw. 14 And the [j]officers of the children of Israel, which Pharaoh's taskmasters had set over them, were beaten, [M]and demanded, [w]Wherefore have ye not fulfilled your [x]task [g]both yesterday [g]and to-day, in making [l]brick as heretofore? 15 Then the [j]officers of the children of Israel came and cried unto Pharaoh, saying, Wherefore dealest thou thus with [h]thy d 83 e 72 f 80 g 11 h 73

y 27 Gen 32[17]
z 2[15]
a' Gen 18[25]
b' 2[21]
c' Ezek 39†
d' Gen 19[12] ℌ
e' 3[1]
f' Cp 17
g' 3[16]
h' 3[7]
a 10[9] 23[14] 32[5]
b 3[18]
c Cp 3[18] ct Deut 22[6] ℌ*
d 8 17 3[18]
e 9[3] 15 ct Num 14[12] Lev 26[25] Deut 28[21]*
f Cp 32[25]
g 23[12] 16 cp Gen 46[33]
h 1[11]
i Ct 12[15] ℌ
j Cp P 8[3]
k Gen 24[25]*
l 8 14 16–19 Gen 11[3]
m 12 Num 15[32].*
n 30[32] 37* Ezek 45[11] 2 Chron 24[13]†
o 8 11 19 21[10] *al*
p ℌ Niph†
q ℌ = *service* 1[14]
r Gen 44.*
s Cp P 18 5[d]
t Ex 15[7]* Is 5[24] *al*
u Gen 19[15] ℌ
v Cp 16[4]
w Gen 26[27]
x Cp Gen 47[22] ℌ

4[25] **M** ℌ *made it touch.*—Cp 12[22] = *strike.*

26 **M** Or, *A bridegroom of blood in regard of the circumcision.*

30 Cp 13N. The text of *RV* ascribes the performance of the signs to Aaron. But this is certainly not contemplated in 1–9, nor is it suggested in 13–16. The original subject of 'did' (ℌ he did) must be Moses; and the present form of the verse must result from the later redaction.

5[1] **J** and **E** appear both to have related the demand made by Moses on behalf of the Israelites for the royal permission to depart, and the opening of 5 seems to contain material from each source. Thus 3 is a doublet of 1 and 5 of 4; 3 is easily identified with **J** (see the margins) and 1. 4, therefore, fall most naturally to **E**. The place of Aaron in the original narrative is doubtful cp 4[13N]; according to **J** the petition of Moses was to be supported by the elders 3[18]. It has been suggested that the plea alleged in the latter part of 1 may be due to **R**, who seeks to bring **E** into accord with **J**. In 13[17–19] a special reason is assigned why the Israelites did not march to Canaan by the shortest route from the south-west, but in 3[12] a visit to the sacred mountain is already contemplated, and 1b is not, therefore, out of harmony with **E**. The story in 5–23 seems to be all of one piece, and the linguistic indications point to **J** rather than **E**.

6 The reference to the 'officers' 6 10 seems to be an editorial anticipation of 14 where they are first described.

14 **M** ℌ *saying.*

J JE J E P

servants? [16] There is no straw given unto [h]thy servants, and they say
y Gen 43[9] ℌ to us, Make brick: and, behold, thy servants are beaten; but the [y]fault
is in thine own people. [17] But he said, Ye are [p]idle, ye are idle: there-
fore ye say, Let us go and [d]sacrifice to Yahweh. [18] Go therefore now,
and work; for there shall no straw be given you, yet shall ye deliver the
z Ezek 45[11]† cp 8 [z]tale of bricks. [19] And the [j]officers of the children of Israel did see that
they [N]were in evil case, when it was said, Ye shall not [c]minish aught
from your bricks, [your] [v]daily tasks. [20] And they met Moses and Aaron,
who stood in the way, as they came forth from Pharaoh: [21] and they
a' Gen 16[5]
b' Gen 8[21] 27[27]
c' Gen 34[30] ct 16[24*]
said unto them, Yahweh look upon you, and [a']judge; because ye have
made our [b']savour to be [c']abhorred in the eyes of Pharaoh, and in the
eyes of his servants, to put a sword in their hand to slay us. [22] And
d' Gen 43[6] ℌ Num 11[11]
Moses returned unto Yahweh, and said, Lord, wherefore hast thou [d']evil
entreated this people? [i]why is it that thou hast sent me? [23] For
e' 3[10] 4[13]
f' 3[8]
i 89[b]
[e']since I came to Pharaoh to speak in thy name, he hath [d']evil entreated
this people; neither hast thou [f']delivered thy people at all.

6[1] [N]And Yahweh said unto Moses, [a]Now shalt thou see what I will [b]do
a 187
b 146[c]
a 3[19]
b 3[20]
c 11[1] 12[39] cp 148
to Pharaoh: for by a [a]strong hand shall he [b]let them go, and by a strong
hand shall he [c]drive them out of his land.

[2] [N]And God spake unto Moses, and said unto him, [c]I am Yahweh: [3] and
c 179[b]
d Gen 17[1] 35[9]
I [d]appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, as [Td]El Shaddai,
d 1
but [M]by my name Yahweh I was not [M]known to them. [4] And I have also
e 60[a]
[e]established my covenant with them, to give them the [f]land of Canaan, the
f 4[a]
[g]land of their sojournings, wherein they sojourned. [5] And moreover [h]I have
g 145[a]
e 2[24]
f 1[13] ℌ
g Cp [JE]85[b] 𝔊 *go*
h 94[a]
[e]heard the groaning of the children of Israel, whom the Egyptians [f]keep in
i 135
bondage; and I have [i]remembered my covenant. [6] [g]Wherefore [N]say unto
h 1[11]
i ℌ=*deliver* 3[8]
j ℌ=*service* 1[14]
k Cp [D]80[c]
l Lev 26[12]
the children of Israel, [c]I am Yahweh, and I will bring you out from under
the [h]burdens of the Egyptians, and I will [i]rid you out of their [j]bondage, and
j 132[a]
k 99
I will [j]redeem you with a [k]stretched out arm, and with great [k]judgements:
l 26
[7] and I will take you [l]to me for a people, and I will [l]be to you a God: and ye
m 179[c]
shall [m]know that I am Yahweh your God, which bringeth you out from
under the [h]burdens of the Egyptians. [8] And I will bring you in unto the
m Num 14[30*] Ezek 20[5. 15 23 28 42] 36[7]
land, concerning which I [m]lifted up my hand to give it to Abraham, to
n Deut 33[4*] Ezek 11[15] 25[4 10] 33[24] 36[2. 5]†
Isaac, and to Jacob; and I will give it you for an [n]heritage: [c]I am Yahweh.
o ℌ=*hard service* 1[14]
[9] And Moses spake so unto the children of Israel: but they hearkened not
unto Moses for [M]anguish of spirit, and for [o]cruel bondage.

[10] And Yahweh [n]spake unto Moses, saying, [11] Go in, [o]speak unto Pharaoh
n 185[a]
o 185[b]
king of Egypt, that he let the children of Israel go out of his land. [12] And
Moses [n]spake before Yahweh, saying, Behold, the children of Israel have not
p [30]† ct 4[10.]
hearkened unto me; how then shall Pharaoh hear me, [h]who am [P]of [P]uncir-
p 166
cumcised lips?

[13] [N]And Yahweh spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, and gave them a charge unto the

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5[19] **M** Or, *were set on mischief, when they said.*

6[1] This verse seems most naturally treated as the divine reply to the expostulation of Moses 5[22.], and is consequently assigned to **J**. In 12[31]. Pharaoh bids the children of Israel depart immediately and in 12[39] they are 'thrust (= driven) out.' For 'strong hand' (other than Yahweh's) cp Num 20[20]; used of Yahweh Ex 3[19] 13[9] 32[11].

[2] Cp 3[1N], and *Introd* V **2** i 33 and XIII **1** i 121.

[3a] So **M** ℌ. **T** *God Almighty.* [3b] **M** Or, *as to.*

[3c] **M** Or, *made known.*

[6] Driver, *LOT*[6] 151, ascribes [6–8] to **P**[h] (cp *Introd* XIII 8γ i 145). The chief linguistic support for this attribution is probably to be found in the formula 'I am Yahweh.' But this appears sufficiently explained as the repetition of the revelation in [2]. There do not seem any other distinctive marks of **P**[h]: and the words 'redeem' [6] 'judgements' [6] with the phrases of [7] seem rather to belong to **P**[g]. The parallels with Ezekiel deserve attention. It may further be remarked that [3–5] would be very incomplete without some hint of the mode by which the divine promise would be carried out. Reminiscences of **J** may be found in 'burdens' and 'deliver' [6].

[9] **M** Or, *impatience,* ℌ *shortness of spirit.*—ℌ†.

[13] The text in this passage seems to be a later amalgam. The answer of Yahweh to the question of Moses [12], is not delivered until 7[1], where the way is prepared for it by the repetition of the dialogue [28–30]. The intervening matter is by no means homogeneous. Only three tribes are catalogued, Reuben, Simeon, and Levi. The first two [14 15] have their brief counterparts in Gen 46[9]. The treatment of Levi is much fuller [16–25], and is apparently designed to introduce Aaron and Moses, of whose descent nothing has as yet been said. Bacon regards this passage as original to **P**, and proposes to attach it to 1[5]. It is no doubt full of **P**'s phrases, but the detail seems unequal; [21.] interrupts the family history of Amram; and the fragments cannot be said to be harmoniously welded together, or to form a suitable transition from the compact summary of 1[1–5] to the subsequent narrative of the bondage of Israel and the revelation of Yahweh. They must be assigned in their present connexion to the secondary elements of **P**. It is noteworthy that nothing is said of the wife of Moses; did **P** find the

J E P

children of Israel, and unto Pharaoh king of Egypt, to bring the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt.

q Gen 46[9]
r Gen 46[10]
s Gen 46[11] Num 3[17]
t Num 3[18]
u Num 3[19] 26[59]
v Num 3[20]
w Num 26[59]†

[14] qThese are the heads of their rfathers' houses: the qsons of Reuben the firstborn of Israel; Hanoch, and Pallu, Hezron, and Carmi: qthese are the sfamilies of Reuben. [15] And the rsons of Simeon; Jemuel, and Jamin, and Ohad, and Jachin, and Zohar, and Shaul the son of a Canaanitish woman: qthese are the families of Simeon. [16] And qthese are the names of the sons of Levi taccording to their ugenerations; sGershon, and Kohath, and Merari: and the vyears of the life of Levi were an whundred thirty and seven years. [17] The sons of tGershon; Libni and Shimei, taccording to their families. [18] And the sons of uKohath; Amram, and Izhar, and Hebron, and Uzziel: and the vyears of the life of Kohath were an whundred thirty and three years. [19] And the sons of vMerari; Mahli and Mushi. qThese are the families of the Levites according to their ugenerations. [20] And Amram took him wJochebed his father's sister to wife; and she bare him Aaron and Moses: and the vyears of the life of Amram were an whundred and thirty and seven years. [21] And the sons of Izhar; xKorah, and Nepheg, and Zichri. [22] And the sons of Uzziel; Mishael, and Elzaphan, and Sithri. [23] And Aaron took him Elisheba, the daughter of Amminadab, the sister of Nahshon, to wife; and she bare him yNadab and Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar. [24] And the sons of Korah; Assir, and Elkanah, and Abiasaph; qthese are the families of the Korahites. [25] And Eleazar Aaron's son took him one of the daughters of Putiel to wife; and she bare him yPhinehas. qThese are the heads of the rfathers' [houses] of the Levites taccording to their families. [26] zThese are that Aaron and Moses, to whom Yahweh said, Bring out the children of Israel from the land of Egypt according to their hosts. [27] zThese are they which spake to Pharaoh king of Egypt, to bring out the children of Israel from Egypt: these are that Moses and Aaron.

q 188
r 66
s 65
t 18
u 77
v 182
w 93
x 14
y 12
z 188[c]

[28] And it came to pass on the day when Yahweh spake unto Moses in the land of Egypt, [29] that Yahweh pspake unto Moses, saying, cI am Yahweh: ospeak thou unto Pharaoh king of Egypt all that I speak unto thee. [30] And Moses said before Yahweh, Behold, I am pof uncircumcised lips, and how shall Pharaoh hearken unto me?

a Cp D99
b Ct 4[16]
c Cp JE11[4]
d 6[11]
e Ps 95[8] Prov 28[14]† ct Ex 13[15]
f Cp D10[1a]
g Cp Ezek 6[14] &c (7)

7[1] And Yahweh said unto Moses, a[See, I have made thee a b]god to Pharaoh: and Aaron thy brother shall be thy cprophet. [2] Thou shalt speak all that I command thee: and Aaron thy brother shall speak unto Pharaoh, dthat he let the children of Israel go out of his land. [3] And a[I will eharden Pharaoh's heart], and multiply my fsigns and my fwonders in the land of Egypt. [4] But Pharaoh will not hearken unto you, and I will lay my hand upon Egypt, and bring forth my bhosts, my people the children of Israel, out of the land of Egypt by great cjudgements. [5] And the Egyptians shall dknow that I am Yahweh, when I gstretch forth mine hand upon Egypt, and bring out the children of Israel from among them. [6] And Moses and Aaron did so; eas Yahweh commanded them, so did they. [7] And Moses was fourscore years fold, and Aaron fourscore and three years old, when they spake unto Pharaoh.

a 94
b 92
c 99
d 179[b]
e 189[a]
f 119

[8] xAnd Yahweh gspake unto Moses and unto Aaron, saying, [9] When

g 185[a]

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tradition of her foreign origin incompatible with the stricter ideas of his time?

7[8] The narrative of the wonders 7[8–11][10] is plainly composite. Various reasons unite to enforce this conclusion; the following analysis is founded on two broad classes of evidence, (α) material differences of representation, and (β) accompanying peculiarities of phraseology. (1) Scattered through the record occur short sections of which 7[8–13] is the type. They are based on the idea of 'showing a wonder' 7[9]. Moses receives the divine command, and transmits it to Aaron, who executes it with his rod: the magicians of Egypt then attempt to produce the same marvel, at first with success, but afterwards impotently: the heart of Pharaoh is strong, and he will not listen. These common marks unite the following passages 7[8–13] 19–20a 22 8[5–7] 15b 16–19 9[8–12]. They are unconnected by any marks of time; they constitute a succession of displays of power increasing in force until the editorial close in 11[10]. Their recurring phrases (see the margins), the peculiar relation of Moses and Aaron cp 7[1.], the prominence assigned to Aaron as the agent of the wonder with his rod cp Num 17[8], while elsewhere the wonder is wrought by Moses with his rod, justify the ascription of these passages to **P**. Some points of linguistic affinity with **JE** are of course inevitable, in travelling over so much common ground. (2) The materials left after the elimination of **P**, again exhibit differences both of conception and language. Thus (i) **J** has already located the Israelites in the land of Goshen Gen 45[10] and they are accordingly represented as residing there in 8[22] 9[26]; they are consequently unaffected by the flies or the hail. On the other hand in 10[21–23] they are living in the midst of the people in Egypt itself, and their immunity from the oppression of the darkness is secured by the appearance of light in their dwellings. This latter view of their intermingling with the Egyptians lies at the basis of the instructions in 3[21.] and their sequel 11[2.], and the passages founded on it must be assigned to **E**. Again (ii) the agency by which the plagues are successively induced, varies on different occasions. In one series Moses simply announces to Pharaoh the divine intention, but in another he is directed to stretch out his hand that the visitation may follow 9[22] 10[12 21] (ct 9[29 33]). The hand of Moses wields the rod 9[23] 10[13] cp [22] 7[20b], apparently the rod of 4[17] expressly given to him for the purpose. The coincidence of (i) and (ii) in 10[21–23] secures all the rod-passages to **E**. It will be noticed that these contain no mention of Aaron; Moses throughout appears alone; moreover he does not predict, he performs; no word is said to Pharaoh; act after act follows without recorded speech. (3) The residue exhibits numerous indications of the handiwork of **J**. The Israelites inhabit the land of Goshen, and are occupied with flocks and herds 8[22] 9[26] 10[9 24] cp Gen 46[32 34] 47[3 6]. The reiterated demands addressed to Pharaoh for permission to depart that Israel may serve Yahweh 7[16] 8[1 20] 9[1. 13] 10[3], carry out the instruction of 3[18], the interviews taking place in the palace ('go in' ℌ 3[18] 8[1] 9[1] 10[1], 'stand before' 8[20] 9[13] ct 7[15]). The incidents of the several narratives may be tabulated thus:—

J E P

Pharaoh shall [g]speak unto you, saying, Shew a wonder for you: then thou shalt say unto [h]Aaron, Take thy [i]rod, and cast it down before Pharaoh, that it become a [M]serpent. [10] And Moses and Aaron went in unto Pharaoh, and they [h]did so, as Yahweh had commanded: and Aaron cast down his [i]rod before Pharaoh and before his servants, and it became a [j]serpent. [11] Then Pharaoh also called for the [l]wise men and the sorcerers: and they also, the [M]magicians of Egypt, did in like manner with their [M]enchantments. [12] For they cast down every man his rod, and they became serpents: but Aaron's [i]rod swallowed up their rods. [13] And Pharaoh's heart [M]was hardened, and he [m]hearkened not unto them; [n]as Yahweh had spoken.

[14] [N]And Yahweh said unto Moses, Pharaoh's heart is [MO]stubborn, he [i]refuseth to let the people go. . . .

. . . [15] [p]Get thee unto Pharaoh in the [j]morning; lo, he goeth out unto the water; and thou shalt [k]stand

h 19 85 16
i 10 12 19 85 16.
j Ct 4[3]
k Gen 41[8]
l 22[18] Deut 18[10*]
m 22 81[9] 9[12] ct 9[35]
n 22 81[5] 19 9[12] ct 9[35]
o 81[5] 32 9[7] 34 cp 78
p Ct 81 20

h 189[b]
i 68
j 236
k 215

J	E	P
—	—	Aaron's rod changed to a serpent.
The river smitten, death of the fish.	Waters of the river turned to blood.	Waters of Egypt turned to blood.
Frogs.	—	Frogs.
—	—	Lice.
Flies.	—	—
Murrain.	—	—
—	—	Boils.
Hail.	Hail.	—
Locusts.	Locusts.	—
—	Darkness.	—
Death of the first-born.	[Death of the first-born.]	Death of the first-born.

The narrative of **P** has probably been preserved intact; portions of **J** and **E** have no doubt been curtailed or omitted in the process of amalgamation. The following differences of phrase may be noted:—

J	E	P
Pharaoh 'refuses to let the people go' 7[14] 8[2] 9[2] 10[4].		
'Yahweh, God of the Hebrews' 7[16] 9[1] [13] 10[3].		'Say unto Aaron' 7[9] 19 85 16.
'Let my people go that they may serve me' 7[16] 8[1] [20] 9[1] [13] 10[3].		The magicians 7[11] 22 87 [18] 9[11].
'Thus saith Yahweh . . . Behold I will . . .' 7[17] 8[1]. [20]. 9[1] (3) [13] [18] 10[3].	Moses stretches out his hand with the rod 7[15] 20b 9[22]. 10[12]. 21..	Aaron stretches out his hand with his rod 7[9] 19 85. 16..
'Intreat Yahweh' 8[8] [28] 9[28] 10[17].		Land of Egypt 7[19] 21b 85-7 16. 9[9ab] 12[1] 12. 17 41. 51.
'Removal' of the plague 8[8] 31 10[17] cp 9[33].		
Marks of time, 'to-morrow' 8[10] 23 29 9[5]. 10[4].		
Unheard of character of the infliction 9[18] 24b 10[6b] 14 11[6].		
Pharaoh's heart 'stubborn' (Qal and Hiph) 7[14] 8[15] 32 9[7] 34.	Pharaoh's heart 'strong' (Qal and Hiph) 9[35] 10[20] 27.	Pharaoh's heart 'strong' (Qal and Hiph) 7[13] 22 8[19] (9[12] Pi).
		And he hearkened not as Yahweh had spoken 7[13] 22 8[15] 19 9[12].

Other items of linguistic usage will be found noted in the margins. The narrative of **J** shows occasional signs of expansion in the hortatory manner already noticed in Genesis cp 8[10b] 22b 9[14–16] 29b 10[1b] 2.. It is also probable that the part here played by Aaron is due to later remodelling rather than to the original story cp 4[13N].

7[9] **M** ℌ *tannin*, any large reptile; and so in [10] [12].—Cp Gen 1[21], and ct [15].

11a **M** See Gen 41[8].—Cp [22] 8[7] [18] 9[11].

11b **M** Or, *secret arts.*

13 **M** ℌ *was strong.*—Cp [22] 8[19] 9[12].

14a The miracle of the water is the only 'sign' which seems to have been narrated by all three writers **J E P** prior to the death of the firstborn, and the compiler has attempted to weld the accounts together. But the narratives are not founded on the same conception, and the result is obviously not homogeneous. In 17b it is predicted that the waters in the River (*y^e'or*), when struck with the rod of Moses, shall be turned into blood, the term *y^e'or* being regularly applied to the Nile. But in [19] a fresh command is given to Moses to instruct Aaron to stretch out his rod over the waters of Egypt, which include not only the *Y^e'or* but every drop from the 'streams' (*y^e'orim*) down to the liquid already standing in the household stores. Plainly [19] 20a 21b [22] belong to the series inaugurated by 7[8–13] cp 7[8N]. The remaining narrative is still composite. The criteria already enumerated in 7[8N] show that [16–17a] belongs to **J**. In the formula 'Thus saith Yahweh . . . Behold I will smite,' Yahweh is obviously the subject of the verb cp 8[1.] [20.] 9[13] [18] 10[3.], and it is plain from [25] that the writer conceived of Yahweh as himself smiting the river, with the result that the fish died [18] [21], and the Egyptians could not drink the water. But if [17a] belongs to **J**, the continuation must be drawn from another source, for Yahweh did not himself wield the rod. This can be no other than **E** cp 7[8N]. This rod Moses has already been directed to take in his hand [15]; with this he smote the waters in the River [20b], and they were turned to blood (ct [19] 'become'). In combining the two narratives **R** has altered the pronoun 'thine' cp 9[22] 10[12] [21] to 'mine,' as the verb (now assigned to Moses as subject) required the first person. The nature of the change in the river produced by Yahweh, according to **J**, is not stated. But there is nothing to imply that it consisted in conversion into blood. Nothing, indeed, need have happened to the water at all. Yahweh's power is sufficiently shown in the mysterious death of the fish, which would suffice to pollute the sacred stream, and render it undrinkable. Why, then, should **R** have united this story of **J** with the very different incident of **E**? Because **J**'s reference to the transformation of the Nile waters belonged to another part of the cycle, and could not be utilized here. In 4[9] Moses is directed to convince his countrymen by taking water out of the river, and pouring it out on the dry soil, when it would become blood. Whether this was actually wrought among the signs which he did before them according to 4[30], is not stated. But it creates a presumption that **J**'s view of the transaction was limited to a display of the power of Moses before Israel, when the water affected was not the whole river (**E**), still less every particle in the entire country (**P**), but only the contents of a vessel which could be emptied on the ground. In the process of compilation, however, these elements were no longer discriminated, and **J**'s account of the death of the fish found its natural explanation in amalgamation with **E**'s independent account of the change of the Nile-stream into blood before Pharaoh and his court. A final harmonistic effort [15] identified the 'rod of God' which was expressly given to Moses for the purpose of working the signs (**E**) 4[17] [20b], with his own shepherd's staff (**J**) which had been turned into a snake 4[2..].

14b **M** ℌ *heavy.*

J E JE J E P

by the [q]river's brink to [l]meet him; and the rod which was turned to a [M]serpent shalt thou take in thine hand.

[16] And thou shalt [r]say unto him, Yahweh, the [m]God of the Hebrews, hath sent me unto thee, saying, [s]Let my people go, that they may serve me in the wilderness: and, behold, [n]hitherto thou hast not hearkened.

[17a] [o]Thus saith Yahweh, [t]In this thou shalt [u]know that I am Yahweh: behold, I will smite [the river...]

...[17b] with the rod that is in [N]mine [thine] hand upon the waters which are in the river, and they shall be [v]turned to blood.

[18] And the fish that is in the river shall die, and the river shall [w]stink; and the Egyptians shall [x]loathe to drink water from the river.

[19] And Yahweh said unto Moses, Say unto [h]Aaron, Take thy [i]rod, and stretch out thine hand over the waters of Egypt, over their rivers, over their [M]streams, and over their [y]pools, and over all their [z]ponds of water, that they may become blood; and there shall be blood throughout all the [p]land of Egypt, both in vessels of wood and in vessels of stone. [20a] And Moses and Aaron [h]did so, as Yahweh commanded;

...[20b] And he lifted up the rod, and [a']smote the waters that were in the river, in the sight of Pharaoh, and in the sight of his servants; and all the waters that were in the river were [v]turned to blood.

...[21a] And the fish that was in the river died; and the river [w]stank, and the Egyptians could not drink water from the river.

[21b] and the blood was throughout all the land of Egypt. [22] And the [b']magicians of Egypt did in like manner with their [b']enchantments: and Pharaoh's heart [M]was [c']hardened, and he [m]hearkened not unto them; [n]as Yahweh had spoken.

[23] And Pharaoh [d']turned and went into his house, neither did he [MQ]lay even this to heart.

[24] And all the Egyptians [e']digged round about the river for water to drink; for they could not drink of the water of the river. [25] And seven days were [f']fulfilled, after that Yahweh had [g']smitten the river.

q 2[5] ℌ=*brink*
r 3[18]
s 8[1] 20 9[1] 13 10[3]
t Gen 24[14] Josh 3[10] ℌ
u 8[10] 22 9[14] 10[2] cp [F]17[9b]
v Ct 4[9]
w 21 8[14]
x Cp Gen 19[11] ℌ
y 8[5*] Is 14[23] *al*
z ℌ=*the gathering of their waters* Gen 1[10]
a' 17[5]
b' Cp 11
c' Cp 13
d' 32[15] cp 10[6]
e' Gen 21[30] 26[18]... cp 14[4]
f' Gen 25[24]
g' Cp 17

l 18[3]
m 87[c]
n 222
o 87[a]
p 4[c]
q 19[4]

7[15] **M** See 4[3].
[19] **M** Or, *canals*.—ℌ=river 2[3] 7[15 17].
[17b] Cp 14[N].
[22] **M** ℌ *was strong*.
[23] **M** ℌ *set his heart even to this*.—Ct 9[21].

J E JE J E P

1 [7[26] in ℌ]
a 3[18] ℌ 9[1] 10[1]
b 20 7[16]
c 7[17a]
d 12[23]
e 10[14] 19
f 2-13 Ps 78[45] 105[30]†
g 7[18] ct 5
h Cp P157
i Gen 43[30] ℌ
j Gen 47[31]
k Gen 15[17]
l 12[34] Deut 28[5 17]†
5 [81 in ℌ]
m 16 7[19]

8[1] And Yahweh [T]said unto Moses, [a]Go in unto Pharaoh, and say unto him, [a]Thus saith Yahweh, [b]Let my people go, that they may serve me. [2] And if thou [b]refuse to let them go, [c]behold, [c]I will [d]smite all thy [c]borders with [f]frogs: [3] and the [g]river shall [h]swarm with frogs, which shall go up and come into thine house, and into thy [i]bedchamber, and upon thy [j]bed, and into the house of thy servants, and upon thy people, and into thine [k]ovens, and into thy [l]kneadingtroughs: [4] and the frogs shall come up both upon thee, and upon thy people, and upon all thy servants[N].

a 87[a]
b 68

[5] And Yahweh said unto Moses, [m]Say unto Aaron, Stretch forth thine hand with thy rod over the rivers, over the [M]streams, and over the pools, and cause frogs to come up upon the [c]land of Egypt. [6] And Aaron stretched out his hand over the waters of Egypt; and the frogs came up, and covered the [c]land of Egypt. [7] And the [n]magicians did in like manner with their enchantments, and brought up frogs upon the [c]land of Egypt.

c 4[c]

n 7[11]

. . . [8] Then Pharaoh called for Moses and Aaron, and said, [d]Intreat Yahweh, that he [o]take away the frogs from me, and from my people; and I will let the people go, that they may [p]sacrifice unto Yahweh. [9] And Moses said unto Pharaoh, Have thou this [q]glory over me: against [r]what time shall I [d]intreat for thee, and for thy servants, and for thy people, that the frogs be destroyed from thee and thy houses, and remain in the [g]river [e]only? [10] And he said, Against [s]to-morrow. And he said, Be it [f]according to thy word: [N]that thou mayest know that there is none like unto Yahweh our God. [11] And the frogs shall [t]depart from thee, and from thy houses, and from thy servants, and from thy people; they shall remain in the river [e]only. [12] And Moses and Aaron went out from Pharaoh: and Moses [g]cried unto Yahweh [u]concerning the frogs [M]which he had brought upon Pharaoh. [13] And Yahweh did [f]according to the word of Moses; and the frogs died out of the houses, out of the courts, and out of the fields. [14] And they [v]gathered them together in [w]heaps: and the land [x]stank. [15a] But when Pharaoh saw that there was [y]respite, he [Mh]hardened his heart.

d 48
o ℌ = *remove* 31 10[17] cp **224**[b]
p 25 3[18]
q ℌ Hithpa*
r Cp ℌ 10[3] 7 Gen 30[30] Num 14[27]*
s 23 29 9[5]. 10[4]
e 189
f 2
t 29 cp o ℌ

u Gen 12[17]
g 141
v Gen 41[35 49]*
w Cp Num 11[32]
x 7[18]
y Lam 3[56]†
h 42

z 7[13]

[15b] [N]And Pharaoh's heart was hardened] and [he] [z]hearkened not unto them; as Yahweh had spoken.

[16] And Yahweh said unto Moses, [m]Say unto Aaron, Stretch out thy rod, and smite the dust of the earth, that it may become [M]lice throughout all the [c]land of Egypt. [17] And they did so; and Aaron stretched out his hand with his rod, and smote the dust of the earth, and there were lice upon [i]man, and upon [i]beast; all the dust of the earth became lice throughout all the [c]land of Egypt. [18] And the [n]magicians did so with their enchantments to bring forth lice, but they could not: and there were lice upon [i]man, and upon beast. [19] Then the magicians said unto Pharaoh, This is the finger of God:

i 108[b]

8[1] **T** *spake.* ℌ as in 7[14] 8[20] 9[1] 10[1] &c.

[4] This announcement was no doubt followed in **J** by the description of the arrival of the frogs. But **R** has set this aside in favour of the corresponding extract from **P**. For 5–7 cp 7[8N].

[5] **M** Or, *canals.*

[10] This passage is one of a small group of parallel declarations 7[17b] 8[10 22b] 9[14–16 29b] 10[1b 2]. which are probably to be regarded as hortatory expansions designed to emphasize the religious lesson of the great conflict. The grounds for this view are in no single case decisive, but they acquire strength by mutual support. In each passage there is a more or less definite disturbance of the context, most clearly visible, perhaps, in 10[1b 2]. In 8[10] 𝔊 has a slightly different form of words, 'that thou mayest know that there is no other save Yahweh' cp Is 45[14 21] &c; similarly [22] 'that thou mayest know that I am Yahweh the Lord [𝔊[L] God] of all the earth.' The relation of these affirmations of the unqualified sovereignty of Yahweh to the history of Hebrew monotheism would involve inquiries which cannot be undertaken here: but it may be pointed out that the formula 'know that I am Yahweh' 7[17] 10[2b] coincides with the frequent phrase of **P**, e g 7[5] cp P179[b]. Extremely rare elsewhere Deut 29[6] 1 Kings 20[13 28], unrepresented in the earlier prophetic literature it suddenly becomes one of the catchwords of Ezekiel who employs it more than sixty times. Its occurrence in 7[17] is rendered more suspicious by the contrast of the pronoun directly following (אנכי for אני). But cp Driver, *Deut* 321.

[12] **M** Or, *as he had appointed unto Pharaoh.*

[15a] **M** ℌ *made heavy.*—Cp 7[14].

[15b] The natural close of 5–7 (cp 7[13 22]) would be 'And Pharaoh's heart was strong (**T** hardened) and he hearkened not unto them' &c. **R** has removed the first words to join the second clause to the conclusion of **J**.

[16] **M** Or, *sand flies.* Or, *fleas.*

J P

and Pharaoh's heart [M]was hardened, and he [z]hearkened not unto them; as Yahweh had spoken.

[a'] 9[13] 20 [a']And Yahweh said unto Moses, [j]Rise up early in the morning, and [k]stand before Pharaoh[a']; [N]lo, he cometh forth to the water; and say unto him, [a]Thus saith Yahweh, [b]Let my people go, that they may serve me. [b'] 21-31 Ps 78[45] 105[31]† 21 Else, if thou wilt not let my people go, behold, I will send [b']swarms of flies upon [c']thee, and upon thy servants, and upon thy people, and into thy houses: and the houses of the Egyptians shall be full of swarms [c'] Cp 8 9 11 29 31 [d'] 9[4] 11[7] 33[16]* of flies, and also the ground whereon they are. 22 And I will [d']sever [l]in that day [e']the land of [m]Goshen, in which my people dwell, that [n]no swarms of flies shall be there; [f']to the end thou mayest know that I am [e'] 9[26] Gen 45[10] [f'] Cp 10b Yahweh in the midst of the earth. 23 And I will [M]put a division between my people and thy people: by [s]to-morrow shall this sign be. 24 And Yahweh did so; and there came grievous swarms of flies into the house of Pharaoh, and into his servants' houses: and in all the land of Egypt the land was [M]corrupted by reason of the swarms of flies. 25 And Pharaoh called for Moses and for Aaron, and said, Go ye, [p]sacrifice to your [g'] 34[2] cp Gen 41[32] God in the land. 26 And Moses said, It is not [g']meet so to do; for we [h'] Cp Gen 43[32] shall sacrifice the [h']abomination of the Egyptians to Yahweh our God: lo, shall we sacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians before their [i'] 19[13] cp 21[6] eyes, and will they not [i']stone us? 27 We will [j']go [o]three days' journey [j'] 3[18] into the wilderness, and sacrifice to Yahweh our God, as he shall command us. 28 And Pharaoh said, I will let you go, that ye may sacrifice to Yahweh your God in the wilderness; only ye shall not go [k'] Cp Gen 21[16] very [k']far away: [d]intreat for me. 29 And Moses said, Behold, I go out from thee, and I will [d]intreat Yahweh that the swarms of flies may [t]depart from [c']Pharaoh, from his servants, and from his people, [s]to-[l'] Gen 31[7]* morrow: only let not Pharaoh deal [l']deceitfully [p]any more in [n]not letting the people go to sacrifice to Yahweh. 30 And Moses went out from Pharaoh, and [d]intreated Yahweh. 31 And Yahweh did [f]according to the word of Moses; and he [o]removed the swarms of flies from [c']Pharaoh, [m'] Cp 11 69 from his servants, and from his people; there [m']remained not one. [n'] 9[14] cp 62 32 And Pharaoh [M]hardened his heart [n']this time also, and he did not let the people go.

[a] 8[1] 9[1] Then Yahweh said unto Moses, [a]Go in unto Pharaoh, and tell him, [a]Thus saith Yahweh, the God of the Hebrews, [q]Let my people go, that they may serve me. 2 For if thou [b]refuse to let them go, and wilt [b] 17 Gen 18[22] hold them [b]still, 3 behold, the hand of Yahweh is upon thy [c]cattle [c] cp 9[1] Gen 47[17] which is in the field, upon the [c]horses, upon the asses, upon the [d]camels, upon the [e]herds, and upon the [e]flocks: [there shall be] a very [f]grievous [d] 15 5[3] [d]murrain. 4 And Yahweh shall [e]sever between the [d]cattle of Israel and [e] 8[22] the cattle of Egypt: and there shall nothing die of all that belongeth to the children of Israel. 5 And Yahweh appointed a set time, saying, [f] 8[10] [f]To-morrow Yahweh shall do this thing in the land. 6 And Yahweh did that thing on the morrow, and all the [c]cattle of Egypt died: but of the cattle of the children of Israel died not one. 7 And Pharaoh sent, and, behold, there was not so much as one of the [c]cattle of the Israelites dead. But the heart of Pharaoh was [Mf]stubborn, and he did not let the people go.

[g] Cp Lev 16[12]* Ezek 10[2 7] [h] 10 ℌ† 8 And Yahweh said unto Moses and unto Aaron, Take to you [g]handfuls of [Mh]ashes of the furnace, and let Moses [g]sprinkle it toward the heaven in the sight of Pharaoh. 9 And it shall [h]become small dust over all the [i]land of

j 200 k 214 l 142 m 39 n 61 o 86 p 123 q 148 h 27 i 4[c]

8[19] **M** ℌ *was strong.*—Cp 7[13].

20 Cp the identical phrase in 7[15] ('cometh forth' = 'goeth out' ℌ). Its insertion here may possibly be a scribal supplement or the unconscious suggestion of memory. It is not repeated in 9[13].

23 **M** Or, *set* a sign of *deliverance.* ℌ *set redemption.*—Is 50[2] Ps 111[9] 130[7]†.

24 **M** Or, *destroyed.*

32 **M** ℌ *made heavy.*—Cp 15.

9[7] ℌ *heavy.*—Cp 7[14].

8 **M** Or, *soot.*

J E P

Egypt, and shall be a [f]boil [g]breaking forth with [h]blains upon man and upon beast, throughout all the land of Egypt. [10] And they took [h]ashes of the furnace, and stood before Pharaoh; and Moses [s]sprinkled it up toward heaven; and it became a boil breaking forth with blains upon man and upon beast. [11] And the [l]magicians could not stand before Moses because of the boils; for the boils were upon the magicians, and upon all the Egyptians. [12] And [m]Yahweh [N]hardened the heart of Pharaoh, and he [n]hearkened not unto them; as Yahweh had spoken unto Moses.

[13] [o]And Yahweh said unto Moses, [j]Rise up early in the morning, and [k]stand before Pharaoh, and say unto him, [a]Thus saith Yahweh, the God of the Hebrews, [a]Let my people go, that they may serve me. [14] For I will [p]this time send all my [q]plagues upon thine heart, and upon thy servants, and upon thy people; [t]that thou mayest [r]know that there is none like me in all the earth. [15] For now I had put forth my hand, and smitten thee and thy people with [d]pestilence, and thou hadst been [s]cut off from the earth: [16] [t]but in very deed [m]for this cause have I made thee to stand, [m]for to shew thee my power, and that my name may be [u]declared throughout all the earth. [17] As [c]yet [u]exaltest thou thyself against my people, that thou wilt [o]not let them go? [18] Behold, [v]to-morrow [w]about this time I will [x]cause it to rain a very [r]grievous hail, [y]such as hath not been in Egypt since the day it was founded even until now.

[19] [N]*Now therefore send, [z]hasten in thy [c]cattle and all that thou hast in the field; [for] every man and beast which shall be found in the field, and shall not be brought home, the hail shall come down upon them, and they shall die.*

[20] *He that feared the [a']word of Yahweh among the servants of Pharaoh made his servants and his [c]cattle flee into the houses:* [21] *and he that [b']regarded not the [a']word of Yahweh left his servants and his [c]cattle in the field.*

[22] [N]And Yahweh said unto Moses, [c']Stretch forth thine hand toward heaven, that there may be hail in all the land of Egypt, upon man, and upon beast, and upon every [P]herb of the field, throughout the land of Egypt.

[23a] And Moses [c']stretched forth his [d']rod toward heaven: and Yahweh sent thunder and hail, and fire ran down unto the earth.

[23b] And Yahweh [x]rained hail upon the land of Egypt,

[24a] So there was hail, and fire [N]mingled with the hail,

[24b] very [r]grievous, [y]such as had not been in all the land of Egypt [e']since it became a nation.

[25a] and the hail smote throughout all the land of Egypt all that was in the field, both man and beast.

[25b] And the hail smote every [P]herb of the field, and brake every tree of the field. [26] Only in the land of [q]Goshen, where the children of Israel were, was there no hail. [27] And Pharaoh sent, and called for Moses and Aaron, and said unto them, [f']I have sinned [r]this time: Yahweh is righteous, and I and my people are wicked. [28] [g']Intreat Yahweh; for there hath

i 9-11 Lev 13[18]. Deut 28[27] 35*
j Lev 13[12]
k 9. ℌ†
l 7[11]
m Cp 7[13]
n 7[13]
o 8[20]
p 8[32]
q Cp [P]12[5b]
r Cp 8[10]
s Cp Ex 23[23]
t Gen 28[19]
u ℌ* Hithpo†
v 8[10]
w Josh 11[6]*
x 23b cp 19[5]
y 24b 10[6b] 14 11[6]
z ℌ* cp Is 10[31] Jer 4[6] 6[1] Hiph†
a' Cp Gen 15[1]
b' Ct 7[23] ℌ
c' 23 10[12. 21.]
d' 4[17]
e' 4[10]
f' 10[16]
g' 8[8]
j 200
k 214
l 221
m 71
n 219
o 61
p 46
q 39
r 62

9[12] **M** ℌ *made strong.*—Cp 7[13].

19 According to 9[6] 'the cattle of Egypt' are already all dead, and in [25b], consequently, the destructive effect of the hail is limited to trees and herbs. The prediction of the death of the cattle which should be exposed to the storm, must therefore be regarded as an editorial afterthought in reference to [25a]. The passage which follows [20]. seems in like manner to be an annotation, without any strict sequence, founded on the desire to mitigate the severity of the divine judgement in the case of pious heathen. On the phrase 'word of Yahweh' cp Gen 15[1].

22 The announcement of the hail in [18] finds its natural consequence in [23b] cp 8[24] 10[13b], where the plagues arrive without any intervention on the part of Moses. The instruction to him to stretch out his hand, therefore, appears as a new feature. When it is further added 'that there may be hail on man and *upon beast* throughout the land of Egypt,' it becomes plain that this passage cannot proceed from the writer of [6]. For the general reasons for assigning it to **E** cp 7[8N]. The phrase 'and upon every herb of the field' seems due to the harmonist, as it is used regularly by **J** cp [25b], whereas **E** writes 'herb of the land' 10[12]. In [23a] 'sent thunder and hail' is an obvious duplicate of **J**'s 'rained hail'; the reference to 'fire' is resumed in [24a], and [22] finds its sequel in [25]. The source of [31]. cannot be decided with certainty, and critics differ in their ascription. The explanation seems needless after the general statement of [25b]; on the other hand it may be said to prepare the way for 10[12]. And it is not out of harmony with **E**'s general familiarity with matters Egyptian.

[24a] **M** Or, *flashing continually amidst.*—ℌ Ezek 1[4]†.

J E JE J E | P

been enough of [these] [M]mighty thunderings and hail; and I will let you go, and ye shall stay no longer. [29] And Moses said unto him, As soon as I am gone out of the city, I will [h']spread abroad my hands[h'] unto Yahweh; the thunders shall [i']cease, neither shall there be any more hail; [j']that thou mayest know that the earth is Yahweh's. [30] But as for thee and thy servants, I know that ye will [s]not yet fear Yahweh [N]God.

[31] And the [k']flax and the barley were smitten: for the barley was in the ear, and the flax [M]was bolled. [32] But the wheat and the [l']spelt were not smitten: for they were not [m']grown up.

[33] And Moses went out of the city from Pharaoh, and [h']spread abroad his hands unto Yahweh: and the thunders and hail [i']ceased, and the rain was not [n']poured upon the earth. [34] And when Pharaoh saw that the rain and the hail and the thunders were [i']ceased, he sinned yet more, and [N]hardened his heart, he and his servants.

[35] And the heart of Pharaoh [M]was hardened, and he did not let the children of Israel go; [N]as Yahweh had spoken [T]by the hand of Moses.

10[1] And Yahweh said unto Moses, [a]Go in unto Pharaoh: [N]for I have [M]hardened his heart, and the heart of his servants, that I might [a]shew these [b]my signs in the [c]midst of them: [2] and that thou mayest tell in the ears of [d]thy son, and of thy son's son, [M]what things I have [e]wrought upon Egypt, and [b]my signs which I have done among them; that ye may [f]know that I am Yahweh. [3] *And Moses and Aaron went in unto Pharaoh, and said* unto him, [b]Thus saith Yahweh, the God of the Hebrews, [g]How long wilt thou refuse to humble thyself before me? [h]let my people go, that they may serve me[h]. [4] Else, if thou [c]refuse to let my people go[c], behold, [i]to-morrow will I bring locusts into thy border: [5] and they shall cover the [j]face of the earth[j], that one shall not be able to see the earth: and they shall eat the residue of that which is [k]escaped, which remaineth unto you from the hail, and shall eat every tree which [l]groweth for you out of the field: [6] and thy houses shall be filled, and the houses of all thy servants, and the houses of all the Egyptians; as neither thy fathers nor thy fathers' fathers have seen, [m]since the day that they were upon the earth unto this day. And he [n]turned, and went out from Pharaoh. [7] And Pharaoh's servants said unto him, [g]How long shall this man be a snare unto us? [h]let the men go, that they may serve Yahweh their God: knowest thou [d]not yet that Egypt is destroyed? [8] And Moses and Aaron were brought again unto Pharaoh: and he said unto them, Go, serve Yahweh your God: but who are they that shall go? [9] And Moses said, We will go with our young and with our old, with our sons and with our daughters, with our [e]flocks and with our herds will we go; for we must hold a [o]feast unto Yahweh. [10] And he said unto them, So be Yahweh [f]with you, as I will let you go, and your [g]little ones: look to it; for evil is [N]before you. [11] Not so: go now ye that are men, and serve Yahweh; for that is what ye desire. And they were [p]driven out from Pharaoh's presence.

[12] [N]And Yahweh said unto Moses, [q]Stretch out thine hand over the land

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9[28] **M** ℌ *voices* (or *thunderings*) *of God.*—Cp Gen 30[8]. In these verses the editors may have incorporated some touches from **E**.

[30] Omitted by (𝔊, and possibly due to later redactional influence cp Gen 2[4bN].

[31] **M** Or, *was in bloom.*—ℌ†.

[34] **M** ℌ *made heavy.*—Cp 7[14].

[35a] **M** ℌ *was strong.*—**R** may possibly here have assimilated **E**'s phrase 'Yahweh made strong Pharaoh's heart' 10[20 27], to **P**'s formula 7[13] (Dillm); but **J E P** all seem to use their formulae in both modes.

[35b] Another indication of scribal influence. For the phrase 'by the hand of Moses' see [P]18[0c].

[35c] **T** *By Moses.*

10[1a] At this point the analogy of previous passages suggests that the command should run 'and say unto him' cp 8[1 20] 9[1 13], followed by a fresh divine warning. Only in one case 11[4–8] does Moses, when already in the royal audience-chamber, utter Yahweh's intent without prior instruction. As the text stands, Moses is sent to Pharaoh for the first time in the narrative without a message, while an explanation of the divine purpose is supplied instead in terms which seem to show affinities with Deuteronomic phraseology. The message, however, is obviously contained in [3–6]. It is worthy of note that Sam here reads (after [2]) '*and say unto him*, Thus saith Yahweh . . . unto this day,' while it then appends [3–6] as in ℌ. This is an interesting if naïf attempt to restore the divine word to its usual place in **J**'s scheme of narrative. The present arrangement seems due to two causes, (1) a dislocation of text caused by the insertion of [1b–2], and (2) the statement in the sequel [6] 'he turned and went out from Pharaoh.' This was required for the subsequent development of the story. But it implied the presence of Moses before the king. To secure that, [3a] seems to have been introduced; the editor forgetting that while he brought Moses *and Aaron* in to the audience, only Moses came out.

[1b] **M** ℌ *made heavy.*

[2] **M** Or, *how I have mocked the Egyptians.*

[10] **M** Or, *what ye purpose.* ℌ *before your face.*

[12] This passage precisely resembles 9[22·], and is assigned to **E**

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of Egypt for the locusts, that they may come up upon the land of Egypt,
r 15b ct 46 and eat every [r]herb of the land[r], even all that the hail hath left. 13a And
s 9[23] Moses stretched forth his [s]rod over the land of Egypt,
t 14[21] cp Num 11[31] ct Gen 41[6] 13b And Yahweh brought an [t]east wind upon the land all that day, and all the night; and when it was morning, the east wind brought the locusts,
14a and the locusts [T]came up over all the land of Egypt,
u 19 cp 4 82 *v* 9[4 24b] *w* Cp 6 9[18 24b] 14b and [they] rested in all the [u]borders of Egypt; [v]very [h]grievous were they; [w]before them there were no such locusts as they, neither after them shall be such. 15a For they covered the [J]face of the whole earth, so
x ℌ* Mic 3[6] *al* that the land [x]was darkened.
15b And they did eat every [r]herb of the land, and all the fruit of the trees which the hail had left.
...15c And there remained not any green thing, either tree or [i]herb of
y 24 88 the field, through all the land of Egypt. 16 Then Pharaoh [y]called for
z 9[27] Moses and Aaron in [j]haste; and he said, I have [z]sinned against Yahweh
a' Cp Gen 50[17] your God, and against you. 17 Now therefore [a']forgive, I pray thee, my
b' 88 sin only [k]this once, and [l]intreat Yahweh your God, that he may [b']take
away from me this death only. 18 And he went out from Pharaoh, and
c' Cp 13b [l]intreated Yahweh. 19 And Yahweh turned an exceeding strong [c']west wind, which took up the locusts, and drove them into the Red Sea; [m]there remained not one locust in all the [u]border of Egypt.
20 But Yahweh [N]hardened Pharaoh's heart, and he did not let the children of Israel go.
21 And Yahweh said unto Moses, [q]Stretch out thine hand toward heaven, that there may be darkness over the land of Egypt, [M]even darkness which may be [d']felt. 22 And Moses stretched forth his [N]hand
d' Cp Gen 31[34] toward heaven; and there was a [e']thick darkness in all the land of
e' Deut 28[29] Egypt [f']three days; 23 they saw not [n]one another, neither rose any from
f' Gen 40[12 19] 42[17] his place for three days: [N]but all the children of Israel had light in their dwellings.
24.. *L7a/l* 24 [L]And Pharaoh [y]called unto Moses, and said, Go ye, serve Yahweh; only let your [e]flocks and your herds be [o]stayed: let your [g]little ones also
25 *L7b/b* go with you. 25 [L]And Moses said, Thou must also give into our hand
g' Cp 18[12] [g']sacrifices and burnt offerings[g'], that we may [h']sacrifice unto Yahweh
h' 3[18] our God. 26 Our [p]cattle also shall go with us; there shall not an hoof be [m]left behind; for thereof must we take to serve Yahweh our God; and we know not with what we must serve Yahweh, until we come thither.
27 But Yahweh [M]hardened Pharaoh's heart, and he would not let them go.
i' Gen 24[6] 23 And Pharaoh said unto him, Get thee from me, [i']take heed to thyself, see my face no more; for in the day thou seest my face thou shalt die.
29 And Moses said, Thou hast spoken well; I will see thy face again no more.
a Gen 12[17] 11[1] [N]And Yahweh said unto Moses, Yet one [a]plague more will I bring upon Pharaoh, and upon Egypt; afterwards he will let you go hence:
b 6[1] [N]when he shall let you go, he shall surely [b]thrust you out hence [c]alto-
c Gen 18[21] gether. 2 [d]Speak now in the ears of the people, and let them ask [a]every
d 3[21]. man of his neighbour, and every woman of her neighbour, jewels of silver, and jewels of gold. 3 And Yahweh [b]gave the people favour in

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for the same reasons. In 13–15 the two narratives are combined, but they can be disentangled without difficulty. 13b carries out the next morning the threat of 4 ('*to-morrow* will I bring'); 14a 15b reproduce the language of 12; while 14b 15a are founded on phrases in 6 and 5. The conclusion in 20 follows the type of E.

10[14] T *went.* ℌ as in 12.

20 M ℌ *made strong.*—Cp 9[35] 10[27].

21 M Or, *so that men shall grope in darkness.*

22 Perhaps originally his 'rod' cp 13 9[23].

23 This clause may be the explanatory note of a later scribal editor; for 'dwellings' cp P 55[c]. 27 M ℌ *made strong.*—Cp 20.

11[1a] The preparations for departure indicated in 1–3 (in conformity with 3[21].) obviously interrupt the account of the last interview of Moses with Pharaoh. At the close of the final warning 4–8 he leaves the palace, intending never to see the king again 10[29]. The intervening verses 1–3 are therefore assigned to E, and are in conformity with his representation of the residence of the Israelites among the Egyptian people. The 'one plague more' is the destruction of the firstborn, which E no doubt related, though his account has been set aside in favour of J and P.

1b M Or, *when he shall let you go altogether, he shall utterly thrust you out hence.*

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the sight of the Egyptians. Moreover the [e]man Moses was very great in the land of Egypt, in the sight of Pharaoh's servants, and in the sight of the people.

[4] And Moses said, [c]Thus saith Yahweh, About [f]midnight will I go out into the midst of Egypt: [5] and all the firstborn in the land of Egypt shall die, from the firstborn of Pharaoh that sitteth upon his throne, even unto the firstborn of the [d]maidservant that is behind the [g]mill; [N]and all the firstborn of cattle. [6] And there shall be a great [e]cry throughout all the land of Egypt, [h]such as there hath been none like it, nor shall be like it any more. [7] But against any of the children of Israel shall not a dog [M]move his tongue, against man or beast: [i]that ye may know how that Yahweh doth [j]put a difference between the Egyptians and Israel. [8] And all these thy servants shall come down unto me, and bow down themselves unto me, saying, Get thee out, and all the people that follow thee: and after that I will go out. And he went out from Pharaoh in [k]hot anger.

[9] [N]*And Yahweh said unto Moses, Pharaoh will not hearken unto you: that my* [l]*wonders may be multiplied in the land of Egypt.* [10] *And Moses and Aaron did all these wonders before Pharaoh: and Yahweh* [M]*hardened Pharaoh's heart, and he did not let the children of Israel go out of his land.*

12 [1] [NL]And Yahweh [a]spake unto Moses and Aaron in the land of Egypt, [a]saying, [2] This month shall be unto you the beginning of months: it shall be [b]the [a]first month of the year to you. [3] [c]Speak ye unto all the [d]congregation of Israel, [c]saying, In the [b]tenth [day] of this month they shall take to them every man a [M]lamb, [e]according to their fathers' houses, a lamb for an household: [4] and if the household be too [f]little for a lamb, then shall he and his neighbour next unto his house take one according to the [g]number of the [h]souls; [i]according to every man's eating ye shall [b]make your count[b] for the lamb. [5] Your lamb shall be [j]without blemish, a male of the [k]first year: ye shall take it from the sheep, or from the goats: [6] and [c]ye shall [l]keep it up until the [b]fourteenth day of the same month: and the whole [m]assembly of the [d]congregation of Israel shall [n]kill it [M]at [o]even. [7] And they shall take of the blood, and put it on the two side posts and on the [d]lintel, upon the houses wherein they shall eat it. [8] And they shall eat the flesh in that night, [c]roast with fire, and unleavened bread; with [f]bitter herbs they shall eat it. [9] Eat not of it [b]raw, nor [g]sodden at all with water, but [c]roast with fire; its head with its [h]legs and with the inwards thereof. [10] And ye shall [i]let nothing of it remain until the morning; but that which remaineth of it until the morning ye shall burn with fire. [11] And thus shall ye eat it; with your loins girded, your shoes on your feet, and your staff in your hand: and ye shall eat it in [j]haste: it is Yahweh's passover. [12] [N]For I will go through the [P]land of Egypt in that night, and will smite all the firstborn in the [P]land of Egypt, both man and beast; and against all the gods of Egypt I will execute [q]judgements: [r]I am Yahweh. [13] And the blood shall [s]be to you for a token upon the houses where ye are: and when I see the blood, I will [k]pass over you, and there shall no [t]plague be upon you [M]to destroy you, when I smite the [P]land of Egypt.

[14] [NL]And this day shall [s]be unto you for a [u]memorial, and ye shall [l]keep it a feast to

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e Num 12³

f Ps 119⁶² Job 34²⁰ 𝔊† cp 12²⁹

g Num 11⁸

h 9¹⁸

i Ct 8²²

j 8²²

k Deut 29²³* cp 23³ 𝔊

l 7³

1-13 L 9d*d*

a 18 40² 17 Lev 23⁵ Num 9¹ 28¹⁶ 33³

b 𝔊†

c 𝔊 *it shall be to you for a* [l]*charge*

d 22. 𝔊†

e 8. Is 44¹⁶†

f Num 9¹¹ Lam 3¹⁵†

g Num 6¹⁹† ct Deut 16⁷ 𝔊

h 29¹⁷ Lev 1⁹

i Lev 22³⁰

j Deut 16³ Is 52¹²†

k 23 27 𝔊 Is 31⁵†

14-20 L 9e*h*

l Lev 23³⁹ 41 Num 29¹² ct Ex 5¹ 23¹⁴ Deut 16¹⁵ 𝔊*

a 185ᵃ

b 183
c 185ᵇ
d 45
e 18

f 105

g 116

h 146
i 19ᵇ
j 123
k 119
l 39ᵃ
m 24ᵇ
n 100
o 32

p 4ᶜ

q 99
r 179ᵃ
s 27

t 125ᵃ

u 113

11⁵ Probably a late editorial addition. The 'cattle' of Egypt (מקנה) had already been killed 9⁶; the term here employed 'beast as in 13¹² ¹⁵ suggests the presence of the harmonizer, anxious to find a basis for legal usage in the sacred tradition.

⁷ **M** 𝔊 *whet.*—Cp Josh 10²¹.

⁹ This seems to be the editorial close of the narrative of the plagues, prior to the destruction of the firstborn.

¹⁰ **M** 𝔊 *made strong.*

12¹ The institution of the Passover according to P^g: ct Deut 16¹⁻⁸. The legislation of P is sometimes conceived as conveyed to the children of Israel through Moses and Aaron conjointly; more often through Moses alone; very rarely through Aaron alone, e g Num 18¹ ⁸. The sequel of the narrative relating the destruction of the firstborn cp ¹²· has been suppressed in favour of J ²⁹·.

³ **M** Or, *kid.*

⁶ **M** 𝔊 *between the two evenings.*

¹² Driver, *LOT*⁶ 151, allots ¹²· to P^h (cp *Introd* XIII 8γ i 143). No doubt the formula with which ¹² closes is used repeatedly in P^h: but there seems no other strong indication in its favour. The rest of the language bears numerous traces of affinity with P^g ('judgements' 'be for a token' 'plague').

¹³ **M** Or, *for a destroyer.*—Ct ²³.

¹⁴ In this passage the previous instructions for a particular crisis are converted into a perpetual institution. Other instances of the same kind are probably to be traced elsewhere. The permanent law may be viewed as secondary, compared with the original occasion. P's account of the smiting of the firstborn has apparently been omitted in favour of J's ²⁹·; it may have been withdrawn at this point to make room for the legislative ordinances in the following sections ¹⁴⁻²⁰ ²¹⁻²⁷.

J

P

Yahweh: [v]throughout your generations ye shall [l]keep it a feast by an [w]ordinance for ever.
15 Seven days shall ye eat unleavened bread; even the first day ye shall [m]put away
leaven out of your houses: for whosoever eateth leavened bread from the first day until
the seventh day, that [h]soul shall be [x]cut off from Israel 16 And in the first day there
shall be to you an [y]holy convocation, and in the seventh day an holy convocation; no
manner of [z]work shall be done in them, save that which every [h]man must eat, that only
may be done of you. 17 And ye shall observe the [feast of] unleavened bread; for in this
[a']selfsame day have I brought your [l']hosts out of the [p]land of Egypt: therefore shall ye
observe this day [v]throughout your generations by an [w]ordinance for ever. 18 In the [b]first
[month], on the [b]fourteenth day of the month at even, ye shall eat unleavened bread,
until the one and twentieth day of the month at even. 19 Seven days shall there be
no leaven found in your houses: for whosoever eateth [b]that which is leavened, that [h]soul
shall be [x]cut off from the [d]congregation of Israel, [c']whether he be a sojourner, [e']or one that
is [d']born in the land. 20 Ye shall eat nothing [b]leavened; [e']in all your habitations shall ye
eat unleavened bread.

m Lev 2[13] 26[6] Josh 22[25] ℌ cp Ex 5[5] Deut 32[26]*

v 76[b] w 62[c] x 50 y 89 z 177[a] a' 138 b' 92 c' 35 d' 34 e' 55

21-27 [L]9d[a]

21 [NTL]And Moses called for all the [f']elders of Israel, and said unto them,
[M]*Draw out, and take you* [M]*lambs* [n]*according to your families, and* [o]*kill the passover.* 22 *And ye shall take a* [p]*bunch of* [q]*hyssop, and* [r]*dip it in the blood that is in the* [s]*bason, and* [t]*strike the* [d]*lintel and the two side posts with the blood that is in the bason; and none of you shall go out of the door of his house until the morning.* 23 *For Yahweh will pass through to* [u]*smite the Egyptians; and when he seeth the blood upon the* [d]*lintel, and on the two side posts, Yahweh will* [k]*pass over the door, and will not* [g']*suffer the* [v]*destroyer to come in unto your houses to* [u]*smite you.*

f' 151 g' 118

n Cp [p]18 o Cp 6 p ℌ* ct 2 Sam 2[25] *al* q Lev 14[4] Num 19[6] r Gen 37[31] Lev 4[6] s ℌ* 1 Kings 7[50] t Ct 7 4[25] Gen 28[12] Lev 5[7]* u 27 8[2] ct[12] ℌ v 2 Sam 24[16] ct 13 w Cp [JE]3[b] x Cp [p]191 y Gen 12[7] cp [p]69[c] z Cp [p]91 a' 13[5] ct [p]140 b' ℌ=*sons* 13[14]

24 And ye shall observe this thing for an [w]ordinance to thee and to thy sons [w]for ever.

25 *And* [w]*it shall come to pass,* [x]*when ye be come to the land which Yahweh will* [y]*give you,* [z]*according as he hath promised, that ye shall keep this* [a']*service.* 26 *And* [w]*it shall come to pass, when your* [b']*children shall say unto you, What mean ye by this* [a']*service?* 27[a] *that ye shall say, It is the sacrifice of Yahweh's passover,* [M]*who* [k]*passed over the houses of the children of Israel in Egypt, when he* [u]*smote the Egyptians, and delivered our houses.*
27[b] And the people [h']bowed the head and worshipped[h'].

h' 12[b]

28 [N]And the children of Israel went and did so; [l']as Yahweh had commanded Moses and Aaron, so did they[l']. . . .

i' 189

c' 11[4] d' 7[17 25] ct 23 e' 11[5]

29 And it came to pass at [c']midnight, that Yahweh [d']smote all the firstborn in the land of Egypt, [e']from the firstborn of Pharaoh that sat on his throne unto the firstborn of the captive that was in the dungeon; [e']and all the firstborn of cattle. 30 And Pharaoh rose up in the night, he, and all his servants, and all the Egyptians; and there was a great [j']cry in Egypt; for there was not a house where there was not one dead. 31 And he called for [N]Moses and Aaron by night, and said, [k']Rise up, get you forth from among my people, [l']both ye and the children of Israel; and go, [f']serve Yahweh, as ye have said. 32 Take [l']both your [m']flocks and your herds, as ye have said, and be gone; and [b']bless me [n']also. 33 And the Egyptians were urgent upon the people, to send them out of the land in [o']haste; for they said, We be all dead men. 34 And the people took their dough [p']before it [h']was leavened, their [i']kneadingtroughs being bound up in their [q']clothes upon their shoulders.

j' 23 k' 128 l' 11 m' 33 n' 126 o' 43 p' 6 q' 161

f' 7[16] g' Cp Gen 27[34] h' 39 ct 19. ℌ* i' 83

35 [N]*And the children of Israel did* [r']*according to the word of Moses; and they* [j']*asked of the Egyptians jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and* [q']*raiment:* 36 [k']*and Yahweh gave the people favour in the sight of the*

r' 2

j' 3[22] 11[2] k' 11[3]

12[21a] **T** *Then.* In 21–27 there are traces of different hands blended into one editorial complex. The opening and closing formulae seem to belong to **J** cp 3[16] 4[29 31]; and much of 21b–23 may also be due to him (ct 2[2] and 7), though it may be questioned how far the implication that the Israelites were mixed up with the Egyptians can be ascribed to the original **J** who places them apart in Goshen. But several touches are best explained by later editorial redaction, as 'according to your families' 21, and some of the detail and repetition in 22; on the other hand 'the destroyer' 23 seems here an agent as in 2 Sam 24[16]. 24 appears to belong to **P** as the close of 14–20. With the forms of 25–27a cp 13[5 8 10 14] Deut 6[20] &c; and for the entire passage Deut 16[1–8]. The absence of any reference to the sprinkling of the blood in **D** has led some critics to ascribe the whole ordinance as here enjoined to a later date. **D**, however, forbids the slaughter of the passover in the homestead, and transfers it to the central sanctuary, where the threshold ritual was no longer appropriate.

21b **M** Or, *go forth.* 21c **M** Or, *kids.*

27 **M** Or, *for that he passed.*

28 The sequel of the commands for immediate action 1–13.

31 This passage has been sometimes deemed inconsistent with the declaration of Moses 10[29] that he would not see Pharaoh again. But there is a difference between seeking an audience to demand leave to depart or to threaten chastisement, and response to the urgent summons of the stricken king.

35 These verses seem to be an editorial addition founded on 3[22] and 11[3]. The last words of 36 may possibly be original.

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Egyptians, so that they let them have what they asked. And they [l′] *spoiled the Egyptians.*

[37] And the children of Israel journeyed from [m′]Rameses to Succoth, about [N]six hundred thousand on foot that were [n′]men, beside [s′]children. [38] And a [o′]mixed multitude went up [n′]also with them; and [m′]flocks, and herds, even very [t′]much [u′]cattle. [39] And they baked unleavened [p′]cakes of the dough which they brought forth out of Egypt, for it was not leavened; because they were [q′]thrust out of Egypt, and could not [r′]tarry, [n′]neither had they prepared for themselves any [v′]victual.

[40] [N]*Now the* [s′]*sojourning of the children of Israel, which they sojourned in Egypt, was four hundred and thirty years.* [41] *And it came to pass at the end of four hundred and thirty years, even the* [a′]*selfsame day it came to pass, that all the* [b′]*hosts of Yahweh went out from the land of Egypt.* [42] *It is* [M]a [t′]*night to be much observed*[t′] *unto Yahweh for bringing them out from the land of Egypt:* [Mw′]*this is that night of Yahweh, to be much observed of all the children of Israel* [v]*throughout their generations.*

[43] [L]And Yahweh said unto Moses and Aaron, [x′]This is the ordinance of the passover: there shall no [y′]alien eat thereof: [44] but every man's servant that is [z′]bought for money, when thou hast [a″]circumcised him, then shall he eat thereof. [45] [L]A [b″]sojourner and an hired servant shall not eat thereof. [46] In one house shall it be eaten; thou shalt not carry forth aught of the flesh abroad out of the house; neither shall ye break a bone thereof. [47] All the [d]congregation of Israel shall [M]keep it. [48] [L]And when a [w′]stranger shall sojourn with thee, and will keep the passover to Yahweh, let [c″]all his males be circumcised, and then let him come near and keep it; and he shall be as one that is [d″]born in the land: but no [d″]uncircumcised person shall eat thereof. [49] One law shall be to him that is [d″]homeborn, and unto the [e″]stranger that sojourneth [f″]among you. [50] [l′]Thus did all the children of Israel; as Yahweh commanded Moses and Aaron, [l′]so did they. [51] *And it came to pass the* [a′]*selfsame day, that Yahweh did bring the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt by their* [b′]*hosts.*

13[1] [L]And Yahweh [a]spake unto Moses, [a]saying, [2] [b]Sanctify unto me [a]all the firstborn, whatsoever openeth the womb among the children of Israel[a], [c]both of man [c]and of beast: it is mine.

[3] [NL]And Moses said unto the people, [b]Remember this day, in which ye came out from Egypt, out of the [c]house of [M]bondage; for by [d]strength of hand Yahweh [e]brought you out from this place: there shall no leavened bread be eaten. [4] This day ye [e]go forth in the [f]month Abib[f]. [5] *And it* [d]*shall be when Yahweh shall* [g]*bring thee into the land of the* [h]*Canaanite, and the Hittite, and the Amorite, and the Hivite, and the Jebusite,* [i]*which he* [e]*sware unto thy fathers to give thee, a* [f]*land* [j]*flowing with milk and honey, that thou shalt keep this* [k]*service in this month.* [6] [l]Seven days thou shalt eat unleavened bread, and in the seventh day shall be a [m]feast to Yahweh. [7] [L]*Unleavened bread shall be eaten throughout the seven days; and there shall no leavened*

12[37] Cp Num 11[21]. It is however possible that the number is due to the harmonist, bringing the story into accord with the detailed scheme of **P**.

[40] These verses seem to be a later insertion in **P**. The date in [40] cannot be harmonized with the genealogical representations in 6[13]·· according to which the Exodus took place in the fourth generation from Jacob. The efforts made to overcome the difficulty in the Greek and Samaritan texts, as well as elsewhere, show what continuous attention was bestowed upon the passage.

[42a] **M** Or, *a night of watching unto Yahweh.*—Budde, Bacon, Nowack (*Heb Archäol* ii 149) assign [42a] to **J**.

[42b] **M** Or, *this same night is a night of watching unto Yahweh for all &c.* [47] **M** ℌ *do it.*

13[3a] The analysis of [3–16] presents many difficulties as the passage seems to have passed under successive revisions, receiving addition after addition from fresh hands. The complexity of the linguistic phenomena is partly exhibited in the margins, where traces of **JE**, **D**, and **P**, will all be found. The basis of the whole passage may be confidently assigned to **J**, but it is not easy to determine his precise share in its present form. The parallels with **D** in [3] make it probable that the original address of Moses began in [4], and the basis of [4–8] may be ascribed to **J** (in [8] 'because' בעבור pleads strongly for **J**, as it is nowhere used by **D**). It is probable, however, that the passage has been amplified from a simpler original, the nucleus of which is found in [4 6]. The phraseology in [5] is of a secondary type: [7]· shows rather the style of a hortatory expander, anxious to supply a historical basis for an ancient institution, originally ordained in **J**'s covenant-words Ex 34[18]. But in [9] (cp [16]) the phraseology of **D** is again prominent, yet with a difference; the phrases 'be for a sign and a memorial' point to **RP**, and the remarkable expression concerning 'the law of Yahweh' which occurs nowhere else in the *Hex*, points to a very late type of phraseology, having its true analogue not in the only two passages where the words occur in the prophetic canon, but in still later books Ezr 7[10] Neh 9[3] 10[29] 2 Chron 12[1] 17[9] 34[14] (signs of still further addition may be seen in 𝔊 [8] 'Yahweh God,' [11] 'Yahweh thy God'). In [11] the style of [5] is again prominent, introducing [12]·, the greater part of which is borrowed from 34[19]·, the remarkable word 'cause to pass over' probably indicating the later adaptation. The work of the amplifier is manifest again in [14–16], perhaps on a basis of **J** cp [15].

[3b] **M** ℌ *bondmen.*

J E JE J E P

bread be seen with thee, neither shall there be leaven seen with thee, [n]in all thy borders. [8] *And thou shalt [g]tell [o]thy son [h]in that day, saying, It is [i]because of that which Yahweh [j]did for me when I [e]came forth out of Egypt.* [9] [L]*And it shall be for a [p]sign unto thee upon thine hand, and for a [q]memorial between thine eyes, that the [r]law of Yahweh[s] may be in thy mouth*: for with a [d]strong hand hath Yahweh [e]brought thee out of Egypt. [10] Thou shalt therefore [s]keep this ordinance in its [t]season [u]from year to year[u]. [11] [L]And it [d]shall be when Yahweh shall [g]bring thee into the land of the Canaanite, as he [e]sware unto thee and to thy fathers, and shall give it thee, [12] that thou shalt [M]set apart unto Yahweh [v]all that openeth the womb, and every [w]firstling which thou hast that cometh of a beast; the [x]males shall be Yahweh's. [13] And every [y]firstling of an ass thou shalt redeem with a [M]lamb; and if thou wilt not redeem it, then thou shalt [z]break its neck: and all the firstborn of man among thy sons shalt thou redeem[y]. [14] [L]And it [d]shall be when [o]thy son [a']asketh thee in time to come, saying, What is this? that thou shalt say unto him, By [d]strength of hand Yahweh [e]brought us out from Egypt, from the [c]house of [M]bondage: [15] and [k]it came to pass, [k]when Pharaoh [M]would [b']hardly let us go, that Yahweh [l]slew all the firstborn in the land of Egypt, both the firstborn of man, and the firstborn of beast: [m]therefore I sacrifice to Yahweh all that openeth the womb, being males; but all the firstborn of my sons I redeem. [16] And it shall be for a [p]sign upon thine hand, and for [c']frontlets between thine eyes: for by [d]strength of hand Yahweh [e]brought us forth out of Egypt.

[17] [N]And it came to pass, when Pharaoh had let the people go, that God [d']led them not by the way of the [e']land of the Philistines, although that was near; for God said, Lest peradventure the people [n]repent when they see war, and they return to Egypt: [18] but God led the people about, by the way of the wilderness by the Red Sea: and the children of Israel went up [f']armed out of the land of Egypt. [19] And Moses took the bones of Joseph with him: for he had straitly sworn the children of Israel, saying, [g']God will surely visit you; and ye shall [o]carry up my bones away hence with you.

[20] [N]And they [h']took their journey from Succoth, and encamped in Etham, in the edge of the wilderness[h'].

n 8[2]
o 12 26 10[2]
9 [L]11[m]*cd*
p 16 Deut 6[8] [P]27
q Cp Ex 17[14] Josh 4[7] [P]27 11[2a]
r ℌ* Is 5[24] Am 2[4] Ps 19[8] cp [SN]
s Ct 12[24]
t Cp 23[15] 34[18]= *time appointed* ℌ
u Judg 11[40] 21[19] 1 Sam 1[3] 2[19]† 11–16 [L]8*ab*
v 34[19] ct 2 ℌ
w Deut 7[13] 28[4] 18 51† ℌ
x 34[19]
y 34[20]
z 34[20] Deut 21[4 7*]
14. [L]1*cf*
a' Deut 6[20]
b' Gen 35[17] ℌ
c' Deut 6[8] 11[18]†
d' 32[34] Num 23[7] cp Gen 24[27]
e' Gen 21[32]
f' Josh 1[14] 4[12*] cp Num 32[17].
g' Gen 50[25]
h' Num 33[6] cp 17[1] 19[2] ct 15[27]

g 2[18]
h 14[2]
i 7[1]
j 14[6c]
k 3[a]
l 2[10]
m 85[a]
n 20[b]
o 13[6]

13[12] **M** ℌ *cause to pass over.*—Ezek 20[26] cp Lev 18[21] ct [2].

13 **M** Or, *kid.*

14 **M** ℌ *bondmen.*

15 **M** Or, *hardened himself against letting us go.*

17 The triple narrative of the plagues raises the presumption that the passage of the Red Sea was also related by all the three documents **J**, **E**, and **P**. Diversities of matter and form do in fact show that the existing account is composite, but whereas the shares of **J** and **P** are practically complete, **E**'s version is but scantily preserved. The opening section describing the beginning of the march 17–19 is naturally assigned to him in virtue of the use of the name Elohim (perhaps in his original source), and the reference to the transport of Joseph's mummy. But fresh elements enter directly after, a brief extract from **P**'s itinerary 20, and **J**'s account of the divine guidance 21. (see notes). The formulae of 14[1. 4] identify these verses with **P**, and 4 finds its natural continuation in 8. The phrases of 4 'make strong the heart' 'get me honour' and 'his host' reappear in 17., closely connected with 16, in which Moses is commanded to stretch out his hand over the sea and divide it, that the Israelites may pass through on 'dry ground.' This is achieved in 21ac; in 22 the Israelites march across cp 16b, and the Egyptian host of chariots and horsemen enter in pursuit 18 23. Under similar monition Moses stretches out his hand again over the sea 26 27a, the waters return and the 'host' with its chariots and horsemen is engulfed 28. The narrative is throughout compact and coherent, and serves as the base into which other materials have been fitted. Thus the preparations of Pharaoh for pursuit are related independently in 14[5.], while 7 points to additional detail from yet another source. The language of 10–14 finds no echo in **P** but presents all the characteristics of **JE**, and especially of **J**: while in 16 the rod of Moses and in 19 the angel of Elohim show the presence of **E**. The divine method of making the sea 'dry land' 21b (cf 16 22 ℌ) through the agency of an east wind, has no relation to the outstretched hand of Moses or the cleavage of the waters into two solid walls; but it bears a close analogy to the similar instrumentality in 10[13]. Some of the details of adjustment between **J** **E** and **R** necessarily remain doubtful: a summary of **E**'s original narrative will be found in Josh 24.

20 This verse belongs to a series of scattered passages describing the stages of the Israelites' march, constructed on the base 'and they journeyed from . . . and encamped (pitched) in . . .' cp 17[1] 19[2] &c. They are collected into continuous form in Num 33 cp [6].

J	JE	E	P	
	...[21] And Yahweh [i']went before them by day in a [N]pillar of cloud, to [j']lead them the way; and by night in a pillar of fire [k']to give them light; that they might go by day and by night: [22] [M]the pillar of cloud by day, and the pillar of fire by night, [l']departed not from before the people.			
			14[1] And Yahweh [a]spake unto Moses, saying, [2] [b]Speak unto the children of Israel, that they turn back and encamp before Pi-hahiroth, between Migdol and the sea, before Baal-zephon: [a]over against it shall ye encamp by the sea. [3] And Pharaoh will say of the children of Israel, They are [b]entangled in the land, the wilderness hath shut them in. [4] And I will [M]harden Pharaoh's heart, and he shall [T]pursue after them; and I will [c]get me honour upon Pharaoh, and upon all his [d]host; and the Egyptians shall [c]know that I am Yahweh. And they did so.	a 185[a] b 185[b] c 179[b] d 218[b] e 158 f 146[d]
	[5] And [d]it was told the king of Egypt that the people were [e]fled: and the heart of Pharaoh and of his servants was changed towards the people, and they said, [f]What is this we have done, that we have let Israel go from serving us? [6] And he [e]made ready his [M]chariot, and took his people with him:			
	...[7] [N]And he took six hundred chosen chariots, and all the chariots of Egypt, and [f]captains over all of them.			
			[8] And Yahweh [M]hardened the heart of Pharaoh king of Egypt, and he pursued after the children of Israel: for the children of Israel went out [g]with an high hand.	
	[9a] [N]And the Egyptians pursued after them,		[9b] all the horses [and] chariots of Pharaoh, and his horsemen, and his army, and overtook	

i' Num 14[14]
j' Gen 24[48] ℌ ct [17]
k' 𝔊 omits
l' Cp 33[11] Hiph Num 14[44] Josh 1[8] Qal*
a Ezek 46[9]† cp 12[1]
b Joel 1[18] Esth 3[15]†
c [17.] Lev 10[3]* ct [JE]78
d [17] ℌ=*army* [9]
e Gen 46[29]
f 15[4]*
g Num 15[30] 33[3]†

13[21] Three representations of the divine presence in the cloud are to be found in the Hexateuch. In **P** it covers the Dwelling at its consecration Ex 40[34.] Num 9[15.], and remains over the Tent of Meeting until it is time for the camp to be moved, when it is taken up. A second set of passages also connects it with the Tent of Meeting, but places it at the entrance, where it comes down in the form of a pillar and remains in converse with Moses Ex 33[7.] Num 12[5] cp Deut 31[15]: reasons will be given hereafter for ascribing these to **E**. But in the text [21] nothing has yet been said of any sanctuary; the pillar with its twofold aspect by day or night serves another function, that of guidance and protection. In 14[19] two symbols, the angel of Elohim, and the pillar, have been combined by **R**. As the 'angel of Elohim' naturally belongs to **E**, the guardian pillar must be regarded as the equivalent in **J**. The words in 13[21] 'to give them light . . .' are not found in 𝔊, and are probably an explanatory gloss.

[22] **M** Or, *he took not away the pillar of cloud by day, nor the &c.*

14[4a] **M** ℌ *make strong.*—Cp [8 17] 9[12].

[4b] So [8 23] ℌ. **T** *follow.* Ct [10a].

[6] **M** Or, *chariots.*

[7] After Pharaoh has already collected his forces in [6], the statement that he took six hundred chosen chariots can hardly proceed from the same writer. The words *and all the chariots of Egypt* are again incongruous with [7a]. 𝔊 reads 'and all the horse': if this reading be adopted, the two terms harmonize with Josh 24[6]: if the ℌ text be retained, the words must be treated as a gloss, or allotted to **J** (interpreting 'chariot' in [6] as singular).

[8] **M** ℌ *made strong.*

[9] The first words of this verse only repeat the statement of [8], and may belong to **E** cp Josh 24[6b]. In the dislocated order which follows, 'and overtook them encamping by the sea all the horses chariots of Pharaoh and his horsemen and his army beside Pi-hahiroth' there is evidence of some confusion of the text probably due to imperfect amalgamation of materials: **E** probably had a reference to the 'horses, chariots, and army' cp Deut 11[4].

J	JE	E	P	
			them encamping by the sea, beside Pi-hahiroth, before Baal-zephon.	
h Gen 12[11] ct P[118]	10[a] And when Pharaoh [h]drew nigh, the children of Israel [g]lifted up their eyes, and, behold, the Egyptians [i]marched after them; and they were sore afraid.			g 176[a]
i Ct 9 cp Num 10[29 33] ℌ				
	... 10[b] [N]and the children of Israel [h]cried out unto Yahweh.			h 141
	11 And they said unto Moses, Because there were no graves in Egypt, hast thou taken us away to die in the wilderness? [f]wherefore hast thou dealt thus with us, to bring us forth out of Egypt? 12 Is not this the word that we [l]spake unto thee in Egypt, saying, Let us alone, that we may serve the Egyptians? For it were better for us to serve the Egyptians, than that we should die in the wilderness. 13 And Moses said unto the people, [j]Fear ye not, [k]stand still, and see the salvation of Yahweh, which he will [l]work for you to-day: [M]for the Egyptians whom ye have seen to-day, ye shall see them again no [m]more for ever.			i Ct P[185] j 154 k 214 l 146[c] m 123
j 25 cp D[45] Gen 24[21]	14 Yahweh [j]shall [n]fight for you, and ye shall [k]hold your peace.			n 156
	... 15[a] [N]And Yahweh said unto Moses, Wherefore [h]criest thou unto me?			
			15[b] [[N]And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying] [b]speak unto the children of Israel, that they go forward,	
	... 16[a] And lift thou up thy rod, ...			
l 21[a] 26. cp 7[19 85]			16[b] and [l]stretch out thine hand over the	
m Cp 21[c 22]			sea, and [m]divide it: and the children of Israel shall go into the midst of the sea on dry ground[m]. 17 And [o]I, behold, I will [M]harden the hearts of the Egyptians, and they shall go in after them: and I will [c]get me honour upon Pharaoh, and upon all his [d]host, upon his chariots, and upon his horsemen. 18 And the Egyptians shall [e]know that I am Yahweh, when I have [c]gotten me honour upon Pharaoh, upon his chariots, and upon his horsemen.	o 94[b]
	19[a] [N]And the [p]angel of God, which			p 97

14[10b] In **J** the Israelites expostulate with Moses; with [11] cp 17[3] Num 14[3] Ex 5[15]. According to Josh 24[7] they cried to Yahweh; this passage, therefore, is assigned to **E**.

[13] **M** Or, *for whereas ye have seen the Egyptians to-day.*

[15a] The existing narrative contains no appeal from Moses to Yahweh unless it is implied in [10b]. But a later passage 17[4] contains a similar incident, assigned with much probability to **E**; and the indication that **E** has been employed immediately after 'and lift thou up thy rod' cp 4[17] justifies the attribution of these words to the same source.

[15b] **R** has perhaps removed the words usually preceding the formula 'speak unto the children of Israel' [1]. cp 25[2] 31[13] Lev 4[2] 7[28] &c.

[17] **M** ℌ *make strong.*

[19] Cp 13[21N]. That this verse is composite can hardly be doubted; but the relation between the two clauses indicated by the word 'removed' (ℌ = 'marched' [10], 'took their journey' 13[20]) is curious. In [20] the division is doubtful, partly owing to difficulties in the text (cp Dillm). As the pillar has taken up its stand in [19b], the description of the movement in [20a] seems best to follow [19a] making 'the angel' the subject of 'came'; Josh 24[7] further implies that **E** recorded a 'darkness' (though ℌ is not

J	JE	E	P	
	went [n]before the camp of Israel, removed and went behind them;			
	[19b] And the [o]pillar of cloud removed from before them, and stood behind them:			
		[20a] and [T]came between the camp of Egypt and the camp of Israel; and there was the cloud and the darkness, ...		
	[20b] yet gave it light by [q]night: and the one came not near the other all the night.			q 236
			[21a] And Moses [l]stretched out his hand over the sea;	
	[21b] And Yahweh caused the sea to go [back] by a strong [p]east wind all the [q]night, and made the sea [q]dry land, ...			
			[21c] and the waters were [r]divided. [22] And the children of Israel went into the midst of the sea upon the dry ground: and the waters were a wall unto them on their right hand, and on their left. [23] And the Egyptians pursued, and [s]went in after them into the midst of the sea, all Pharaoh's horses, his chariots, and his horsemen.	
	[24a] And it came to pass in the [q]morning watch, that Yahweh [r]looked forth upon the [t]host of the Egyptians through the [o]pillar of fire and of cloud,			r 54
		[24b] [N]And he [u]discomfited the [t]host of the Egyptians.		
	[25] and he [M]took off their [v]chariot wheels, [M]that they drave them [w]heavily: so that the Egyptians said, Let us [e]flee from the face of Israel; for Yahweh [j]fighteth for them against the Egyptians.			
			[26] And Yahweh said unto Moses, [l]Stretch out thine hand over the sea, that the waters may come again upon the Egyptians, upon their chariots, and upon their horsemen. [27a] And Moses [l]stretched forth his hand over the sea,	
	[27b] And the sea returned to its [M]strength [q]when the morning [x]appeared; and the Egyptians [y]fled [s]against it; and Yahweh [M]overthrew the Egyptians in the midst of the sea;			s 183

n Ct 13[21]
o 13[21].
p Cp 10[13] 13[17N]
q **25** Ct 16[b]
r 16b cp Gen 7[11] ℌ
s Cp 17 28
t ℌ=*camp* 20 ct 4 17 28
u 23[27] Deut 2[15] cp 7[23] Josh 10[10*]
v Gen 41[43] 46[29] ℌ
w ℌ† cp **78**
x Cp Gen 24[63]
y Cp 25

the same). If the text in [20b] is correct, the mention of 'light' suggests J's pillar of fire: but 𝔊 has 'and the night passed.'

14[20] **T** *it came.*

[24b] The fragments of **E** are difficult to recover, and critical certainty here is impossible. But [24b] and [25a] are probably from different hands. One writer simply records the overthrow of the host of Egypt (ℌ='camp of Egypt' [20a]), the other describes the agency employed. [25b] seems in the manner of **J** who frequently draws attention to the means adopted by Yahweh, while [24b] is in the conciser style of **E**. The linguistic marks confirm this partition.

[25a] **M** Some ancient versions read, *bound.*—ℌ **224**[b].

[25b] **M** Or, *and made them to drive.*—ℌ as in 10[13] ('brought an East wind') Gen 31[26] Deut 4[27] 28[37*].

[27a] **M** Or, *wonted flow.*—Cp Gen 49[24] Num 24[21] Deut 21[4].

[27b] **M** ℌ *shook off.*—ℌ* cp Ps 136[15] Neh 5[13] Pi†.

J JE E P

z 𝔊=*came again* 26 or *returned* 27

28[a] and the waters [z]returned, and covered the chariots, and the horsemen, [t]even all the [d]host of Pharaoh that went in after them into the sea.

t 21[a]

28[b] there [u]remained not so much as one of them.

u 69

29 [N]*But the children of Israel walked upon* [T]*the dry ground in the midst of the sea; and the waters were a wall unto them on their right hand, and on their left.*

v 142[1]

a' 2[17]

30 Thus Yahweh [a']saved Israel [v]that day out of the hand of the Egyptians; and Israel saw the Egyptians dead

b' Gen 22[17] Josh 11[4].

upon the [b']sea shore.

31 [N]*And Israel saw the great* [M]*work which Yahweh did upon the Egyptians, and the people* [w]*feared Yahweh: and they* [x]*believed in Yahweh, and in his* [y]*servant Moses.*

w 102
x 134
y 207[b]

a Cp Num 21[17] Judg 5[1]

15[1] [a]Then sang Moses and the children of Israel this song unto Yahweh, and spake saying,

I will sing unto Yahweh, for he [M]hath triumphed gloriously:
The horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea.

b Is 12[2] Ps 118[14]

2 [NT]Yahweh [b]is my strength and song,
And he is become my salvation[b]:
This is my God, and I will [c]praise him;
My father's God, and I will exalt him.

c 𝔊†

3 Yahweh is a [d]man of war:
Yahweh is his name.

d Cp Ps 24[8] 𝔊=*battle.*

4 Pharaoh's [e]chariots and his [f]host hath he cast into the sea:
And his chosen [g]captains are sunk in the Red Sea.

e 14[25]
f 14[4 17 28]
g 14[7]

5 The [h]deeps cover them:
They went down into the [i]depths like a stone.

h 8 Is 63[13] Ps 77[16] 106[9]
i Cp Mic 7[19] Jon 2[3] Neh 9[11]

6 Thy right hand, O Yahweh, is [j]glorious in power,
Thy right hand, O Yahweh, [k]dasheth in pieces the enemy.

j 11 Is 42[21]†
k Judg 10[8]†

7 And in the greatness of thine excellency thou [l]overthrowest them that [m]rise up against thee:
Thou [n]sendest forth thy [o]wrath, it [p]consumeth them as [p]stubble.

l 19[21 24] 23[24]*
m 32[25] Deut 33[11]
n Ezek 7[3]
o 32[12]
p Is 5[24] Nah 1[10]

8 And with the [q]blast of thy nostrils the waters were [c]piled up,
The [r]floods stood upright as an [s]heap;
The [h]deeps were [t]congealed in the [u]heart of the sea.

q Ps 18[15]
r Jer 18[14] Is 44[3] Ps 78[16 44]
s Josh 3[13 16] Ps 33[7] 78[13]
t Zeph 1[12] Zech 14[6] Kth Job 10[10]†
u Ps 46[3] Ezek 27[4]

9 The enemy said,
I will [v]pursue, I will overtake, I will [w]divide the spoil:
My lust shall be satisfied upon them;
I will [x]draw my sword, my hand shall destroy them.

v 14[4 8]
w Gen 49[27]
x Lev 26[33] Ezek 5[2] *al*

10 Thou didst [y]blow with thy wind, the sea covered them:
They [c]sank as lead in the [z]mighty waters.

y Is 40[24]†
z Ps 93[4]

11 Who is [a']like unto thee, O Yahweh, among the gods?
Who is like thee, [j]glorious in holiness,
Fearful in praises, [b']doing wonders?

a' Ps 86[8] 89[6] 77[13]
b' Ps 77[14]

12 Thou stretchedst out thy right hand,
The earth swallowed them.

14[29a] This verse seems to be a simple repetition of [22] by some later hand.

[29b] So 𝔊 cp [22] and ct [21b]. **T** *dry land.*

[31a] An editorial close to the original combined narrative of **JE**. Note especially the designation of Moses as 'Yahweh's servant.'

[31b] **M** 𝔊 *hand.*—Cp [P]80.

15[1] **M** Or, *is highly exalted.*

[2a] The poem in [2–18] seems to be a supplemental hymn attached to the triumph-song in [1b] cp [21b]. It bears no close relation to either of the narratives analysed in 14. Occasional points of phraseological contact occur, e g in [4 9], but the indications are too slight to establish any definite literary connexion upon either side. On the other hand there are various signs of distance from the event which it commemorates. (1) The delineation in [4–10] seems lacking in the personal and local colour which imparts such vividness to the song describing the overthrow of Sisera in Judg 5. (2) The situation implied in [13–17] looks back on the settlement of the people in Canaan, [17b] pointing clearly to Jerusalem (though the clause might be a later enlargement). (3) The linguistic parallels show affinities with later prophecy and psalm which can hardly be completely explained by hypotheses of imitation, except in the case of some poems which are obviously reproductive. They seem rather to spring from a common stock of lyric and religious expression. Under what circumstances the poem was inserted into **JE** cannot be determined; but it is probable that it was incorporated before the union of the combined document with **P**. See further, *Introd* XIV 3 i 160.

[2b] So **M** 𝔊 *Jah.* **T** *The Lord.*

J E JE J E P

[13] Thou in thy mercy hast [c']led the people which thou hast [d']redeemed:
Thou hast [e']guided them in thy strength to thy holy [f']habitation.
[14] The peoples have [g']heard, they [g']tremble:
[h']Pangs have taken hold on the inhabitants of Philistia.
[15] Then were the [i']dukes of Edom [j']amazed;
The [M]mighty men of Moab, [k']trembling taketh hold upon them:
All the inhabitants of Canaan are [l']melted away.
[16] [m']Terror and dread falleth upon them;
By the greatness of thine arm they are as [m']still as a stone;
Till thy people pass over, O Yahweh,
Till the people pass over which thou hast [M]purchased.
[17] Thou shalt bring them in, and plant them in the mountain of thine inheritance,
The [o']place, O Yahweh, which thou hast made for thee to dwell in,
The sanctuary, O Lord, which thy hands have [p']established.
[18] Yahweh shall [q']reign for ever and ever.

[19] [N]*For the horses of Pharaoh went in with his chariots and with his horsemen into the sea, and Yahweh brought again the waters of the sea upon them; but the children of Israel walked on* [T]*dry ground in the midst of the sea.*

[20] [N]And Miriam the [a]prophetess, the sister of Aaron, took a [r']timbrel in her hand; and all the women went out after her with timbrels and with [s']dances. [21] And Miriam answered them,
Sing ye to Yahweh, for he [M]hath triumphed gloriously;
The horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea.

[22] And Moses [t']led Israel onward from the Red Sea, and they went out into the wilderness of [u']Shur; and they went [v']three [N]days in the wilderness, and found no water. [23] And when they came to Marah, they could not drink of the waters of Marah, for they were bitter: [b]therefore the name of it was called [M]Marah. [24] And the people murmured against Moses, saying, What shall we drink? [25a] And he [c]cried unto Yahweh; and Yahweh shewed him a tree, and he cast it into the waters, and the waters were [w']made sweet.

. . . [25b] [N]There he made for them a statute and an ordinance, and there he [x']proved them.

[26] *And he said, If thou wilt diligently* [d]*hearken to the* [y']*voice of* [z']*Yahweh thy God, and wilt* [a'']*do that which is right in his eyes, and wilt give ear to his commandments, and* [b'']*keep all his statutes, I will* [c'']*put none of the* [d'']*diseases upon thee, which I have put upon the Egyptians: for I am Yahweh that* [e'']*healeth thee.*

[27] And they [f'']came to Elim, where were twelve [e]springs of water, and threescore and ten palm trees: and they encamped there by the waters.

16[1] [N]And they took their journey from Elim, and all the [a]congregation of the children of Israel came unto the wilderness of [b]Sin, which is between Elim and [c]Sinai, on the [d]fifteenth day of the [d]second month after their departing out of the land of Egypt. [2] [N]And the whole [a]congregation of the

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c' 13[17]
d' 6[6] Gen 48[16]
e' Is 40[11] Ps 23[2]
f' Cp Jer 31[23]
g' Deut 2[25]
h' Jer 6[24] 50[43] Mic 4[9] Ps 48[6]
i' Gen 36[15]
j' Gen 45[3]
k' Ps 55[5]†
l' Josh 2[9 24]*
m' Josh 2[9] Gen 15[16]
n' Josh 10[12]*
o' 1 Kings 8[13]
p' Ps 48[8] 87[5]
q' Mic 4[7] Ps 146[10]
r' Gen 31[27]
s' 32[19]*
t' ℌ* Ps 78[52] ct 13[17]
u' Gen 16[7]
v' Cp 3[18]
w' ℌ* Prov 9[17]
x' 16[4] Gen 22[1] cp 19[2]
y' Cp D[58]
z' Cp D[1a]
a'' Cp D[36a]
b'' Deut 4[40] *al*
c'' Deut 7[15]
d'' 23[25]*
e'' Gen 20[17]
f'' Cp 23 ℌ

15[15] **M** ℌ *rams.*

16 **M** ℌ *gotten.*—Gen 4[1].

19a An addition of late date, presumably by RP, founded on 14[22 26]. ., explaining the significance of the preceding poem.

19b So ℌ 14[22 29] ct 21b. **T** *dry land.*

20 The description of Miriam's triumph-song 20. seems wholly independent of what precedes in 1, and is naturally therefore assigned to **E**. This is confirmed by her description as the 'prophetess,' and by her appearance in other **E** passages Num 12[1]. . 20[1].

21 **M** Or, *is highly exalted.*

22 The compiler of Num 33[8] apparently read 'three days' journey' cp J86.

23 **M** That is, *Bitterness.*

25b The last person named in 25a is Moses; but it becomes plain that the subject of 25b 26 is Yahweh himself. A change of document, therefore, occurs at this point. Both substance and form support the ascription to **E**, who relates the successive acts by which first Abraham and then Israel are divinely tested. The phrase 'made for them [ℌ *him*, referring to the people in some omitted passage] a statute and ordinance' is repeated ℌ in Josh 24[25] (**E**); 𝔊 however reads here 'statutes and ordinances' (ℌ judgements) cp Deut 5[1] &c. In 26 the numerous parallels with **D** clearly betray later redaction, though the last words sound original. It is evident that 26 is not the true sequel of 25b which must have related the trial to which the people were exposed; this seems to be **E**'s account of the origin of the name Massah, 'proving' or 'trial' cp Deut 33[8] and Ex 17[1bN]. In 27 the itinerary of 22. is resumed.

16[1] The opening clause 'and they took their journey from Elim' may be part of **J**'s itinerary, cp the formulae in 17[1] Num 20[1 22]. In Num 33[10]. a camp at the Red Sea is interposed between Elim and the wilderness of Sin.

2 The description of the gift of the manna 2–36 offers many perplexities through the presence of conflicting phenomena. As the margins show, it is largely derived from **P**, but it is evident at once that great dislocations have taken place in the narrative. Thus (1) in 6. Moses and Aaron announce to the people what is subsequently 11. communicated to Moses by Yahweh: in other words, he delivers the divine message to Israel before he has himself received it. But (2) the story implies the existence of the Levitical Dwelling with the ark containing the Sacred

J E P

children of Israel [e]murmured against Moses and against Aaron in the wilderness: [3] and the children of Israel said unto them, Would that we had died by the hand of Yahweh in the land of Egypt, when we sat by the flesh [a]pots, when we did [b]eat bread to the full[b]; for ye have brought us forth into this wilderness, to kill [c]this whole assembly with hunger. e 114

...[4] [T]And Yahweh said unto Moses, Behold, I will [f]rain bread from heaven for you; and the people shall go out and [d]gather a day's [c]portion every day, that I may [f]prove them, [g]whether they will [h]walk in my law[h], or no. f 195

[5] [N]*And it shall come to pass on the sixth day, that they shall* [i]*prepare that which they bring in, and it shall be twice as much as they gather daily.* [6] [N]And Moses and Aaron said unto all the children of Israel, At even, then ye shall [j]know that Yahweh hath brought you out from the land of Egypt: [7] and in the morning, then ye shall see the [g]glory of Yahweh; for that he heareth your [e]murmurings against Yahweh: and what are we, that ye [e]murmur against us? [8] [N]And Moses said, [This shall be], when Yahweh shall give you in the evening flesh to eat, and in the morning bread to the [k]full; for that Yahweh heareth your [e]murmurings which ye murmur against him: and what are we? your murmurings are not against us, but against Yahweh. [9] And Moses said unto Aaron, Say unto all the [a]congregation of the children of Israel, [l]Come near before Yahweh: for he hath heard your [e]murmurings. [10] And it came to pass, as Aaron spake unto the whole [a]congregation of the children of Israel, that they [m]looked toward the wilderness, and, behold, the [g]glory of Yahweh appeared in the cloud. [11] And Yahweh [h]spake unto Moses, saying, [12] I have [n]heard the [e]murmurings of the children of Israel: [h]speak unto them, saying, [M]At even ye shall eat flesh, and in the morning ye shall be filled with bread; and ye shall [j]know that I am Yahweh your God. [13] And it came to pass at even, that the [o]quails came up, and covered the camp: and in the morning the dew [p]lay round about the camp. [14] And when the dew that [p]lay was gone up, behold, upon the face of the wilderness a small [M]round thing, small as the [q]hoar frost on the ground. [15] [N]*And* [E]*when the* g 79 h 185 i 32 179[b]

a 27[3] 38[3*]
b 38 Lev 25[19] 26[5†] cp Ezek 39[19] Ps 78[25]
c Cp Num 20[12]
d Gen 31[46]
e 5[13]
f 15[25b] Deut 8[2 16]
g Gen 27[21]
h Jer 26[4] 44[10] 2 Kings 10[31] cp 18[20]
i Gen 43[16 25] Ex 23[20] Num 23[1] Josh 1[11]
j Cp 6[6]
k Cp 3
l Cp 1[8]
m Num 16[42] ℌ *turned*
n 6[5]
o Num 11[31].
p Cp Lev 15[16] ℌ ct Num 11[9]
q ℌ* Job 38[29] Ps 147[16]

Testimony [34]. It is not till the Dwelling is completed that the 'Glory of Yahweh' [10] first appears in the cloud cp 40[34]··. In the Dwelling stands the ark into which Moses is directed to put the Testimony 25[21] 40[20]. It is there that the rods of the Twelve Tribes are laid up before Yahweh Num 17[7 10]; and this only can be the place where the pot of manna is deposited [33]. Nor can the narrative be relieved of this anachronism by viewing [33]. as a later addition. The phrase in [9] 'come near before Yahweh' similarly describes attendance at the sanctuary cp Lev 9[5] 16[1] Num 18[22]. The story, then, in its present form implies the existence of a centre of worship which is not yet constructed, and must have been transposed to its present place from a later stage. Is it possible to conjecture the cause of this displacement? Two reasons may be named. (1) The gift of the manna is not the only provision of food. Besides the morning 'bread,' it is also promised [12] that there shall be evening 'flesh.' In [13] accordingly at even the camp is covered with 'the quails.' But no quails have previously been mentioned. The narrative has evidently been abbreviated at the same time that its situation has been changed. There is, however, a windfall of quails related by J Num 11[31]··, which is preceded by a description of the manna *ib* [7]··. It is conjectured that the narrative of J was the real source or antecedent of P's combination of quails and manna, and that the compiler, instead of blending them, shifted P's version of the incident to an earlier date. But what cause determined its incorporation here? Because (2) it would seem probable that E had attached his manna-story to this point. The gift of food is twice announced to Moses, but in very different terms; [4] and [11]. can hardly be from the same writer. In [4] it is stated that it is the divine purpose to 'prove' the people in connexion with the provision of the bread from heaven. It has been argued by Bacon that this is the antecedent of Deut 8[2. 16]; the conception of the 'proof' of Israel apparently belongs to E, cp Gen 22[1] &c; the passage fits in with 15[25b], and belonged originally to E's explanation of the name Massah ('Trial-place' or 'Proving'). There is, therefore, an element of E in the chapter, a promise of food from heaven, which formed the natural element with which R might group P's quails and manna. How far can this element (usually ascribed to J) be traced? The parallel of [15a] with Deut 8[16] suggests its presence there, incorporated into the later narrative. Bacon adds [16a 19b 21 35a]. But the linguistic details hardly support his ascription; and it is not without difficulties also upon other grounds, for the opposition which he discovers between [16a] and [16b] seems to involve a strained interpretation of the legal phrase 'according to his eating.' The whole story, therefore, in its present form is assigned to P. In reaching that form it has no doubt received various additions designed to meet specific difficulties; the most notable being the arrangements for the sabbath. Some of the passages here assigned to R[P] show linguistic affinities with other Hexateuchal documents. But this is by no means the only case in which a section believed on independent grounds to be supplemental refuses to confine itself within the limits of P's formulae. It is possible that the sabbath regulations may have been inserted when the narratives of JE and P were combined, so as to fit the ordinances of P into closer concord with the original contents of E.

16[4] So ℌ. T *then said Yahweh.*

[5] Critics who assign [4] to J usually allot [5] to the same source. The instruction has evident reference to the sabbath observance on which such repeated stress is laid in P, see *Laws* 9b. Neither J nor E has any such provision elsewhere, and the verse is here treated as an editorial preparation for [22]··; whether it replaces any earlier regulation in E, must be left an open question.

[6] In the dislocated state of the text the original order cannot be determined. The verses may have run [11–12 9–10 6–7].

[8] 'An explanatory gloss of R' (Dillmann). The italic words in *RV* are an attempt to indicate that the words ascribed to Moses are simply an interpretation of [6]·.

[12] M ℌ *Between the two evenings.*

[14] M Or, *flake.*

[15a] In this verse, as Bacon has urged, there is probably a trace of E cp [1bN]. For the phrase 'one to another,' frequent in E (though also occasionally used by P) cp [JE11 2a]: 'knew not what

J E P

children of Israel saw it, they said one to another, [M]*What is it? for they wist not what it was*[E].
And Moses said unto them, It is the bread which Yahweh hath given you
[k]to eat. [16] [N1]This is the thing which Yahweh hath commanded, Gather ye
of it every man [m]according to his [r]eating; an omer a [s]head, according to the
number of your [n]persons, shall ye take it, every man for them which are
in his tent. [17] And the children of Israel did so, and gathered some more,
some [o]less. [18] And when they did mete it with an omer, he that gathered
much [p]had nothing over, and he that gathered [o]little had no lack; they
gathered every man [m]according to his [r]eating. [19] And Moses said unto them,
Let no man [t]leave of it till the morning. [20] Notwithstanding they hearkened
not unto Moses; but some of them left of it until the morning, and it [u]bred
worms, and stank: and Moses was [v]wroth with them. [21] And they gathered
it morning by morning, every man [q]according to his [r]eating: and when the
sun [t]waxed hot, it melted. [22] [N]And it came to pass, that on the sixth day they
gathered twice as much bread, two omers for each one: and all the [r]rulers of the
[n]congregation came and told Moses. [23] [L]And he said unto them, This is that which
Yahweh hath spoken, To-morrow is a [s]solemn rest, a [t]holy sabbath unto Yahweh: [x]bake
that which ye will bake, and seethe that which ye will seethe; and all that [p]remaineth
over lay up for you [u]to be kept until the morning. [24] And they laid it up till the
morning, as Moses bade: and it did not stink, neither was there any worm therein.
[25] And Moses said, Eat that to-day; for to-day is a sabbath unto Yahweh: to-day ye
shall not find it in the field. [26] [y]Six days ye shall gather it; but on the seventh day
is the sabbath, in it there shall be none. [27] And it came to pass on the seventh day,
that there went out some of the people for to gather, and they found none. [28] And
Yahweh said unto Moses, [z]How long refuse ye to keep my commandments and my
[a']laws? [29] See, for that Yahweh hath given you the sabbath, therefore he giveth you
on the sixth day the bread of two days; abide ye every man in his [b']place, let no man
go out of his [b']place on the seventh day. [30] So the people [c']rested on the seventh day.
[31] And the [v]house of Israel called the name thereof [M]Manna: and it was like
[d']coriander seed, white; and the taste of it was like [w]wafers [made] with
honey. [32] And Moses said, [l]This is the thing which Yahweh hath com-
manded, Let an omerful of it [u]be kept for your [w]generations; that they may
see the bread wherewith I fed you in the wilderness, when I brought you
forth from the land of Egypt. [33] And Moses said unto Aaron, Take a [u]pot,
and put an omerful of manna therein, and [e']lay it up [l]before Yahweh, [u]to
be kept for your [w]generations. [34] As Yahweh commanded Moses, so Aaron
[e']laid it up before the [x]Testimony, [u]to be kept. [35] [N]And the children of Israel
did eat the manna forty years, until they came to a land [f']inhabited; they
did eat the manna, until they came unto the borders of the [y]land of Canaan.
[36] *Now an omer is the tenth part of an ephah.*

17[1a] And all the [a]congregation of the children of Israel [b]journeyed from the
wilderness of [c]Sin, [d]by their [M]journeys, [e]according to the commandment of
Yahweh, and [b]pitched in Rephidim.

...[1b] [N]And there was no water for the people to drink. [2a] Wherefore the

[r] 18 21 12[4]
[s] 38[26] Num 1[2]... 3[47]*
[t] Cp 12[10]
[u] ℌ†
[v] Lev 10[6] Num 16[22] 31[14] Josh 22[18] cp [P]178
[w] ℌ*
23-30 [L]9b
[x] Cp Num 11[8]
[y] Cp 20[9]
[z] Cp Num 14[11]
[a'] Gen 26[5]
[b'] Cp [JE]65
[c'] Gen 2[2]
[d'] Num 11[7]
[e'] Num 17[4]
[f'] Ezek 12[20] 26[17] 38[12]†

k 110
l 188[b]
m 19[b]
n 146
o 105
p 134
q 19[a]
r 131
s 137[c]
t 89
u 39
v 11[b]
w 76
x 161
y 4
a 45
b 97[ac]
c 8
d 18
e 19[c]

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it was' cp Deut 8[3], D's retrospects being largely founded on E cp *Introd* i 71.

16[15b] **M** Or, *it is manna.* ℌ *Man hu.*—'Wist' = 'knew' Deut 8[3].

[16] A discrepancy has been found in this verse on the ground that the phrase 'every man according to his eating' does not imply a fixed amount, while 'an omer a head' does. But the previous use of the phrase in 12[4] suggests that the writer has in view the varying amounts that would be needed by families varying in size, age, and sex. On an average an omer a head would suffice. But large families would still require more, and small families less in actual quantity. Measuring the manna as they collected it (the insertion of 'when' in *RV*[18] to help out the grammar appears to indicate—probably erroneously—that the measurement was not made till afterwards), they found that adherence to the prescribed proportion exactly used up the available amount (cp Dillmann). The words 'had nothing over' and 'had no lack' rather denote 'did not exceed' and 'did not fall short' in relation to the omer per head. The miracle lay not in the adjustment of the rations to the individual appetites, but in the exactness with which the supply satisfied the total demand. Those who deferred collecting till too late, found that their shares had melted [21].

[22] In [22-30] it is probable that another hand has dealt specially with the sabbath provision on the basis of P's legislation. [31] is not the proper sequel of [30].

[31] **M** ℌ *Man.*

[35] This verse has been divided by many critics between P and J, though each of the two members has been assigned in turn to each source. It may be doubted, however, whether [35b] is more than an emphatic repetition of [35a]; the unusual order, 'the manna did they eat,' would hardly stand by itself; and the very slight linguistic indications are more favourable to P.

17[1] **M** Or, *stages.*

[1b] The narrative in [1b-7] shows no point of contact with the preceding story or with P generally, while careful examination discloses that it is itself composite. Thus [3] seems a duplicate of [1b 2], while in [7] two names are apparently bestowed on one place. But, as Bacon has pointed out, 'there is no trace elsewhere of a place Massah-Meribah' (*Exodus* p 87). D mentions only Massah 6[16] 9[22], while the Blessing of Moses clearly distinguishes them Deut 33[8]. The question is complicated by the appearance of a second Meribah-story connected with Kadesh in Num 20[1-13]. It will be made probable that J and P are there combined. If so, it seems unlikely that J should have described a similar event with a similar issue at an earlier

J	E	JE	J	E	P	
		people [a]strove with Moses, and said, Give us water that we may drink. And Moses said unto them, Why strive ye with me?				
		...[3]And the people thirsted there for water; and the people [b]murmured against Moses, and said, [f]Wherefore hast thou [g]brought us up out of Egypt, to [c]kill [N]us and our children and our [h]cattle with thirst?—				f 89[b] g 136 h 18
		...[2b]wherefore do ye [d]tempt Yahweh?—				
		[4] And Moses [i]cried unto Yahweh, saying, What shall I [j]do unto this people? they be almost ready to [e]stone me. [5] And Yahweh said unto Moses, [f]Pass on before the people, and take with thee of the [k]elders of Israel; and thy [g]rod, wherewith [h]thou smotest the river, take in thine hand, and go. [6] Behold, I will stand before thee there upon the rock in [l]Horeb; and thou shalt smite the rock, and there shall come water out of it, that the people may drink. And Moses did so in the sight of the [k]elders of Israel.				i 141 j 146[b] k 151 l 105
		...[7a]And he called the name of the place [M]Massah,				
		...[7b] and [M]Meribah, because of the [a]striving of the children of Israel.				
		[7c] and because they [d]tempted Yahweh, saying, [m]Is Yahweh [n]among us, or not?				m 84 n 58
		[8] [N]Then came Amalek, and [o]fought with Israel in Rephidim. [9] And Moses said unto [i]Joshua, Choose us out men, and go out, [o]fight with Amalek: to-morrow I will [p]stand on the top of the hill with the [g]rod of God in mine hand. [10] So Joshua did as Moses had said to him, and [o]fought with Amalek: and Moses, Aaron, and [j]Hur went up to the top of the hill. [11] And [q]it came to pass, [q]when Moses held up his hand, that Israel prevailed: and when he let down his hand, Amalek prevailed. [12] But Moses' hands were [r]heavy; and they took a stone, and put it under him, and he sat thereon; and Aaron and Hur [k]stayed up his hands, the one on the one side, and the other on the other side; and his hands were steady until the [s]going down of the sun. [13] And Joshua [M]discomfited Amalek and his people with the [t]edge of the sword.				o 156 p 215[b] q 127[a] r 78 s 236 t 150
		[14] And Yahweh said unto Moses, [f]Write this for a [u]memorial in a book, and rehearse it in the ears of Joshua: [M]that I will utterly [v]blot out the [m]remembrance of Amalek from under heaven. [15] And Moses [w]built an altar, and called the name of it [M]Yahweh-nissi: [16] and he said, [M]Yahweh hath sworn: Yahweh will have war with Amalek from [n]generation to generation.				u Ct[P]113 v 135 w 137
		18[1] Now [a]Jethro, [b]the priest of Midian, Moses' [a]father in law, heard of all [a]that God had done for Moses, and for Israel his people, [N]how that Yahweh had brought Israel out of Egypt.				a 146[c]

[a] 7b Gen 31[36] cp Num 20[3]
[b] 15[24]
[c] Gen 18[25] cp Num 20[4]
[d] 1bN cp 7ac ct 15[25] ℌ=*prove*
[e] 21[28] cp 216
[f] Josh 3[6]
[g] 9 4[17] 20b
[h] 7[20b]
[i] 24[13] 33[11] Num 11[28]
[j] 24[14]
[k] Gen 48[17]*
[l] Cp 24[4]
[m] ℌ=*memorial* 3[15] Deut 25[19] (32[26])*
[n] Cp 3[15] ‡
[a] 3[1]
[b] 2[16]

'stage of the wanderings. Bacon has therefore suggested that the two names in [7] represent an editorial fusion of two sources. J's traditions attached parallel incidents to two names, Massah and Meribah. E appears also to have contained explanations of both designations cp Deut 33[8] Ex 15[25b]. The Massah-story of J and the Meribah-story of E were founded on a common motive, and have been editorially blended, just as the Meribah-story of J has been subsequently amalgamated with a counterpart in P. At the outset [1b–2a] forms the introduction to E's explanation of Meribah [7b]. [3] will then fall to J, and with this attribution the linguistic marks are in complete harmony. The clause in [2b] 'wherefore do ye tempt Yahweh' cannot, however, be in its proper place; it is related to [7ac], but must have followed instead of preceding [3]. [7c] shows that other matter contained in J has been suppressed in the unifying process. In [4–6] there are no indications of diversity of authorship. The mention of the rod of Moses [5] secures it to E, and this is confirmed by 'Horeb' [6]. But this name shows that the story has been placed too soon cp 16, for Israel has not yet reached the sacred mountain cp 18[5] and 19[2].

17[3] ℌ 'me and my sons and my cattle' ct [2].

[7a] M That is, *Tempting*, or, *Proving*.

[7b] M That is, *Chiding*, or, *Strife*.

[8] The fight with Amalek [8–16] belongs to E, for Moses again wields the rod of God [9]. But various circumstances concur to show that this section also is placed too soon. Joshua enters in [9] without introduction as though he were well known: he is already the tried captain on whom devolves the choice of men for military enterprise. Yet in 33[11] he is formally described, apparently for the first time, and he is then still 'a young man.' Moses, on the other hand, is no longer able himself to sustain his hand outstretched with the rod. The relation between Moses and Joshua, therefore, seems to belong to a more advanced stage than the institution of the Tent of Meeting. This result is confirmed by the name of Israel's foe, Amalek, who is elsewhere located in the wild open country through which the highlands of Judah sink slowly towards the south Num 13[29] cp 14[25 43 45], cp Gen 14[7] (near Kadesh). It is probable, therefore, that this narrative has been inserted too soon (Bacon and Battersby propose to place it after Num 12[15]). If so, the identification of the incident with Rephidim [8] is no doubt editorial; the defining English 'then' is simply 'and' ℌ.

[13] M ℌ *prostrated.*—Cp 32[18]*.

[14] M Or, *for*.

[15] M That is, *Yahweh is my banner*.

[16] M Or, *Because there is a hand against the throne of Yahweh.* ℌ *A hand* is lifted up *upon the throne of Yah.*—See Ewald, *Hist of Israel* i [3] p 251.

18[1] An explanatory gloss by another hand as is implied in the change of the divine name.

J E JE J E P

c 2^{21} 4^{20}

2 [N]*And Jethro, Moses' father in law, took* [c]*Zipporah, Moses' wife, after he had sent her away, and her two sons;* 3 *of which the name of the one*

d 2^{22}

was [d]*Gershom; for he said, I have been* [M]*a sojourner in a strange land:*

e 3^{6}

4 *and the name of the other was* [M]*Eliezer; for* [he said], *The* [e]*God of my father was my help, and delivered me from the sword of Pharaoh.*

5 And Jethro, Moses' father in law, came with his sons and his wife unto Moses into the wilderness where he was encamped, at the [b]mount of God: 6 and he said unto Moses, I thy father in law Jethro am come unto thee, and thy wife, and her two sons with her.

b 105

f Cp Gen 33^{3}. ℌ=*bowed himself*

g Gen 43^{27}

...7And Moses went out to meet his father in law, and [f]did obeisance, and kissed him; and they [g]asked [e]each other of their [r]welfare; and they came into the tent.

c 112[b]

h Num 20^{14} Lam 3^{5} Neh 9^{32}†

i Num 20^{14} Deut 31^{17} Josh 2^{23}

j Ps 21^{6} Job 36†

k 3^{8}

8 And Moses told his father in law all [s]that Yahweh had done unto Pharaoh and to the Egyptians [d]for Israel's sake, all the [h]travail that had [i]come upon them by the way, and how Yahweh delivered them.

d 111

9 And Jethro [j]rejoiced for all the goodness [s]which Yahweh had done to Israel, in that he had [k]delivered them out of the hand of the Egyptians[k].

10 And Jethro said, [e]Blessed be Yahweh, who hath [k]delivered you out of the hand of the Egyptians[k], and out of the hand of Pharaoh; [N]who hath delivered the people from under the hand of the Egyptians. 11 Now

e 10[c]

l Gen 22^{12}

m Cp 21^{14} Deut 1^{43}

[l]I know that Yahweh is greater than all gods: yea, in the thing wherein they [m]dealt proudly against them.

n 10^{25} cp 24^{5} 32^{6} Gen 31^{54} 46^{1}

12 [N]And Jethro, Moses' father in law, took a [n]burnt offering and sacrifices for God: and Aaron came, and all the [f]elders of Israel, to [g]eat bread with Moses' father in law before God. 13 And it came to pass on the morrow, that Moses sat to judge the people: and the people stood about Moses from the morning unto the evening. 14 And when Moses' father in law saw all that he did to the people, he said, What is this thing that thou doest to the people? [o]why sittest thou thyself alone, and all the people [p]stand about thee from morning unto even? 15 And Moses said unto his father in law, Because the people come unto me to [q]inquire of God: 16 when they have a [h]matter, they come unto [r]me; and I judge between a [e]man and his neighbour, and I make them know the [s]statutes of God, and his [s]laws. 17 And Moses' father in law said unto him, The thing that thou doest is not good. 18 Thou wilt surely [t]wear away, [t]both thou, [t]and this people that is with thee: for the thing is too [j]heavy for thee; thou art not able to [k]perform it thyself alone.

f 151
g 149

o 1^{18} cp **230**

p 17^{9} cp **215**[b]

q 1 Sam 9^{9} cp Gen 25^{22}

r Cp 33^{7}..

s Cp Gen 26^{5}

h 108

t ℌ*

i 11

j 78

k 119[a]

l 44^{b}

u Num 24^{14}*

v ℌ* cp Ezek 3^{17}.. 33^{3} 7.. (Lev 15^{31})

w Cp 16^{4} P115[b]

x ℌ=*see* 24^{11} Num 24^{4} 16* cp Gen 22^{8}

y 25 Gen 47^{6b}

z Gen 37^{26}

19 [l]Hearken now unto my voice, I will [u]give thee counsel, and God be [m]with thee: be thou for the people to Godward, and bring thou the [h]causes unto God: 20 and thou shalt [v]teach them the statutes and the laws, and shalt shew them the [w]way wherein they must walk, and the work that they must do. 21 Moreover thou shalt [x]provide out of all the people [y]able men, such as [n]fear God, men of truth, hating unjust [z]gain; and place such over them, to be [o]rulers of thousands, rulers of

m 130

n 10[c]

o 191

18[2] The Meeting of Moses and his father in law $^{2-11}$ appears to have been related both by **J** and **E**. In ^{5}. Jethro arrives and converses with Moses, yet in ^{7} Moses sets out to meet him. The hand of **J** seems recognizable in ^{7}, while that of **E** is plainly to be discerned in ^{5}. But the antecedents in the two sources must have been different. In **J** Moses had but one son, on his return to Egypt, when his wife accompanied him $4^{20\ 25}$. **E**, on the other hand, represented Moses as leaving his family under his father in law's care. The two views are harmonized by **R** in ^{2}; ^{3} is plainly founded on 2^{22}; but the origin of ^{4} is unknown (for 'sword' ℌ reads 'hand'). Eliezer is mentioned nowhere else in the *Hex*, though in **P** Aaron has a son named Eleazar. The situation in ^{5} again implies displacement, for in 19^{1} Israel is still on the march to the sacred mountain. On the original position of **E**'s narrative see ^{12N}: **J**'s may have led up to Num 10^{29}.

^{3} **M** ℌ *Ger.* See 2^{22}. ^{4} **M** ℌ *El*, God, and *ezer*, help.

^{10} The phraseology of $^{9-11}$ shows most affinity with **J**. But the duplicate clauses of ^{10} may result from an amalgam of **J** and **E**. The shorter forms of ^{10} in ℌ where ^{10b} disappears altogether, are worthy of note: ℌ^{A5} 'And Jethro said, Blessed be Yahweh, that he hath delivered them out of the hand of the Egyptians and out of the hand of Pharaoh'; ℌ^{L} 'And Jethro said, Blessed be Yahweh who hath delivered his people from the hand of the Egyptians and from the hand of Pharaoh.'

^{12} It has been already pointed out that in **E**'s narrative Jethro finds Moses and the people already encamped beneath the mount of God. The sequel in $^{12-27}$ shows similar signs that it has been inserted here too soon. The elaborate judicial organization indicated in ^{25}. is apparently not yet instituted in 24^{12-14}. Moreover it presupposes a collection of statutes and laws divinely given $^{16\ 20}$; and its establishment is more appropriate to the scene of a lengthened stay than to a mere station on the way. Accordingly in Deut 1^{9-17} it is assigned to Horeb, shortly before the people started again upon the march, and this is supported in **E** by Jethro's reference ^{23} to their approaching departure. The whole section, therefore, originally fell among the last of the Horeb scenes.

J E JE J E P

hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens: [22] and let them judge the people at all seasons: and it shall be, that every great [h]matter they shall bring unto thee, but every small [h]matter they shall judge themselves: so shall it be [f]easier for thyself, and they shall bear [the burden] with thee. [23] If thou shalt do this thing, and God command thee so, then thou shalt be able to endure, and all this people also shall go to their [p]place in [a']peace. [24] So Moses [q]hearkened to the voice of his father in law, and did all that he had said. [25] And Moses chose [y]able men out of all Israel, and made them [b']heads over the people, rulers of thousands, rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens. [26] And they judged the people at all seasons: the hard [h]causes they brought unto Moses, but every small matter they judged themselves. [27] And Moses [c']let his father in law depart; and he went his way into his own land.

a' Gen 26[29]
b' Ct [P]84
c' Ct Num 10[29]..
p 65
q 44[a]

a 17[1]
b 16[1] Num 11[1] 9[1] 33[38]

19[2a] [N]And they [a]journeyed from [a]Rephidim, and came to the wilderness of [b]Sinai, and they [a]pitched in the wilderness.—[1] In the [c]third month [b]after the children of Israel were gone forth out of the land of Egypt, the same day came they into the wilderness of [b]Sinai.—

a 97[a]
b 7
c 183

...[2b] and there Israel [T]pitched before the mount. [3a] [N]And Moses went up unto [N]God.

19[2a] In 19[1-2a] **P** continues the itinerary interrupted at 17[1]. But the order of the Hebrew text appears to have been changed, for it can hardly be supposed that the original writer brought the Israelites to Sinai before mentioning that they had left Rephidim. The *RV* somewhat obscures the customary language of **P** in parallel passages by rendering [2] *And when they were departed* &c, though the phraseology is identical with that of 17[1]. The compiler, it would seem, felt that the date in [1] would make a more effective introduction to the narrative of the great events at Sinai, and perhaps also thought that he would secure a closer connexion with **JE** if the final words in [2a] 'and they pitched in the wilderness' immediately preceded **E**'s phrase 'and there Israel pitched ℌ before the mount.'

[2b] ℌ as in [2a]. **T** *camped.*

[3a] With [3] begins the story of the great theophany which formed the core of the traditions concerning the giving of the Law. **P**'s description of it is not introduced till 24[15a] which is apparently continuous with 19[2a 1]. The intervening material is chiefly derived from **E** (see 20[1N]) but the narrative of the manifestation on the sacred mount is plainly not from one source alone. The difficulty of explaining the repeated ascents of Moses (cp 3 7 9. 14 20 25) at once suggests diversity of document, and this inference is established by comparison of [14-17] with [20-25]. In [10] directions are issued for the purification of the people which are fulfilled in [14]. The people are then ready, the signal of Elohim's advent is given on the mountain, and Israel is solemnly brought forth to meet its God [17]. But the divine intercourse with Moses [19] is suddenly arrested by a new call to the top of the mount. There fresh instructions are supplied for the sanctification of the priests [22], for the prevention of too eager curiosity on the part of the people [21], and for the return of Moses to the summit with Aaron [24]. The narrative concludes abruptly with the statement [25] that 'Moses went down to the people and *said* unto them . . .,' leaving the reader to imagine the instructions which he communicated. In 20[1].. the divine words for which preparation has been made in 19[17 19] are solemnly uttered, with the result that the terrified people, already at the foot of the mount, entreat Moses that the speech of heaven may cease 20[19], and be transmitted to them through him. Moses accordingly draws near alone [21], and the summons to Aaron 19[24] remains unfulfilled. The contrast of 19[20-25] with 19[14-17] 20[18-21] points to a **J** source and an **E** source. But this criterion is an insufficient basis of analysis. Since the revelation described in 3[15] **E** has repeatedly employed the name Yahweh, and in the present passage [14-17] plainly depends on [9]. where Yahweh is found. [It may be noted that 𝔊 here points to considerable variations of redaction in this matter. Thus in [7] 8ab 18 21b 23 24b 𝔊 [ABL] read *Elohim* for *Yahweh*; so also 3b 21a 𝔊[AB] 22a 𝔊[AL]; further, 3b 𝔊[L] 22a 𝔊[B] *Yahweh Elohim* for *Yahweh*; and vice versa 20[1] 𝔊[ABL] *Yahweh* for *Elohim*.] The material differences, however, suffice for partition. Starting from the passages already noticed, the following contrasts are obtained:—

J	E
(1) Yahweh *comes down* on *Sinai* [11b 18 20],	Elohim (Yahweh) *comes* 19[9] 20[20],
(2) with *smoke* and *fire* [18],	in a thick *cloud* [9 16] cp 20[18 21], that the people may *hear* when he speaks with Moses [9 19] 20[19]. The people 'tremble' [16].
(3) in the *sight* of all the people [11b]. The mountain 'trembles' [13].	The people are brought forth to meet Elohim at the nether part of the mount [17].
(4) Bounds are to be set to the mountain, the border of which must not be touched [12. 23].	
(5) The *priests* to be sanctified [22 24].	The *whole people* to be sanctified [10 14]..
(6) The blast of a *ram's horn* [13].	The sound of the *trumpet* [16 19].
(7) The people endangered by their eagerness to press forward and see [21].	The people terrified, they stand far off [16] 20[18].
(8) '*They* shall come up to the mount' [13] cp Moses and Aaron shall come up [24].	Moses drew near to the darkness alone 20[21].

There remains a difficult passage in [3b-8] unaffected by the foregoing distribution. The close juxtaposition of two divine names excites attention, and the peculiar phraseology of [5]. unknown outside Deuteronomy points to expansion at the hands of **R**[d]. It is less certain whether the whole of the divine address is an addition, and it is not without significance in this respect that [5-6] reappears in 𝔊 after 23[21]. Bacon (whose analysis of this chapter the editors have largely followed) supposes that [3b-8] stood originally after 20[21], the contribution of **R**[d] being limited to [3c-6a]. The words in [6b] then refer to 20[1-17]. The phrase in [6b], however, resembles the title to a collection of precepts, and sounds rather introductory than retrospective cp 21[1]. The opening words have their parallels in 3[15] 20[22a], while 'ye yourselves have seen' [4] ℌ matches 20[22b]: and as the people have already themselves heard the divine words in 20[1-17], it is not clear why Moses should need to recite them again to the elders. It is possible that in the confusion of the fragments [7]. is an accidental variant of 24[3]. A similar casualty seems to have generated [8b] as a duplicate of [9b]. Yet even [7] and [8] do not seem quite homogeneous, for the divine message, communicated only to the elders in [7], is accepted by the united people in [8]. Further difficulty arises from the emphatic pronoun '*they* shall come up to the mount' [13]. It cannot refer to 'all the people' [11], for these are expressly prohibited from touching the border. It is conjectured, therefore, that the passage has found its way into a wrong context, and that [11b-13] should follow [20-24]. There the priests are directed to sanctify

J	E	JE	J	E	P	
		[3b] [L]And Yahweh called unto him out of the mountain, saying, [d]Thus shalt thou say to the house of Jacob, and [e]tell the children of Israel; [c]Ye have seen [f]what I did unto the Egyptians, and how I [c]bare you on [d]eagles' wings, and brought you unto myself. [5] Now therefore, if ye will [g]obey my voice indeed, and keep my [e]covenant, then ye shall be [N]a [f]peculiar treasure unto me [M]from among all peoples: for all the earth is mine: [6] and ye shall be unto me a [g]kingdom of priests[g] and an [h]holy nation. These are the words which thou shalt speak unto the children of Israel.				d 222[b] e 218 f 146[c] g [D]58[a]
		[7] And Moses came and called for the [h]elders of the people, and set before them all these words which Yahweh commanded him. [8] And all the people answered together, and said, All that Yahweh hath spoken we will do. And Moses reported the words of the people unto Yahweh.				h 151
		[9] And Yahweh said unto Moses, Lo, I [i]come unto thee in a [j]thick cloud, [i]that the people may hear when I [j]speak with thee, and may also [k]believe thee for ever. And Moses told the words of the people unto Yahweh. [10] And Yahweh said unto Moses, Go unto the people, and [l]sanctify them to-day and to-morrow, and let them [m]wash their [k]garments, [11a] and be ready against the [n]third day. ...				i 221 j 116 k 161
		[24←] [11b] for [N]the third day Yahweh will [l]come down in the sight of all the people upon mount [m]Sinai. [12] And thou shalt [o]set bounds unto the people round about, saying, [p]Take heed to yourselves, that ye go not up into the mount, or touch the border of it: [q]whosoever toucheth the mount shall be surely put to death: [13] no hand shall touch [M]him, but he shall surely be stoned, or [q]shot through; whether it be beast or man, it shall not live: when the [T]ram's horn soundeth long, [N]they shall come up to the mount. [→25]				l 19 m 76
		[14] And Moses went down from the mount unto the people, and [l]sanctified the people; and they [m]washed their [k]garments. [15] And he said unto the people, Be ready against the [n]third day: come not near a woman.				
		[16] And it came to pass on the [n]third day, when it was [n]morning, that there were [r]thunders and lightnings, and a [o]thick [j]cloud upon the mount, and the [s]voice of a trumpet exceeding loud; and all the people that were in the camp [t]trembled. [17] And Moses brought forth the people out of the camp to meet God; and they [p]stood at the nether part of the mount.				n 236 o 78 p 214
		...[18] And mount [m]Sinai was altogether on smoke, because Yahweh [l]descended upon it in fire: and the smoke thereof ascended as the [u]smoke of a furnace[u], and the whole [M]mount [v]quaked greatly.				
		[19] And when the [s]voice of the trumpet waxed louder and louder, Moses spake, and God answered him by a voice[N].				
		[20] And Yahweh [l]came down upon mount [m]Sinai, to the [w]top of the mount: and Yahweh called Moses to the top of the mount; and Moses went up. [21] And Yahweh said unto Moses, Go down, [x]charge the people, lest they [y]break through unto Yahweh to gaze, and many of them perish. [22] And let the priests also, which [z]come near to Yahweh, [a']sanctify themselves, lest Yahweh [q]break forth upon them. [23] And Moses said unto Yahweh, [b']The people cannot come up to mount [m]Sinai: for thou didst charge us, saying, [o]Set bounds about the mount, and sanctify it. [24] And Yahweh said unto him, [c']Go, get thee down[c'], and thou shalt come up, thou, and Aaron with thee: but let not the priests and the people [y]break through				q 80

3b-6a [L]III[c]
c 20[22] Deut 29[2] Josh 23[3] 𝔊 cp Deut 1[31]
d Cp Deut 32[11]
e Cp [D]31
f Deut 7[6]
g 𝔊†
h Cp [D]60
i 20[20]
j 𝔊* cp 16 20[21]
k Ct 4[1-.31] cp 134
l 14 ct 22- [P]86[c]
m 14 ct [P]173
n 15 cp 119[d]
o 23 𝔊 Hiph†
p Cp Gen 24[6]
q Gen 26[11]
r 20[18]
s 19 20[18] ct 13
t Gen 42[28b]
u Cp Gen 15[17]
v 𝔊=*trembled* 16 Gen 27[33]
w 34[2]
x 23 Gen 43[3]
y 24 15[7] cp Pi 23[24*]
z 24[2] cp 20[21]
a' Num 11[18] Josh 3[5] 7[13] ct 10
b' Cp [3N]
c' 32[7]

themselves, apparently as a qualification for an extraordinary interview with Yahweh. Kuenen surmised that in [24] the text originally ran 'thou shalt come up, thou and Aaron with thee, and the priests: but let not the people break through' &c. If this passage preceded [11b-13], the contrast between 'ye' (the people) [12] and 'they' (the priests) [13] would be explained. But in that case [23] (where Moses intimates to Yahweh that his previous command rendered further arrangements superfluous) can only have been inserted after the text had assumed its present order.

19[3a'] 𝔊 *the mount of God.*

[5a] The word סגלה (here rendered 'peculiar treasure') only occurs elsewhere in the formula 'a peculiar people' (לעם סגלה) Deut 7[6] 14[2] 26[18] where 𝔊 always renders λαὸς περιούσιος. The occurrence of the same phrase in 𝔊 in the present passage makes it probable that we should restore the corresponding 𝔊 here.

[5b] **M** Or, *above.*

[11b] This date, which does not appear elsewhere in J may be due here to editorial connexion.

[13a] **M** Or, *it.*

[13b] So **M**. **T** *trumpet.*—Ct 16 19.

[13c] The pronoun is here expressed with emphasis: cp [3N] *ad fin* 24[2].

[18] **M** Some ancient authorities have, *people.*

[19] The sequel of this passage will be found in 20[18-21].

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to come up unto Yahweh, lest he [q]break forth upon them. [11b–13] 25 So Moses went down unto the people, and [N]told them. . . .

20[1] *And God spake all these* [N]*words, saying,*

[a]I am Yahweh thy God, which [b]brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the [b]house of [M]bondage.

3 [L]**Thou shalt have none** [c]**other gods** [M]**before me.**

4 [L]**Thou shalt not** [d]**make unto thee a** [d]**graven image,** [e]nor [the likeness of] any [f]form that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth: 5 thou shalt not [g]bow down thyself unto them, nor [h]serve them: for I Yahweh thy God am a [i]jealous God, [j]visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, upon the third and upon the fourth

a Deut 5[6] cp Gen 15[7]
b 13[3]
3 [L]5a[e]
c Cp 23[13] 34[14]
[D]85
4–6 [L]5b[b]
d Deut 4[16] 23 25 5[8] 27[15] Lev 26[1*] cp 23 34[17]
e Deut 5[8–10]
f Num 12[8] Deut 4[12. . .] 5[8*]
g 23[24] 34[14] Deut 5[9] Lev 26[1] cp [D]23
h 23[24] Deut 5[9]
i 34[14] Deut 4[24] 5[9] 6[15]† cp Josh 24[19]
j 34[7] Num 14[18] Deut 5[9] cp 7[10]

19[25] ℌ *said unto them* cp Gen 4[8]. The arrangement suggested above indicates that the omitted words spoken by Moses to the people contained the divine instructions for their safety.

20[1] The 'Ten Words' as they are designated in Deut 10[4] cp Ex 34[28] are almost unanimously assigned in the present redaction to **E**, though critical opinion is divided as to their place in his original narrative. A comparison with Deut 5 shows that [1–21] was known to **D** substantially in one piece: [2–17] cp Deut 5[6–21], [18] (19[16]) cp Deut 5[22], [19] cp Deut 5[23–27], while the use of the divine name Elohim 20[1 19–21] points to the same Elohistic source already traced in 19. Two main questions arise concerning the literary history of the Words: (1) are they reproduced here in their original form, or have they received additions in the shape of explanations and commentaries? (2) If they can be reduced to a simpler type, what relation does the series bear to any similar laws which may be traced elsewhere? (i) The facts that there are variations in the reasons assigned for the observance of the fourth commandment cp Ex 20[11] Deut 5[15], and that the Deuteronomic version shows slight divergences in the treatment of the fifth and tenth, have been long recognized as affording good grounds for the belief that some of the commandments have received hortatory expansion. The analogy of other laws points in the same direction (*Introd* i 73) and it is now generally believed that the Words were primarily 'moulded in uniform shape,' and expressed in 'terse and simple form' (Driver *LOT*[6] p 34). Is it possible to recover this ancient type? Dr Briggs (*Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch*[2] 181–7) has endeavoured to reconstruct it, finding the primitive form of 'Word' in the direct prohibition 'Thou shalt not . . .' The additions are, in this view, later than the actual Words, and may be ascribed with some confidence to other hands. This is made practically certain by their striking literary affinities, for they seem at various points to touch the phraseology of **J**, of **E**, and of **D** respectively. Thus the introductory clause [2] contains two expressions strongly characteristic of **D**, 'Yahweh thy God' and 'house of bondage,' pointing to an earlier form 'I am Yahweh which brought thee out of the land of Egypt,' cp Gen 15[7] 'I am Yahweh which brought thee out of Ur of the Chaldees.' The additions to the second Word, as the margin shows, cp 'heaven above' &c 'bow down and serve' 'Yahweh thy God,' tend in the same direction. But, on the other hand, the language of [5] shows striking parallels with **J** in 34[7 14] cp 'Yahweh is a jealous God' 'visiting the iniquity . .' 'keeping mercy for thousands.' The phrase in the text, 'showing (doing) mercy,' is peculiar to **JE**, and nowhere occurs in **D** (though cp Deut 7[9]): on the other hand the allusions to 'hate' and 'love' seem to belong to the religious atmosphere of **D**, who alone in the *Hex* makes the love of God a motive of human action, though the expression (in a somewhat different sense) is probably one of great antiquity, cp Judg 5[31]. The fourth commandment [8–11] has been revised by **R**[P] cp [11N]; but the influence of **D** can also be traced with much probability in the phrase 'Yahweh thy God,' in the enumeration of the members of the household, and in the description of 'thy stranger that is within thy gates,' when compared with the simpler language of **E** 23[12], 'that thine ox and thine ass may have rest, and the son of thy handmaid (ℌ = *maidservant* 20[10]), and the stranger.' Similarly the phrases in [12] recur repeatedly in **D** and in **D** only. It may be affirmed, then, with considerable probability, that the hortatory additions have been themselves expanded in the spirit of the great Deuteronomic school (cp *Introd* XVI 2*a* i 175), and that they were founded on earlier material derived from **J** and **E**, perhaps by the editor designated **R**[JE]. But (ii) behind the commentaries lie the Words themselves. Had they a place in the original narrative of **E**? In their present position they constitute a kind of introduction to the legislation which follows, but they have little in common with it: the arrangement in **D** by which they are presented as the sole legislation of Horeb cp [22N] is much more impressive. Now the Words are reported by **D** as the basis of the covenant between Yahweh and Israel. It will be seen hereafter that both **J** and **E** record such a covenant, cp Ex 24 and 34: but neither document founds it on these Ten Words, though each associates it with 'Words' of Yahweh. Further it may be noted that each of these collections shows parallels with some of the Ten Words. Thus with 20[3] cp **J** 34[14] 'Thou shalt not bow down (ℌ as in 20[4]) to another god,' **E** 22[20] forbidding sacrifice to another god under pain of 'devotion,' and **E**[r] 23[13] 'the name of other gods ye shall not cause to be remembered' cp 20[24M]: with 20[4] cp **J** 34[17], 'thou shalt make thee no molten gods,' and **E**[r] 20[23] 'ye shall not make with me gods of silver, and gods of gold ye shall not make unto you': with 20[7] cp 22[28]; and with 20[8. .] cp **J** 34[21] 'Six days thou shalt labour, but on the seventh day thou shalt rest,' and **E** 23[12] 'Six days thou shalt do thy works, but on the seventh day thou shalt rest,' where in both cases 'rest' in ℌ means 'keep sabbath.' The question can hardly be discussed in all its bearings until the Covenant-Words of **J** and **E** have themselves been analysed. But the existence of these several groups (which will be found closely parallel to each other) suggests that the Ten Words, the latter of which run a highly independent course, were not part of the original narrative of **E** (for why should **E** himself arrange these duplicates side by side?) but were added from some other source. Some confirmation of this view is found in the consideration of the narrative 19[19] 20[18–21] compared with Deut 5[22. .]. It is clear from the Deuteronomic account that the people were supposed to have heard the actual words uttered by Yahweh 'with a great voice.' But it may be doubted if that was the conception of **E**. The people witness a storm of thunder and lightning, they hear a trumpet blast which they interpret as the divine utterance, but it does not appear that they are conscious of articulate address from Elohim. As the outward signs of the theophany become more majestic and terrible, they dread lest Deity should speak [19] and they should perish. The original account of **E**, therefore, probably contained no spoken 'Words' from Elohim to the assembled people, but only the tradition of the awful Voice. Concerning the antiquity of the Words themselves, doubted by Colenso, Wellhäusen, Kuenen, Stade, Bacon, Addis, Meisner, Steuernagel, Staerk, Holzinger, Kraetzschmar, and others, cp Driver (*LOT*[6] 33), Briggs (*Higher Criticism*[2] 186), Dillmann-Ryssel (*Ex und Lev*[3] 226), and Wicksteed (*Christian Reformer* 1886 i 307). It is perhaps sufficient to observe here that (as noted above) **E** does not base the covenant on the so-called 'Ten Words,' but on the Words now combined with the judgements in the Covenant-book cp [22N]. **D** is the first to treat the Ten Words as the sole foundation and contents of the Horeb-covenant. The prominence thus assigned to them (together with the linguistic affinities on which Colenso and Meisner have dwelt with especial emphasis) adds weight to the conjecture that they took shape between the first collection of laws and narratives in **J** and **E**, and the later reproduction of ancient *torah* in **D**. But if this be so, there is no clue to the circumstances under which they were incorporated into **E**. On difficulties connected with the place of the Ten Words in Israel's religious and social history cp Addis *Hex* i 139.

2 **M** ℌ *bondmen.*

3 **M** Or, *beside me.*—ℌ *my face* (*presence*).

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generation of them that hate me; [6] and [a]shewing mercy unto [M]thousands, of them that [k]love me and [l]keep my commandments.

[7] [L]**Thou shalt not take the name of Yahweh** thy God [M]**in vain:** for Yahweh will not [m]hold him guiltless that taketh his name [M]in vain.

[8] [NL]**Remember the sabbath day, to keep it holy.** [9] Six days shalt thou labour, and do all thy work: [10] [L]but the seventh day is a sabbath unto Yahweh thy God: [in it] thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy manservant, nor thy [b]maidservant, nor thy cattle, nor [n]thy stranger that is [o]within thy gates: [11] [NL]*for in six days Yahweh made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: wherefore Yahweh blessed the sabbath day, and hallowed it.*

[12] [NL]**Honour thy father and thy mother:** that thy days may be [p]long upon the [q]land which Yahweh thy God giveth thee.

[13] [L]**Thou shalt do no murder.**

[14] [L]**Thou shalt not commit adultery.**

[15] [L]**Thou shalt not steal.**

[16] [L]**Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.**

[17] [L]**Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house,** thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his manservant, nor his [b]maidservant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is thy neighbour's.

[18] And all the people saw the [r]thunderings, and the lightnings, and the voice of the [r]trumpet, and the mountain smoking: and [N]when the people saw it, they [M]trembled, and stood [s]afar off. [19] And they said unto Moses, [t]Speak thou with us, and we will [t]hear: but let not God speak with us, lest we [u]die. [20] And Moses said unto the people, [c]Fear not: for God is come [d]to [v]prove you, and [d]that his [e]fear may be before you, that ye sin [f]not. [21] And the people stood [s]afar off, and Moses drew near unto the thick [w]darkness where God was.

[22] [N]And Yahweh said unto Moses, [NG]Thus thou shalt say unto the

k Cp D74a
l Gen 26⁵ cp D82c
7 L50a
m 34⁷ Num 14¹⁸ Deut 5¹¹ Pi*
8. . L9b
10 L2a
n Deut 5¹⁴ 24¹⁴ 29¹¹ 31¹²† ct P145b
o Cp D51
11 L9b
p Cp D73
q Cp D69c
12 L1a
13 L2h
14 L1i
15 L3a
16 L4f
17 L3i
r 19¹⁶
s 21 24
t Deut 5²⁷
u Deut 5²⁵
v 15²⁵b 16⁴ Gen 22¹
w Deut 5²² cp 19¹⁶

a 57b
b 99
c 154
d 221
e 102
f 61
g 222b

20⁶ **M** Or, *a thousand generations.* See Deut 7⁹.

7ab **M** Or, *for vanity* or *falsehood.*

8 Briggs (*Higher Crit* 187) suggests as the original fourth Word 'Thou shalt not do any work on the seventh day.'

11 In this verse it has been usual to recognize the hand of the harmonist. The parallel passage in Deut 5¹⁵ bases the observance of the sabbath on the deliverance from Egypt. But in this historical association there is no link of inner thought such as that implied in the parallel between the rest enjoined on Israel and that practised by Deity himself. Had **D**'s copy of the Decalogue contained this verse, it is hardly likely that he would have replaced its lofty suggestiveness by a less potent motive. In spite, therefore, of Budde's plea (*Urgesch* 495) that this verse is here original to **E**, it is regarded as a secondary insertion. But from what source? It has been commonly viewed as founded on Gen 2¹⁻³. Many of the verbal details, it is true, are different: eg for 'the heavens and the earth and all their host,' we read 'the heavens and the earth, the sea and all that in them is': the words 'rest' and 'sabbath-day' are not those employed by **P**, who also does not connect the blessing on the day by 'therefore' (a word used specially by **J** cp JE85). These differences are hardly sufficient in themselves to establish an independent source for this verse in a lost creation-story by **J**[2], though they may properly be employed in supporting other arguments. They may, however, be sufficiently explained by the influence of the context; the triple division into sky, earth, and waters, is already recognized in 4; the verb 'to rest' (נוּחַ) is found in the parallel in Deut 5¹⁴ and may well have prompted the writer's choice; 'sabbath day' is already provided by 8; and the word 'therefore' is used by **P**[s] in a similar connexion in 16²⁹. That the secondary references to the creation-narrative of **P** were not limited to the original phraseology is clear from the curious addition in 31¹⁷ which states that Yahweh 'was refreshed,' following the language of an earlier Sabbath law 23¹²: while it may be said in general terms that some of the later portions of **P** show much greater variety of style (cp *Introd* XIII 11β i 155).

12 Briggs (*Higher Crit*[2] 187) comparing Ex 21¹⁷ Lev 20⁹ and Deut 27¹⁶ proposes to restore 'Thou shalt not set light by thy father and thy mother.'

18a ⊗ Ϙ 'and the people were afraid,' pointing וַיִּרְאוּ for וַיַּרְא: so Jülicher, Kuenen, Budde, Krätzschmar, and others. Dillmann adheres to *MT.*

18b **M** Or, *were moved.*—Cp Is 64. In *Hex* only in a different connexion Gen 4¹² ¹⁴ 'wanderer'; Hiph Num 32¹³*.

22a The older criticism treated 20²²–23 as substantially one whole (with some interpolations and additions), and connected it with the record of the Covenant in 24³⁻⁸, so that it became known as the Book of the Covenant. But it has been since perceived that it not only contains various hortatory amplifications, but is in reality compiled from two different collections which have been blended together. The proof of this is partly contained in the book itself, and partly in the narrative which follows. For (1) while the opening section 20²³⁻²⁶ is concerned exclusively with instructions for the proper worship of Yahweh, at 21¹ a series of 'judgements' is introduced, in which various matters affecting the person or property of the Israelite are regulated on the basis of judicial decisions formulated and generalized into law. Other commands in their turn follow, which in no way result from civil or criminal processes before a judge, such as the rules for the observance of a seventh fallow year and a seventh day of rest 23¹⁰⁻¹², or the festival cycle in 14. . The contents of these chapters, therefore, are not homogeneous. But (2) this diversity of character is recognized in 24³, where Moses is said to recite to the people 'all the *words of Yahweh* and all the *judgements.*' This description implies that the preceding collection is made up of two parts, (1) a series of divine 'Words,' and (2) a group of 'judgements.' Is there any clue to their separation? Wellhausen and Stade practically limit (2) to 21–22¹⁷, where the 'case law' is cast into a series of rules defining the proper course under the given circumstances introduced by 'if': Driver adds 22[25a] [26] 23⁴. . The remainder is then allotted to (1). But this remainder is itself found on investigation to consist of highly various materials. There is the humanitarian legislation for the protection of the stranger, the ethical insistence on the upright administration of justice, strangely mingled with regulations about first fruits and sabbath (whether of days or years) and a calendar of annual feasts. It is readily seen that these are alike neither in style nor in substance. The conditional form of the strict 'judgement' is reproduced in 23⁴.; but by its side are the participial clauses in which Dr Briggs finds the proper type of the 'statute' 22¹⁹., and the commands and prohibitions 22[18] [28]. [29b] [30] in which the same critic recognizes the characteristics of the 'Word' (*Higher Crit*[2] 242 ff). It does not seem possible to base any distinction on these slender variations in expression. It is more apposite to notice that the moral and

x 19[4]
23a L_{5a} f
y Cp 3^{4} 34^{17}
23b L_{5b} c
24a L_{10} d i
z Ct 27^{1}..

J E JE J E P

children of Israel, [x]*Ye yourselves have seen that I have talked with you from heaven.* 23 NL *Ye shall not* [y]*make* [other gods] *with me;* [L]*gods of silver, or gods of gold, ye shall not make unto you.* 24 NL An altar of [z]earth thou shalt

social legislation tends constantly to expand into the prophet's appeal rather than the lawgiver's command cp $22^{23.\ 27}$ 23^{7}., and is thus strongly marked off from a specific group of regulations which do not embody the experience of life but are occupied with the requirements of worship. These laws are broken up in their present position, but they are readily seen to constitute a little collection by themselves. Different investigators, such as Rothstein (*Bundesbuch* 1888), Bäntsch (*Bundesbuch* 1892), and Bacon, approaching the problem by different methods, have substantially agreed in the view that the 'Words' are to be found in the cultus laws 20^{22-26} 22^{29-31} 23^{10-19}, with the concluding exhortation in 23^{20-33}. The Book of Judgements would naturally contain the available rules for the protection of life and property. With them would be suitably associated other provisions for the welfare of the community, such as the infliction of the ban on those who were guilty of treason to the national God by worshipping an alien deity 22^{20}, or the prohibition of ribald speech whether against the earthly or the heavenly ruler 22^{28}. The varied contents of Deut 12–26 under the title 'Statutes and Judgements' show what diversified materials might thus be aggregated together. But the particular institutions of the cultus were not founded on custom and usage, whether formulated in judicial decisions, or as yet implied only in the higher standards of religion. They were regarded as derived directly from the divine will, and owed their origin to a positive utterance. Accepting this distinction provisionally, it may be noted further that the 'Words' 24^{4} were recorded by Moses in a book: with solemn sacrifice and ceremony the people pledged themselves to obedience: and on the basis of these 'Words' Yahweh entered into a covenant with Israel 24^{8}. But as soon as these prescriptions are examined by themselves, it is observed that the bulk of them reappear in another connexion in 34, *where they are again embodied in a covenant* which Yahweh purposes to make with Israel 34^{10}.. Let the following parallels be considered:—

(1)	20^{23}	Prohibition of image worship . . .	34^{17}
(2)	$^{24-26}$	Regulations for the construction of altars	
(3)	22^{29}	Gift of firstborn sons to Yahweh . .	20b
(4)	30	Gift of firstborn animals to Yahweh .	19 20a
(5)	31	No meat torn by wild beasts to be eaten .	
(6)	23^{10-11}	Observance of the seventh fallow year .	
(7)	12	Observance of the seventh day of rest .	21
(8)	14 17	Observance of three annual feasts . .	23
(9)	15	Feast of Unleavened Bread . . .	18
(10)	16	Harvest and Ingathering	22
(11)	18a	No leavened bread to be used in sacrifice	25a
(12)	18b	No fat to be left till the morning . .	25b
(13)	19a	Firstfruits to be given to Yahweh . .	26a
(14)	19b	No kid to be seethed in its mother's milk	26b.

It is clear that the terms of the covenant proposed in 34^{10} are largely parallel with the 'Words' on which the previous covenant has already been formally established. Reasons will be given hereafter for believing that its context belongs to J; but as it cannot be supposed that J related the institution of the covenant twice over in slightly different terms, the previous 'Words' and their acceptance by the people must be assigned to E. This conclusion is reinforced by other considerations, partly linguistic, as the margins will show, and partly substantial cp 24^{3N}. The harmonist of J and E, in fixing the present places of the two versions, has brought them into closer accord by modification and addition, so that the texts of the two documents have been moulded into completer correspondence. The probable signs of such changes will be noted when they occur. This is the only case in which J and E agree in ascribing the preparation of a documentary record to Moses; and this agreement may be taken in evidence that J and E were both acquainted with some older written source (but cp 34^{28N}). The distinction already emphasized between the 'Words' and the 'Judgements' (with the additional materials attached to them) makes it necessary to account for the incorporation of the latter collection at this point of the narrative. It will be found (1) that they are suitable rather for a settled and agricultural people than for the life of the desert, and (2) that many of them are included, sometimes with important amendments, in the Book of Deuteronomy, whose central body of legislation is described 12^{1} under the double heading of 'Statutes and Judgements.' Deut is emphatic in its statement that nothing was publicly enjoined at Horeb but the Ten Words $5^{22\ 31}$ 6^{1}. It was pointed out by Kuenen that the author no doubt had some reason in the materials which he employed for placing his great reproduction of the Mosaic Teaching at the end of the wanderings under the slopes of Pisgah. Now his chief source of sacred law (so far as Pentateuch permits us to trace it) was the so-called Covenant-book. This, argued Kuenen, must once have stood in the position which Deut now occupies, at the close of Moses' life as the people prepared to quit the wilderness for the settled occupations of the land which was afterwards to bear their name. The partition of the Covenant-book of the older criticism into two unequal parts, does not affect Kuenen's suggestion. The 'Judgements' constituted the earliest summary of the Mosaic *Torah*, and may possibly have belonged to a hortatory address now superseded by Deut. That they, too, are due to an Elohistic source may be inferred from their use of the name Elohim $21^{6\ 13}$ $22^{8.\ 11}$ (𝔊 ^{28}, and other linguistic marks (such as the designation אמה for 'bondwoman' cp ^{JE}99, and the repeated use of the words בעל ^{JE}107 and דבר in the sense of 'matter' or 'cause' ^{JE}108. Bäntsch, indeed, argues that Ex 22^{9-12} is presupposed in Gen 31^{38-40} and must be attributed to J. But the plea is doubly precarious. The connexion between the two passages cannot be proved; and in the foregoing analysis of the Jacob-stories the verses in question are assigned to E. This suggestion affords no support, therefore, to the view (abandoned by Wellhausen and Driver) that the Judgement-book was derived from J. In the process of uniting JE with D, if the Judgement-book really did stand at the end, it became necessary to find another place for it, and it seemed most appropriately combined with the other brief collection of religious law in E, the Covenant-words at Horeb. Other suggestions perhaps deserve a passing mention. Thus Holzinger (*Hex* 179) proposes to connect it with Joshua's covenant at Shechem Josh 24^{25}. It might seem more natural to associate it with E's narrative of the institution of the Judges Ex 18, which represents Moses as already in possession of divine statutes and laws Ex 18^{16}, which could be taught to the people ^{20}. This narrative (it has been shown) is placed too soon; in its original position among the later Horeb scenes it might well have been preceded by a collection of regulations for judicial procedure, and the special warnings in $23^{1-3\ 6-8}$ would have been particularly apposite. Is it unreasonable to find a trace of such an arrangement in the language of Deut 1^{18}, which implies that the Mosaic teaching was not all postponed to the eve of the passage of the Jordan in the land of Moab? For a recent attempt to arrange the Words and Judgements in Decalogues, Pentades, and Triplets, cp Briggs, *Higher Criticism* 2 210–32. Some other scholars treat them as an expansion of the Decalogue Ex 20.

20^{22b} This verse (together with ^{23}) is often regarded as redactional. This view finds some support in the fact that different forms of the introductory words seem to have been extant. Thus Sam reads 'And Yahweh spake unto Moses saying, Speak unto the children of Israel': and 𝔊^{ABL} supply 'And Yahweh said unto Moses, Thus shalt thou say unto the house of Jacob, and tell the children of Israel' cp 19^{3}. In the 𝔖 text Kuenen thought he detected the traces of R^{D}'s hand cp Deut $4^{13\ 36}$, but the signs of D's influence cannot be said to be strong. More significant is the appearance of the name 'Yahweh,' discontinuous with the usage of $^{19-21}$, and the contrast of the plurals in ^{22}. with the singular in $^{24-26}$.

^{23} The verse is not free from difficulty. *RV* accepts the Hebrew punctuation according to which the first clause runs 'Ye shall not make with me': an object has then to be supplied, such as 'other gods' (Rothstein points to Lev 26^{1}). Briggs practically follows 𝔊 𝔔 and other ancient authorities, and renders 'Ye shall not make with me gods of silver,' 'and gods of gold ye shall not make you,' which he regards as the first and second commands of the first pentade. But this kind of repetition seems strangely feeble.

^{24} It may be doubted whether $^{24-26}$ is in its right place; it is unrepresented in J's Covenant-words. Budde (*ZATW* xi 228) suggests that it was originally part of the narrative of the institution of the sanctuary, which must have once followed

J E JE J E P

24b L_7a*h* b*c* p*a*
a' 24[5] 32[6] Deut 27[6]. Josh 8[31] cp 10[25] 18[12] Lev 17[8]
24c L_{10}a*c*
b' ℌ* Am 5[11] cp Deut 27[6]
c' Deut 27[5] ct ^{P}175
26 L_{11}f*a*
d' Ct 28[42]
a Ct Deut 6[1] 12[1]
2-11 L_2d*c*
2.. L_9j*b*
b 5 26. Deut 15[12. 18*]
c 11 Gen 29[15]
d ℌ†

e Cp 18[19] 22[8]
f Deut 15[17]
g Deut 15[17]†
7-11 L_1h*b*

h ℌ Qal* cp 2 Sam 20[6]= *appoint*
i ℌ* Hos 5[7] 6[7] Jer 3[20] *al*
j ℌ=*covering* 22[27] Gen 20[16]. Deut 22[12*]

12-14 L_2h*c*
k ℌ* 1 Sam 24[11]
l Cp ℌ Ps 91[10] Prov 12[21] 2 Kings 5[7]†
m Deut 1[43] 17[13] 18[20]
n Josh 9[4] Prov 1[4] 8[5] 12†
15-17 L_1b*ab*
16 L_2j*b*

o 22[28] ℌ=*revile* Lev 20[9]
18-27 L_2i*a*b*c*
p Is 58[4]†
q Num 21[18*]

20. L_2d*d* h*d*

make unto me, [L]and shalt [b]sacrifice thereon thy [a']burnt offerings, and thy [a']peace offerings, thy [i]sheep, and thine [i]oxen: [L]in every place where I [M]record my name I will come unto thee and I will bless thee. 25 And if thou make me an altar of stone, thou shalt not build it of [b']hewn stones: for if thou [c']lift up thy tool upon it, thou hast polluted it. 26 [L]Neither shalt thou go up by steps unto mine altar, that thy [d']nakedness be not discovered thereon.

21[1] Now [a]these are the judgements which thou shalt set before them.

2 [L]If thou buy an Hebrew [M]servant, six years he shall serve: and in the seventh he shall go out [b]free [c]for nothing. 3 If he come in [d]by himself, he shall go out [d]by himself: if he be [a]married, then his wife shall go out with him. 4 If his master give him a wife, and she bear him sons or daughters; the wife and her [b]children shall be her master's, and he shall go out [d]by himself. 5 But if the servant shall plainly say, I [c]love my master, my wife, and my children; I will not go out free: 6 then his master shall bring him [e]unto [M]God, and shall bring him to the [f]door, or unto the door post; and his master shall [d]bore his ear through with an [g]awl; and he shall serve him for ever.

7 [L]And if a man sell his daughter to be a [Md]maidservant, she shall not go out as the menservants do. 8 If she please not her master, [M]who hath espoused her to himself, then shall he let her be redeemed: to sell her unto a strange people he shall have no power, seeing he hath [i]dealt deceitfully with her. 9 And if he [h]espouse her unto his son, he shall deal with her after the manner of daughters. 10 If he take him another [wife]; her [M]food, her [j]raiment, and her [d]duty of marriage, shall he not diminish. 11 And if he do not these three unto her, then shall she go out [c]for nothing, without money.

12 [L]He that smiteth a man, so that he die, shall surely be put to death. 13 And if a man [k]lie not in wait, but God [l]deliver [him] into his hand; then I will appoint thee a place whither he shall flee. 14 And if a man come [m]presumptuously upon his [e]neighbour, to [f]slay him with [n]guile; thou shalt take him from mine altar, that he may die.

15 [L]And he that smiteth his father, or his mother, shall be surely put to death.

16 [NL]And he that [g]stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death.

17 And he that [Mo]curseth his father, or his mother, shall surely be put to death.

18 [L]And if men contend, and one smiteth the [e]other with a stone, or with his [p]fist, and he die not, but keep his bed: 19 if he rise again, and walk abroad upon his [q]staff, then shall he that smote him be quit: [h]only he shall pay for [M]the loss of his time, and shall cause him to be thoroughly healed.

20 [NL]And if a man smite [M]his servant, or his [d]maid, with a rod, and he die under his hand; he shall surely be punished. 21 Notwithstanding,

h 202
i 33
a 107
b 234
c 180
d 99
e 112[b]
f 210
g 117
h 189

33[6] and preceded the description of Moses' usage 33[7-11]. On the other hand D's version of the 'Statutes and Judgements' opens with a law defining the place where cultus is legitimate Deut 12[1..]; and a similar subject stands at the head of the Holiness-legislation Lev 17. These possibilities cannot be definitely decided: the transpositions and adjustments of the text which seem to have taken place on an extensive scale, make it impossible to recover the original openings either of the Covenant-words or of the Book of Judgements.

20[24] M Or, *cause my name to be remembered.*

21[1] Like other documents of the Hexateuch this early collection of laws has no doubt received editorial additions and amplifications. But it does not seem possible to distinguish the work of the first collector on his original materials from the amendments or expansions of later hands.

2 M Or, *bondman.* 6 M Or, *the judges.*—Cp 22[9 28].

7 M Or, *bondwoman.*

8 M Another reading is, *so that he hath not espoused her.*

10 M ℌ *flesh.*—Ct ^{P}95.

16 (𝔊 'he that stealeth a man of the children of Israel.' 𝔊 places 16 after 17 so as to join the two offences against parents in immediate succession. This may be due to an effort after symmetry, but it may possibly represent an earlier order. The introduction of 17 may be due to a scribal recollection of Lev 20[9].

17 M Or, *revileth.*

19 M ℌ *his sitting* or *ceasing.*

20a Budde suggests that the natural sequel of 18. is found in 23-25, while 20. should stand before 26. In 22 for נִפְלִים 'as the judges determine,' he would read נִפֶּלֶת 'for the miscarriage.'

20b M Or, *his bondman, or his bondwoman.*

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if he continue a day or two, he shall not [r]be punished: for he is his money.

22 And if men strive together, and [s]hurt a woman [t]with child, so that her [b]fruit depart, and yet no [u]mischief follow: he shall be surely [v]fined, according as the woman's [a]husband shall [i]lay upon him; and he shall pay as the [w]judges determine. 23 [L]But if any [u]mischief follow, then thou shalt give life for life, 24 [x]eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, 25 [d]burning for burning, [y]wound for wound, [y]stripe for stripe.

26 [L]And if a man smite the eye of his servant, or the eye of his [d]maid, and destroy it; he shall let him go [b]free for his eye's sake. 27 And if he smite out his manservant's tooth, or his [d]maidservant's tooth; he shall let him go [b]free for his tooth's sake.

28 [L]And if an ox [z]gore a man or a woman, that they die, the ox shall be surely [j]stoned, and his flesh shall not be eaten; but the [a]owner of the ox shall be quit. 29 But if the ox were [a']wont to gore [k]in time past, and it hath been testified to his [a]owner, and he hath not kept him in, but that he hath killed a man or a woman; the ox shall be [j]stoned, and his [a]owner also shall be put to death. 30 If there be [i]laid on him a [b']ransom, then he shall give for the [c']redemption of his life whatsoever is laid upon him. 31 [N]Whether he have [z]gored a son, or have gored a daughter, according to this judgement shall it be done unto him. 32 [L]If the ox [z]gore a manservant or a [d]maidservant; he shall give unto their master thirty shekels of silver, and the ox shall be [j]stoned.

33 And if a man shall open a pit, or if a man shall dig a pit and not cover it, and an ox or an ass fall therein, 34 the [a]owner of the pit shall make it good; he shall give money unto the [a]owner of them, and the dead [beast] shall be his.

35 And if one man's ox [s]hurt [e]another's, that he die; then they shall sell the live ox, and divide the price of it; and the dead also they shall divide. 36 Or if it be known that the ox was wont to gore [k]in time past, and his [a]owner hath not kept him in; he shall surely pay ox for ox, and the dead [beast] shall be his own.

22[1] [L]If a man shall [a]steal an ox, or a sheep, and [a]kill it, or sell it; he shall pay five oxen for an ox, and four sheep for a sheep.—2 [NL]If the [a]thief be found [b]breaking in, and be smitten that he die, there shall be no [M]bloodguiltiness for him. 3 If the sun be [c]risen upon him, there shall be bloodguiltiness for him:—he should make restitution; if he have nothing, then he shall be sold for his [a]theft. 4 If the [a]theft be found in his hand alive, whether it be ox, or ass, or sheep; he shall pay double. [2–3a]

5 [L]If a man shall cause a field or vineyard to be eaten, and shall let his [d]beast loose, and it feed in another man's field[N], of the [c]best of his own field, and of the best of his own vineyard, shall he make restitution.

6 If fire break out, and catch in [f]thorns, so that the [g]shocks of corn, or the [h]standing corn, or the field, be consumed; he that kindled the [i]fire shall surely make restitution.

7 [L]If a man shall deliver unto his [b]neighbour money or stuff to keep, and it be [a]stolen out of the man's house; if the [a]thief be found, he shall pay double. 8 [L]If the [a]thief be not found, then the [c]master of the house shall [j]come near unto [M]God, [to see] whether he have not [d]put his hand unto his neighbour's goods. 9 For every [e]matter of [f]trespass, whether it be for ox, for ass, for sheep, for [k]raiment, [or] for any manner of [l]lost thing,

r ℌ Hoph Gen 4[15 24]†
s 35 32[35] Josh 24[5] cp 8[2]
t Gen 16[11]
u 23 Gen 42[4]
v Deut 22[19*]
w Deut 32[31] Job 31[11]†
23–25 L4e*a*
x Lev 24[20]
y Gen 4[23*]
26. L2d*c*
28–36 L3d*a*
z 31. Qal† cp Deut 33[17*]
a′ 36 ℌ†
b′ 30[12] Num 35[31.*]
c′ Ps 49[8]†
32 L2d*f*
1–4 L3a*b*
a Gen 43[16]
2. L2h*c*
b Jer 2[34]†
c Gen 32[31]
5. L3d*b*
d Gen 45[17]
e Gen 47[6a]
f Gen 3[18*]
g ℌ* Judg 15[5]
h Deut 16[9] 23[25*]
i ℌ†
7–13 L3e*a*
8. L4b*a*
j ℌ=*bz brought near* Josh 7[14] Niph†
k 26 Deut 24[13] 29[5] Josh 9[5 13] 22[8*]
l Lev 6[3.] Deut 22[3]†

1 [ℌ 21[37]] a 117
2 [ℌ 22[1]]
b 112[b]
c 107
d 205[b]
e 108
f 223

21[31] The distinction between members of the family and slaves in [31.] may be later (cp the peculiar formula of reference [31]) than the general law in [29.]. The analogy of [32] suggests that [31] began with כי 'if,' instead of ואם, and 𝔊 reads ἐὰν δέ as in [30 32].

22[2a] A slight displacement has probably occurred here. The case of the housebreaker who is killed in resistance to his burglarious act [2–3a] interrupts the enunciation of the principle of restitution by a cattle-lifter [1 3b 4]. Obviously the thief who perishes in [2] cannot be called upon for reparation in [3]. The rule in [2 3a] seems to belong to an independent group, of which, however, no other member can now be traced.

[2b] M ℌ *blood.*

[5] 𝔊 and Sam agree in dividing this case into two, adding as the sequel to [5a] and the introduction to [5b] 'he shall pay well (for it) from his field according to its produce; and if it eats the whole field up,' ···.

[8] M Or, *the judges.*—Cp 21[6].

J E JE J E P

whereof one saith, This is it, the [e]cause of both parties shall come before [M]God; he whom [M]God shall condemn shall pay double unto his neighbour.
10 If a man deliver unto his [b]neighbour an ass, or an ox, or a sheep, or any beast, to keep; and it die, or be hurt, or driven away, no man seeing it: 11 the oath of [N]Yahweh shall be between them both, whether he hath not [d]put his hand unto his neighbour's goods; and the [e]owner thereof shall accept it, and he shall not make restitution. 12 But if it be [a]stolen from him, he shall make restitution unto the [e]owner thereof.
13 If it be [m]torn in pieces, let him bring it for [n]witness; he shall not make good that which was [o]torn.
14 [L]And if a man [M]borrow aught of his [b]neighbour, and it be hurt, or die, the [e]owner thereof not being with it, he shall surely make restitution. 15 If the [e]owner thereof be with it, he shall not make it good: if it be an hired thing, [M]it came for its hire.
16 [L]And if a man [p]entice a virgin that is not [q]betrothed, and lie with her, he shall surely [i]pay a dowry for her to be his wife. 17 If her father utterly [g]refuse to give her unto him, he shall pay money according to the dowry of virgins[N].
18 [L]Thou shalt not suffer a [r]sorceress to live.
19 [L]Whosoever lieth with a beast shall surely be put to death.
20 [L]He that sacrificeth unto any god, [h]save unto Yahweh [i]only, shall be [t]devoted. 21a [L]And a stranger shalt thou not [s]wrong, neither shalt thou [t]oppress him:
21b [N]*for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt.* 22 *Ye shall not afflict any [u]widow, or fatherless child.*
23 If thou afflict [N]them in any wise, and they [j]cry at all unto me, I will surely hear their [k]cry;
24 *and my [l]wrath shall wax hot, and I will [m]kill you with the sword; and your wives shall be [u]widows, and your children [u]fatherless.*
25 [L]If thou [v]lend money to any of my people with thee that is poor, thou shalt not be to him as a [w]creditor, [NL]*neither shall ye lay upon him [x]usury.* 26 If thou at all take thy neighbour's [k]garment to [y]pledge, thou shalt restore it unto him by that the sun goeth down: 27 for that is his [i]only [z]covering, it is his [n]garment for his skin: wherein shall he sleep? and it shall come to pass, when he [j]crieth unto me, that I will hear; for I am [a']gracious.
28 [L]Thou shalt not [b']revile [N]God, [L]nor curse a [c']ruler of thy people.
29 [NL]Thou shalt not delay [to offer of] [M]the [d']abundance of thy fruits, and [i]of thy liquors. [L]The [e']firstborn of thy sons shalt thou give unto me.
30 [L]Likewise shalt thou do with thine oxen, [and] with thy sheep: seven days it shall be with its dam; on the eighth day thou shalt give it me.
31 [NL]And ye shall be [f']holy men unto me: [L]therefore ye shall not eat any flesh that is [o]torn of beasts in the field; ye shall cast it to the dogs.
23[1] [L]Thou shalt not take up a [a]false [b]report: [a]put not thine hand with the [b]wicked to be an unrighteous [c]witness. 2 [L]Thou shalt not [d]follow a multitude to do evil; neither shalt thou [M]speak in a cause to turn aside after a multitude to [e]wrest [judgement]: 3 neither shalt thou [f]favour a [g]poor man in his cause.

m Gen 37[33b]
n 23[1] Gen 31[44]
o [31] Gen 31[39]
14. [L]3f*a*
16 [L]1j*b*
p Cp Deut 11[16]
q Deut 22[28]
18 [L]5j*b*
r Cp 7[11] Deut 18[10]*
19 [L]1l*b*
20 [L]5a*g*
21-24 [L]2a*b*
s Lev 19[33] 25[14 17] Deut 23[16]*
t 3[9] 23[9] Num 22[25]*
u Cp [D]10[5]
25-27 [L]3f*b*
v ℌ Hiph Deut 28[12] 44*
w Deut 24[11]
25b [L]3k*a*
x Lev 25[36]. Deut 23[20]*
y Deut 24[6 17]*
z 21[10]
a' 34[6]*
28a [L]5c*b*
b' 21[17]
28b [L]1a*b*
c' Cp [P]12[6]
29a [L]8c*c*
d' Num 18[27] Deut 22[9]†
29b [L]8a*c*
e' Cp 13[1 12]
30 [L]8b*d*
31a [L]11*f*
f' Cp 19[6] Deut 14[21]
31b [L]6c*a*
1 [L]4f*b*
a 20[7]
b Gen 29[13]
c Cp 20[16]
2. [L]4c*a*
d Cp 2 Sam 2[10] 1 Kings 16[21] ℌ
e 26 Deut 16[19]
f Lev 19[15b] 32*
g 30[15] Lev 14[21] 19[15*]

a 194
b 231
g 197
h 138
i 125
j 141
k 23
l 233
m 210
n 161

22[9ab] **M** Or, *the judges.*—'Condemn' cp Deut 25[1]*.
11 (𝔊) *God.* 14 **M** ℌ *ask.*—Cp 3[22] 11[2] 12[35].
15 **M** Or, *it is reckoned in* (ℌ *cometh into*) *its hire.*
17 At this point the collection of technical 'Judgements' comes to an end. The precepts that follow form a kind of supplement into which various social and moral exhortations have found their way, concluding with warnings against the perversion of justice 23[6–8] not inappropriate to those who would be expected to frame their decisions on the basis of the preceding code.
20 So **M** ℌ. **T** *utterly destroyed.* See Lev 27[29].—Cp [D]35.
21b The following clauses differ in style from the context, partly owing to the use of the plural for the singular verb, partly to the explanation in 21b cp Deut 10[19] 24[18 22] Lev 19[34], partly to the threats of divine anger 23. They are regarded with much plausibility as hortatory expansions cp 25b 31 23[9b 13].
23 ℌ *him* as in 21a and so throughout 23.
25 Probably a gloss on the preceding rule.
28 **M** Or, *the judges.*
29a From the collection of Covenant-words cp 20[22N].
29b **M** ℌ *thy fulness and thy tear.*
31 The plural verb here again excites suspicion cp 27N, though it is required by the word 'men.' But a parallel (though not identical) passage is found in Deut 14[21], where it is followed by the equivalent of 23[29b]. It is possible, as Bacon has suggested, that 29–31 originally belonged to 23[18–19a], but suffered displacement when the close of the Covenant-words of **E** was harmonized with the covenant of **J** 34[25]. (see table 20[22N]).
23[2] **M** Or, *bear witness.*

J	E	JE	J	E	P	
		[4] [NL]If thou meet thine enemy's ox or his ass [h]going astray, thou shalt surely bring it back to him again. [5] If thou see the ass of him that [c]hateth thee [d]lying under his burden, [M]and wouldest forbear to help him, thou shalt surely help with him.			c	167
		[6] [L]Thou shalt not [e]wrest the judgement of thy [j]poor in his cause. [7] Keep thee far from a false [d]matter; and the innocent and [e]righteous [f]slay thou not: [M]for I will not [e]justify the [b]wicked. [8] And thou shalt take no [k]gift: for a gift [l]blindeth them that have [m]sight, and [l]perverteth the [M]words of the [e]righteous. [9a] [L]And a [n]stranger shalt thou not oppress: [9b] *for [g]ye know the heart of a stranger, seeing ye were strangers in the land of Egypt.*			d e f g	108 199 210 174
		[10] [L]And six years thou shalt sow thy land, and shalt gather in the increase thereof: [11] but the seventh year thou shalt [M]let it rest and [o]lie fallow; that the [j]poor of thy people may eat: and what they leave the beast of the field shall eat. In like manner thou shalt deal with thy vineyard, [and] with thy oliveyard. [12] [L]Six days thou shalt do thy [p]work, and on the seventh day thou shalt [M]rest: [q]that thine ox and thine ass may have rest, and the son of thy [h]handmaid, and the stranger, may be [r]refreshed.			h	99
		[13] [NL]*And in all things that I have said unto you [s]take ye heed: and [t]make no mention of the name of other gods, neither let it be heard out of thy mouth.*				
		[14] Three [u]times thou shalt [v]keep a feast unto me in the year. [15] [L]The feast of unleavened bread shalt thou keep: [N]seven days thou shalt eat unleavened bread, as I commanded thee, at the time appointed in the month Abib (for in it thou camest out from Egypt); [L]and none shall [i]appear before me empty: [16] [L]and the feast of [w]harvest, the firstfruits of thy labours, which thou sowest in the field: [L]and the feast of [x]ingathering, at the end of the year, when thou gatherest in thy labours out of the field. [17] [N]Three times in the year all thy males shall [i]appear before the Lord.			i	203
		[18] [NL]Thou shalt not [y]offer the blood of my sacrifice with leavened bread; [L]neither shall the fat of my feast [j]remain all night until the morning. [19] [NL]The [z]first of the firstfruits of thy ground thou shalt bring into the house of Yahweh thy God. [NL]Thou shalt not [z]seethe a kid in its mother's milk.			j	178
		[20] [N]Behold, I [a']send an [k]angel before thee, to keep thee by the way,			k	97

23[4] The laws in [4-] curiously interrupt the sequence of precepts on the impartial administration of justice; either they have been incorporated after this group had been formed, or [6-9] is a postscript from another source cp [6] with [2-], [7] with [1], and [9] with 22^{21}.

[-5] **M** Or, *and wouldest forbear to release* it *for him, thou shalt surely release* it *with him.*

[7] **G** *and thou shalt not justify the wicked for the sake of gifts.*

[8] **M** Or, *cause.*—Cp [JE]108.

[11] **M** Or, *release it and let it lie fallow.* See Deut 15^{2}.

[12] **M** Or, *keep sabbath.*—The passage which follows may be a later amplification cp Deut 5^{14}.

[13] This verse is generally recognized as a conclusion left stranded by successive manipulations of the text. In its present form it shows the influence of **R**; but [13b] seems originally to have been parallel to 34^{14}; Sam reads 'make thou no mention' for **G** 'make ye.'

[15] This passage, interrupting the grammatical sequence of [15a] [16], seems to have been derived word for word from 34^{18} [20]. The words 'as I commanded thee' apparently refer to 13^{6}··, and are in their proper place in **J**'s covenant, but cannot be original in **E**.

[17] Another incorporation by the harmonist from 34^{23}: the precept is not needed after [14].

[18] Parallel to 34^{25}, but probably independent of it: **J** limits the rule to the Passover.

[19a] Identical with 34^{26}. The law seems already covered by 22^{29}.

[19b] Probably original to **E** as well as to **J**. Cp 22^{31N}.

[20] The following exhortation seems in the main to belong to **E**, though it has received considerable additions from the Deuteronomic school [23-25a] [27] [31b-33]. It may, however, be doubted whether it is in its right place here. Does it belong to the 'Judgements' or to the 'Words'? On the one hand the Covenant in 34^{10-27} closes with the command in [19b]: on the other hand the analogy of the discourses in Deut 28 and Lev 26 suggests that the Book of Judgements may have concluded with a similar utterance of warning and hope. But, again, it may be urged that if the Covenant-words be limited to the original text of 22^{29-31} 23^{10-19}, they form after all only a one-sided bond: they enumerate the obligations of Israel but contain no declaration of the promise of Yahweh. Such a promise would naturally follow the commands; and a prospective hortatory discourse, therefore, concludes the Mosaic Covenant-words of Horeb much as a similar retrospective discourse is connected with Joshua's covenant at Shechem Josh 24. In this view the unexpanded original of [20-33] is an integral part of the Covenant-record. In that case, however, it may be observed that it is at present placed too soon. The opening reference to the departure of Israel [20] seems premature, when Moses has not yet even received the tables bearing the Ten Words of 20^{1-17}. Bacon therefore argues that the whole of **E**'s Covenant-story belongs to a later stage of the Horeb incidents, and originally immediately preceded Israel's start upon the march; see 34^{28N}. Another combination seems also possible. The language of [20-22] points to a permanent guide, which would be in continual legislative relations with the people ([22a] 'I speak'='I shall speak' **G**). It is natural to connect such a representative Presence with the sanctuary, which became the centre of judicial as well as religious functions cp 33^{7} 18^{19}. If it may be

J E JE J E P

and to bring thee into the place which I have [b']prepared. 21 [s]Take ye heed of him, and [l]hearken unto his voice; [M]provoke him not: for he will not [c']pardon your [m]transgression; for my name is in him. 22 [N]But if thou shalt indeed [l]hearken unto [N]his voice, and do all that I speak; then I [d']will be an enemy unto thine enemies, and an [e']adversary unto thine adversaries.

23 [N]*For mine* [k]*angel shall go before thee, and* [f']*bring thee in unto the* [g']*Amorite, and the Hittite, and the Perizzite, and the Canaanite, the Hivite, and the Jebusite: and I will* [h']*cut them off.* 24 [L]*Thou shalt not* [i']*bow down to their gods, nor* [j']*serve them, nor do after their works:* [L]*but thou shalt utterly* [j']*overthrow them, and* [k']*break in pieces their* [M]*pillars.* 25a *And ye shall* [l']*serve Yahweh* [m']*your God.*

25b And [N]he shall bless thy bread, and thy water; and I will take [m']sickness away from the midst of thee. 26 There shall none [n]cast her young, nor be [o']barren, in thy land: the number of thy days I will fulfil. 27 [N]*I will send my* [p']*terror before thee, and will* [q']*discomfit all the people to whom thou shalt come, and I will make all thine enemies turn their* [r']*backs unto thee.*

28 And I will send the [s']hornet before thee, which shall [t']drive out [N]the Hivite, the Canaanite, and the Hittite, from before thee. 29 I will not [t']drive them out from before thee in one year; lest the land become [u']desolate, and the beast of the field multiply against thee. 30 By [v']little and little I will [t']drive them out from before thee, until thou be [w']increased, and inherit the land. 31a And I will [a]set thy border [x']from the Red Sea even unto the sea of the Philistines, and from the wilderness unto [M]the River:

31b [L]*for I will* [y']*deliver the inhabitants of the land into your hand; and thou shalt* [o]*drive them out before thee.* 32 *Thou shalt* [z']*make no covenant with them, nor with their gods.* 33 *They shall not dwell in thy land, lest they* [a'']*make thee sin against me: for if thou* [b'']*serve their gods, it will surely be a* [c'']*snare unto thee.*

24[1] [N]And he said unto Moses, [a]Come up unto Yahweh, thou, and Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, and [b]seventy of the [a]elders of Israel; and [c]worship ye [d]afar off: [2] and Moses [b]alone shall [e]come near unto [N]Yahweh; but they shall not come near; neither shall the people go up with him.

P: 1 44[b] m 223 n 98 o 148 a 151 b 125

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b' Num 23[1] Josh 4[4] *al*
c' Gen 50[17] Josh 24[19]
d' ℌ†
e' Deut 2[9] 20[12 19]
f' Cp [D]24
g' 3[8]
h' Cp 9[15] ct 29. 24a [L]5a*i*
i' 20[5] cp [D]23[a] 24b [L]5e*b*
j' 15[7]
k' ℌ=*dash* 34[13] Deut 7[5] 12[3]
l' Cp [D]23[c]
m' Cp [D]1[a]
n' 15[26]*
o' Gen 11[30] Deut 7[14]
p' Gen 15[12]
q' 14[24]
r' Josh 7[8 12]
s' Deut 7[20] Josh 24[12]†
t' 6[1]
u' Lev 26[33] Josh 8[28]*
v' Deut 7[22]†
w' ℌ=*fruitful* Gen 26[22]
x' Cp Gen 15[18] Deut 11[24]
31b-33 [L]5d*c*
y' Cp [D]52
z' 34[12] cp 18*l*
a'' Deut 24[4] 1 Kings 14[16] 15[26 30 34] &c
b'' Cp [D]23[b]
c'' 34[12] Deut 7[16] Josh 23[13] ct Ex 10[7]*
a 19[24] cp 9 ct 12 15a
b Ct Num 11[16. 24.]
c Gen 22[5]
d Gen 22[4]
e 19[22]

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conjectured from 20[24–26] 33[7]. · that **E** contained a small corpus of sanctuary records, legislative and narrative, this discourse may have belonged originally to the description of the original Tent of Meeting, and the arrangements for the intercourse of Yahweh with his people.

23[21] **M** Or, *be not rebellious against him.*—ℌ Hiph*.

22a On (𝔊)'s addition of 19[5]· here, see 19[3N].

22b (𝔊) *my voice.*

23 This passage does not seem to belong to the context where it interrupts the enunciation of the divine promises to Israel [22 25b 26]; the demand for the destruction of the consecrated pillars can hardly proceed from the writer who immediately after describes Moses as erecting twelve 24[4], and who narrated the origin of the pillars at Bethel and Galeed Gen 28[13] 31[45]; while the affinities of language with **D** point clearly to editorial amplification.

24 **M** Or, *obelisks.* See Lev 26[1] 2 Kings 3[2].

25 (𝔊 𝔘 *I will bless.* This reading seems to preserve the original continuity of [22 25b] cp [23N].

27 Apparently a duplicate of [28].

28 This summary of the hostile nations under these three names does not occur elsewhere. (𝔊 reads first *the Amorite.* It has been conjectured that this was **E**'s original designation cp [JE]96, and that the names now in the text are due to the harmonist, cp 3[8N]. The pronoun 'them' in [23]· is singular in ℌ.

31 **M** That is, the Euphrates.

24[1] The opening words in ℌ 'and to Moses he said' suggest at once the presence of a new source, for the whole preceding section 20[22–23] has been addressed to Moses. The instructions in [1] are carried out in [9–11], while the account of the intervening Covenant-ceremony [3–8] completes the narrative of 20[18]· ·. It is usually supposed that Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu correspond to the 'priests' of 19[22] **J** (Sam adds *Eleazar and Ithamar*), whereas **E** describes Moses as performing the Covenant-sacrifice with the aid of certain 'young men' [5], cp the designation of Joshua as sanctuary-servant 33[11]. The amalgamation of the two narratives here is probably due to the harmonist's perception that 24[1. 9–11] formed the counterpart in **J** of the Covenant-feast in [3–8]. As this could only have been celebrated once, it was necessary to combine the accounts of **J** and **E** if they were both to be retained. Dillmann believes that touches from **J** are to be discovered in [4a] (cp 34[27]) [7 8b]: but this view has not found any general support. The hand of the editor who combined the 'Judgements' with the 'Words' may be seen in [3]. Kuenen, however, followed by Cornill, assigns [1. 9–11] to **E**[1] (cp *Elohim* [11]), but recognizes that [3–8] belong to another narrative. On the place which he provides for it see 34[28cN]. Other critics, like Budde, have ascribed [1. 9–11] fundamentally to **E**, but have recognized foreign elements in them. Kittel even suggests the possible presence of **P**. The names of Nadab and Abihu are found elsewhere only in **P**; and in [10] the expressions 'God of Israel' and 'very (עֶצֶם) heaven' show affinities with his vocabulary, while 'nobles' [11] occurs only once besides in an exilian passage. But the names of Aaron's sons may have belonged to the older tradition; and **P** nowhere relates any such vision of Deity.

2 (𝔊 reads *God* cp [11].

J E JE J E P

3-8 $L_{11}l^{c}$
f 19⁸

g 17¹⁴ cp 34²⁷
4a $L_{10}d^{j}$
4b $L_{5}g^{f}$
h Gen 28¹⁸ ct 23²⁴
i Ct $P_{18}r$
5 $L_{11}a^{g}h^{a}$
j Ct 19²²
k 20²⁴ cp 18¹²
l Is 22²⁴ Cant 7³†
m 8 cp $P_{14}8$
n Ct 34²⁷
o ℌ=*ears* 11²
p Cp 8b

3 [L]And Moses came and [c]told the people all the words of Yahweh, and all the judgements: and [f]all the people answered with one voice, and said, [f]All the words which Yahweh hath spoken will we do. 4 [N]And Moses [g]wrote all the words of Yahweh, and [d]rose up early in the morning, and [e]builded an [L]altar under the mount, and [L]twelve [h]pillars, [i]according to the twelve tribes of Israel. 5 [L]And he sent [f]young men of the children of Israel, [j]which [g]offered [k]burnt offerings, and sacrificed [k]peace offerings of oxen unto Yahweh. 6 And Moses took half of the blood, and put it in [l]basons; and half of the blood he [m]sprinkled on the altar. 7 And he took the [n]book of the covenant, and read in the [o]audience of the people: and they said, [p]All that Yahweh hath spoken will we do, and be obedient. 8 And Moses took the blood, and [m]sprinkled it on the people, and said, Behold the blood of the covenant, which Yahweh hath [h]made with you [M]concerning all these [N]words. h 181

9 Then [a]went up Moses, and Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, and seventy of the [a]elders of Israel: 10 and they saw the [q]God of Israel; and there was under his feet as it were [M]a paved work of sapphire stone, and as it were the [r]very heaven for [s]clearness. 11 And upon the [t]nobles of the children of Israel he [i]laid not his hand: and they [u]beheld God, and did [v]eat and drink. i 205ᵇ

12 And Yahweh said unto Moses, Come up to me into the mount, and be there: and I will give thee the [w]tables of stone, [N]and the law and the commandments, which I have written, that thou mayest [x]teach them. 13 And Moses [j]rose up, and Joshua his [k]minister: [N]and Moses went up into the [l]mount of God. 14 [L]And he said unto the [N]elders, [y]Tarry ye [m]here for us, until we come again unto you: and, behold, [z]Aaron and Hur are with you: whosoever [n]hath a [o]cause, let him come near unto them. 15a And Moses went up into the mount, j 128 k 109 l 105 m 168 n 107 o 108

15b [N]And the cloud [a′]covered the mount. 16 And the [p]glory of Yahweh [q]abode upon mount [r]Sinai, and the cloud covered it six days: and the seventh day he called unto Moses out of the midst of the cloud. 17 And the [b′]appearance of the [p]glory of Yahweh was like devouring fire on the top of the mount in the eyes of the children of Israel. 18a And Moses entered into the midst of the cloud, and went up into the mount: p 79 q 54 r 7

18b and Moses was in the mount [c′]forty days and forty nights.

25 1 [NL]And Yahweh [a]spake unto Moses, saying, 2 [b]Speak unto the children a 185¹ b 185ᵇ

a' 40³⁴ Num 9¹⁵.
b' Cp Ezek 1²⁷.
c' Deut 9⁹ 11 cp 34²⁸
25-28 $L_{11}l^{y}$
1-9 $L_{12}8^{a}$

24⁴ This passage has occasionally been combined with 34²⁷ as the sequel of Yahweh's Covenant with Israel 34¹⁰⁻²⁷. The repetitions in the text are certainly noteworthy: in 3 Moses recites the Words to the people and they unanimously promise obedience to them: in 7 they are solemnly read out of the Covenant-book, and a similar promise follows. Are these parts of one narrative? The mention of the sacred pillars in 4 has usually been regarded as decisive in favour of **E**. But it will be noticed that they are introduced without a verb: the term 'built' is nowhere applied to pillars, which are said to be 'set up' Gen 28¹⁸ 31⁴⁵ 35¹⁴; nor are altars and pillars ever said to be erected together. Is it possible that there are here traces of combination to which we may also owe the doublets in 3 and 7?

8a **M** Or, *upon all these conditions.*

8b Are these the 'Words' of 4, or (as some critics suppose) the Decalogue of 20¹⁻¹⁷?

10 **M** Or, *work of bright sapphire.*—ℌ†.

12 This clause can hardly be original in its present form, as there is nowhere any mention of any law or commandment written by God except the Ten Words, which would hardly be described in these terms. 𝔊 and Sam omit *and*. It is possible that the order may have become confused, and that the words 'which I have written' should immediately follow the 'tables of stone' cp 32¹⁵., but such a combination seems hardly natural. The phrase as it now stands may have been expanded from a shorter one on the basis of Deut 5²⁷. The word 'teach' is not the Deuteronomic *limmēd* cp P_{71}^{b}, but *horah* cp Deut 17¹⁰. 24⁸ 33¹⁰ Lev 10¹¹, from which the term *torah* 'law' (teaching) is derived.

13 This statement seems premature, as in 14 Moses addresses the 'elders' (?) who are left below, with Aaron and Hur at their head, to carry on the judicial work which Moses had hitherto superintended (cp Ex 18¹²ᴺ). The repetition of Moses' ascent in 15a shows that either 13a is an accidental anticipation, or 14. is an afterthought from another hand.

14 The 'elders' here named cannot be the seventy 9 who are already on the mountain. If the word is original, the elders must be addressed as representatives of the people cp 3¹⁶ 4²⁹. It has been suggested, however, that it is due either to accidental reminiscence in copying or perhaps to intentional harmonizing, and replaces the 'people.'

15b At this point the narrative of **P** interrupted in 19² is resumed: in 15a-17 the great manifestation on the mount is described in his peculiar terms, and the way is prepared for the corpus of **P**'s Sinaitic legislation, beginning with the Dwelling, its sacred furniture and vessels, and its priests. In the following analysis the linguistic affinities with the general matter of **P** (both in narrative and laws) are briefly indicated, but many technical terms in the description of the fabric and its contents remain unnoticed, as no critical questions in any way depend on them for solution. The repetitions of the different sections constituting 25-31 will be found tabulated under 35¹.

25¹ The conception of the Dwelling and its furniture, together with the appointment of the Aaronic priesthood to

JE | P

of Israel, that they take for me an [Mc]offering: [N]of every man whose heart [a]maketh him willing ye shall take my [c]offering. 3 And [d]this is the [c]offering which ye shall take of them; gold, and silver, and brass; 4 and [b]blue, and [c]purple, and [d]scarlet, and [M]fine linen, and goats' [hair]; 5 and rams' skins dyed red, and [M]sealskins, and acacia wood; 6 [Ne]oil for the [e]light, [f]spices for the [g]anointing oil, and for the [f]sweet incense; 7 [M]onyx stones, and stones [h]to be set, for the [g]ephod, and for the [i]breastplate. 8 [L]And [N]let them make me a [h]sanctuary; that I may [i]dwell [j]among them. 9 According to [j]all that [k]I shew thee[j], the [k]pattern of the [T]Dwelling, and the pattern of all the furniture thereof, [N]even so shall ye make it.

10 [L]And [N]they shall make an [l]ark of acacia wood: two cubits and a half shall be the [m]length thereof, and a cubit and a half the [m]breadth thereof, and a cubit and a half the [m]height thereof. 11 And thou shalt overlay it with [l]pure gold, [n]within and without[n] shalt thou overlay it, and shalt make upon it a [M]crown of gold round about. 12 And thou shalt [m]cast four rings of gold for it, and put them in the four feet thereof; and two rings shall be on the one [M]side of it, and two rings on the other [M]side of it. 13 And thou shalt make staves of acacia wood, and overlay them with gold. 14 And thou shalt put the staves into the rings on the sides of the ark, to bear the ark withal.

a 35[21 29] Qal†
b Num 4[6] 15[38] Ezek 23[6] 27[7]
c Num 4[13] Ezek 27[7]
d Lev 14[4] Num 4[8] 19[6]
e 27[20]
f 30[23] 35[8]* 1 Kings 10[2] *al*
g 29[1] 30[25] &c (23)† cp P**23**
h 28[17]
i 28· 35 39 Lev 8[8]†
8· L**10**a*b*d
j Ezek 40[4] cp Ex 25[40] 26[30] 27[8] Num 8[4]
k [40] Josh 22[28] ct Deut 4[16–18]* Ezek 8[3] 10[8]
10–21 L**12c** 10c*c*
l Ct Deut 10[1 3]
m Gen 6[15]
n Gen 6[14] cp 26[33 35] 27[21] 40[22] Lev 16[2]

c 118[5]
d 188[b]
e 104
f 95[b]
g 59
h 91
i 54
j 22
k 94
l 42[b]
m 128

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minister in it, is universally recognized as the centre of P's representations of the Mosaic institutions. The whole section 25–31[18a] is bound together by numerous links of thought and language, which serve in like manner to establish connexions with the rest of P's narrative and legislation (see the margins). Yet this passage plainly falls apart into two uneven divisions at 29[45]·: the character of the series of paragraphs in 30–31[11] is discussed in the notes *in loc.* But the constitution of 25–29 also demands attention. Here likewise there appear occasional signs of supplemental handiwork, see notes on 27[20] 28[25 41] 29[21 38]. But behind these lies the curious fact that in 25–27[19] the sanctuary is always called the 'Dwelling' P**54**, while in 28–29 this name is replaced by the older term 'Tent of Meeting' cp 33[7] (*Introd* VIII i **2**, XII 2ε). The title 'Dwelling' is of course freely used in the great repetition Ex 35–40, but the main portions of the Priestly Law in Lev ignore it. In Lev 8[10] 17[4] its appearance is due to the harmonist: in 15[31] 26[11] it seems to denote not the visible fabric but the ideal presence of Yahweh with his people. Similarly the allusions to the court in Lev 6[16 26] may be regarded as glosses. In the regulations for the annual atonement ceremony Lev 16 the name is avoided, though the Tent of Meeting is curiously said [16] to 'dwell' with Israel in the midst of their uncleannesses, and the references to the Testimony, the ark, and the 'covering' agree with the description in Ex 25. The Dwelling becomes again prominent in the arrangements for the Camp and its removal Num 1[48]·· 3–4 9–10 (cp 16· 31[30 47]). The absence of the term from the Priestly Law proper, which is usually based on the older name 'Tent of Meeting,' is highly significant (in Lev 17[4–6 9] 19[21] there is reason to suspect editorial redaction; P[h] prefers 'sanctuary' Lev 19[30] 20[3] 21[12 23] 26[2 31], but it is doubtful whether in all these passages the word can be restricted to the meaning 'holy place' cp P**91**). This regular preference for different terms in different groups of passages, must have some cause, and suggests that the account of the Dwelling and its place in the centre of the camp has been substituted for an older delineation of the Tent of Meeting. Delicate indications of this may perhaps be found in the fact that Ex 29[42] represents the entrance of the Tent as the meeting-place between Yahweh and Moses 'to speak there unto thee' cp 33[9]·, whereas in 25[22] the meeting place is before the ark containing the Testimony, and Yahweh speaks from between the two cherubim on the covering above. This is indeed recognized in Lev 16[2], yet the same passage neglects the fundamental distinction of Ex 26[33]· and still calls the shrine of Yahweh's appearing the 'holy place.' It seems not impossible, therefore, that Ex 25–27[19] with its connected sections elsewhere may have been elaborated on the basis of an older account of the Tent of Meeting which preceded the institution of the Aaronic priesthood. It can hardly have belonged to P[h] which afterwards ignores it, though the close in Ex 29[43–46] is not without affinities with that collection. [In the description of the Dwelling it may be noted that the Tables bearing the Ten Words are designated as the 'Testimony' P**161**, and the ark which holds them is the 'ark of the Testimony' instead of the ark of Yahweh or of the covenant. The term 'covenant,' however, appears in 𝔊 Ex 27[21] 31[7] 38[15] (ℌ 39[35]) cp Josh 4[16]. Allowance must be made for accident or carelessness on the part of copyist or translator, especially in passages which on other grounds cannot be regarded as original; but there remains some possibility of genuine variation which may be due to differences in the incorporation of materials of different dates.] But Ex 25–27[19] still shows some further peculiarities. The form of 25[2b–7] is that of an exhortation to the people by Moses, 'ye shall take' cp 35[5] (in [3] for 'of them' read 'of you'). This breaks the connexion of [2a] and [8] according to our present ℌ, though in [8] 𝔊 reads 'thou shalt make.' In [9] the pattern has yet to be shown to Moses, while in [40] 26[30] 27[8] the vision is apparently over. On the signification of the parallel with Ezek 40[4] cp *Introd* XIII 3ζ i 130: the perfects in the subsequent passages may be fairly interpreted as *futura exacta*, 'when Moses has descended from the mountain he is to conform to what "will have been revealed" to him' Kuenen, *Hex* 74, cp Driver, *Tenses in Hebrew*[3] § 17, Ges-Kautzsch, *Hebr Gram* (Collins and Cowley 1898) pp 324 328 cp 408. It does not seem necessary, therefore, to resort to hypotheses either (1) of displacement (as though much of the instructions now given to Moses on the mount originally belonged to the period after his descent 34[29]··), or (2) of duplicate records, one of the vision and another of commands founded on the vision, cp Klostermann, *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschr* (1897) 318. The general view indicated above finds unexpected support in Klostermann's elaborate essay, which contains many interesting textual suggestions. But his interpretation of Ex 33[7]·· as the account of a single incident 245, and his ascription of the sections on the Dwelling to the age of Solomon 383, do not seem in any way tenable. Cp Nowack, *Archäol* ii 53··, and Benzinger, *Archäol* 395··.

25[2a] **M** Or, *heave offering.*

[2b] On the possibility that [2b–7] is not original cp [1N].

[4] **M** Or, *cotton.*—Cp Gen 41[42] Ezek 16[10] 27[7].

[5] **M** Or, *porpoise-skins.*—Cp Num 4[6] Ezek 16[10].

[6] 𝔊 omits. The references to supplemental passages, anointing oil 30[22–33], sweet incense 30[34–38], show that the verse has been inserted for completeness by a later hand.

[7] **M** Or, *beryl.*—Cp 28[9 20] 35 39 Gen 2[12] Ezek 28[13] Job 28[16] 1 Chron 29[2]†.

[8] 𝔊 *and thou shalt make . . . and I will appear among you.* Cp 29[45] Ezek 37[26–28].

[9a] So **M** ℌ. **T** *tabernacle.* Cp 54[ab].

[9b] The grammatical difficulty involved in the ו 'even,' may possibly be overcome if this clause (notice the plural) could be regarded as a fragment from the address in [2b–7]. 𝔊 reads more simply, 'thus shalt thou make it'; Sam also makes the verb singular, but retains the difficult ו. Cp however Driver, *Tenses in Hebr*[3] § 124.

[10] 𝔊 Sam *and thou shalt make* as in [13 17. 23 31] &c cp [11].

[11] **M** Or, *rim.* Or, *moulding.*—Cp [24]. 30[3]. 37[2 11. 26].†. [12] ℌ *rib.*

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15 The staves shall be in the rings of the ark: they shall not be taken from it. 16 And thou shalt put into the ark the [n]testimony which I shall give thee. 17 And thou shalt make a [o]covering of pure gold: two cubits and a half [shall be] the [m]length thereof, and a cubit and a half the [m]breadth thereof. 18 And thou shalt make two cherubim of gold; of [M]beaten work shalt thou make them, at the two ends of the covering. 19 [N]And make one cherub at the one end, and one cherub at the other end: [M]of one piece with the covering shall ye make the cherubim on the two ends thereof. 20 And the cherubim shall spread out their wings [p]on high, [o]covering the covering with their wings, with their faces [q]one to another; toward the covering shall the faces of the cherubim be. 21 And thou shalt put the covering [p]above upon the ark; and in the ark thou shalt put the [n]testimony that I shall give thee. 22 And there I will [r]meet with thee, and I will [p]commune with thee from above the covering, from between the two cherubim which are upon the ark of the testimony, of all things which I will give thee in commandment unto the children of Israel.

23 [L]And thou shalt make a table of acacia wood: two cubits [shall be] the [m]length thereof, and a cubit the [m]breadth thereof, and a cubit and a half the [m]height thereof. 24 And thou shalt overlay it with pure gold, and make thereto a [q]crown of gold round about. 25 And thou shalt make unto it a [r]border of an [s]handbreadth round about, and thou shalt make a golden [q]crown to the [r]border thereof round about. 26 And thou shalt make for it four rings of gold, and put the rings in the four [t]corners that are on the four feet thereof. 27 [s]Close by the [r]border shall the rings be, for places for the staves to bear the table. 28 And thou shalt make the staves of acacia wood, and overlay them with gold, that the table may be borne with them. 29 And thou shalt make the dishes thereof, and the spoons thereof, and the flagons thereof, and the bowls thereof, to [u]pour out withal: of pure gold shalt thou make them. 30 And thou shalt set upon the table [M]shewbread before me [t]alway.

31 [L]And thou shalt make a [v]candlestick of pure gold: of beaten work shall the candlestick be made, even its [M]base, and its shaft; its [w]cups, its [x]knops, and its [y]flowers, shall be [M]of one piece with it: 32 and there shall be six [z]branches going out of the [a']sides thereof; three branches of the candlestick out of the one side thereof, and three branches of the candlestick out of the other side thereof: 33 three cups [b']made like almond-blossoms[b'] in one branch, a knop and a flower; and three cups made like almond-blossoms in the other branch, a knop and a flower: so for the six branches going out of the candlestick: 34 and in the candlestick four cups made like almond-blossoms, the knops thereof, and the flowers thereof: 35 and a knop under two branches [c']of one piece with it, and a knop under two branches [c']of one piece with it, and a knop under two branches [c']of one piece with it, for the six branches going out of the candlestick. 36 Their knops and their branches shall be [c']of one piece with it: the whole of it one beaten work of pure gold. 37 And thou shalt make the lamps thereof, seven: and [N]they shall [M]light the lamps thereof, to [d']give light over against it. 38 And the [e']tongs thereof, and the [f']snuffdishes thereof, shall be of pure gold. 39 Of a talent of pure gold [N]shall it be made, with all these vessels. 40 And see that thou make them after their [k]pattern, which hath been shewed thee in the mount.

261 [L]Moreover thou shalt make the [Ta]Dwelling with ten [a]curtains; of fine [b]twined linen, and blue, and purple, and scarlet, with cherubim the work of the [c]cunning workman shalt thou make them. 2 The length of each curtain shall be eight and twenty cubits, and the breadth of each curtain four cubits:

o 37⁹ 40³ 21* cp Ezek 28¹⁴ ¹⁶
p ℌ=*speak* 29⁴² Num 7⁸⁹
28-30 L12da 7ha
q Cp 11M
r 27 37¹² 14* cp 1 Kings 7²⁸.
s 37¹² Ezek 40⁵ 43 43¹³†
t Lev 13⁴¹ Num 34³ Josh 15⁵ (32)
u 30⁹ 37¹⁶ Num 28⁷ cp Gen 35¹⁴*
31-40 L12db
v Lev 24⁴ Num 3³¹ 4⁹ 8⁴
w Gen 44²
x Am 9¹
y Num 8⁴ 17⁸
z Gen 41⁵
a' Gen 6¹⁶
b' 34 37¹⁹.†
c' Cp 31bM
d' Gen 1¹⁵ Num 8²
e' 37²³ Num 4⁹†
f' Num 4⁹ cp 27³
1-14 L12ba
a 26 36 Num 4²⁵*
b 26–28 36 38.†
c 31 28⁶ 15 35. 38.*

n 161 o 47 p 169 q 184 r 111a s 43 t 124 a 54b

25¹⁷ So M. T *mercy-seat.*
18 M Or, *turned.*—Cp 31 36 37⁷ ¹⁷ ²² Num 8⁴ 10² Jer 10⁵†.
19a This verse may be supplemental: ℌ begins וישה, a formula only used in 28⁴², while the plural 'ye' 19b is unexpected. 𝔊 Sam begin 'they shall be made' and in b read 'thou.'
19b M ℌ *out of the mercy-seat.*
30 M Or, *Presence-bread.*
31a M ℌ *thigh.*
31b M ℌ *out of the same.*
37a Sam 𝔊 *thou shalt.*
37b M Or, *set up.*
39 (𝔊 'shalt thou make all these vessels'; Sam also reads 'shalt thou make.'
26¹ So M. T *tabernacle.*

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all the curtains shall have one measure. 3 Five curtains shall be [d]coupled
together [b]one to another; and [the other] five curtains shall be coupled one b 184
to another. 4 And thou shalt make [e]loops of blue upon the edge of the one
curtain [M]from the selvedge in the coupling; and likewise shalt thou make in
the edge of the curtain that is outmost in the second [M]coupling. 5 Fifty
loops shalt thou make in the one curtain, and fifty loops shalt thou make in
the edge of the curtain that is in the second [M]coupling; the loops shall be
[f]opposite [b]one to another. 6 And thou shalt make fifty [g]clasps of gold, and
couple the curtains [b]one to another with the clasps: and the Dwelling shall
be one. 7 And thou shalt make curtains of goats' [hair] for a tent over the
Dwelling: [c]eleven curtains shalt thou make them. 8 The length of each c 57
curtain shall be thirty cubits, and the breadth of each curtain four cubits:
the eleven curtains shall have one measure. 9 And thou shalt couple five
curtains [h]by themselves, and six curtains by themselves, and shalt [i]double
over the sixth curtain in the [d]forefront of the tent. 10 And thou shalt make d 71
fifty loops on the edge of the one curtain that is outmost in the [M]coupling,
and fifty loops upon the edge of the curtain which is [outmost in] the second
[M]coupling. 11 And thou shalt make fifty clasps of brass, and put the clasps
into the loops, and couple the tent together, that it may be one. 12 And the
[j]overhanging part that [e]remaineth of the curtains of the tent, the half curtain e 134
that remaineth, shall hang over the back of the Dwelling. 13 And the cubit
on the one side, and the cubit on the other side, of that which [e]remaineth in
the length of the curtains of the tent, shall hang over the sides of the
Dwelling on this side and on that side, to cover it. 14 And thou shalt make
a [k]covering for the tent of [l]rams' skins dyed red, and a covering of [M]sealskins
[f]above. f 169[a]

15 [L]And thou shalt make the [m]boards for the Dwelling of acacia wood,
standing up. 16 Ten cubits shall be the length of a board, and a cubit and
a half the breadth of each board. 17 Two tenons shall there be in each
board, [M]joined [b]one to another: [n]thus shalt thou make for all the boards
of the Dwelling. 18 And thou shalt make the boards for the Dwelling,
twenty boards for the [o]south side [p]southward. 19 And thou shalt make forty
[q]sockets of silver under the twenty boards; two sockets under one board for
its two tenons, and two sockets under another board for its two tenons:
20 and for the second side of the Dwelling, on the north side, twenty boards:
21 [L]and their forty sockets of silver; two sockets under one board, and two
sockets under another board. 22 And for the [r]hinder part of the Dwelling
westward thou shalt make six boards. 23 And two boards shalt thou make
for the [s]corners of the Dwelling in the hinder part. 24 And they shall be
[t]double [g]beneath, and in like manner they shall be entire unto the top thereof g 169[c]
unto [M]one ring: thus shall it be for them both; they shall be for the two
[u]corners. 25 And there shall be eight boards, and their sockets of silver,
sixteen sockets; two sockets under one board, and two sockets under another
board. 26 And thou shalt make [v]bars of acacia wood; five for the boards
of the one side of the Dwelling, 27 and five bars for the boards of the other
side of the Dwelling, and five bars for the boards of the side of the Dwelling,
for the hinder part westward. 28 And the [w]middle bar in the midst of the
boards shall pass through from end to end. 29 And thou shalt overlay
the boards with gold, and make their rings of gold for places for the bars:
and thou shalt overlay the bars with gold. 30 [L]And thou shalt [h]rear up the h 60[b]
Dwelling according to the fashion thereof which hath been [x]shewed thee
in the mount.

31 [L]And thou shalt make a [i]veil of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine i 171
twined linen: with cherubim the work of the [c]cunning workman [N]shall it be
made: 32 and thou shalt hang it upon four pillars of acacia overlaid with

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d 28[7] 39[4] Ezek 1[9 11]
e 26 36†
f 36[12] Hiph†
g 11 33 35[11] 36[13] 39[33]†
h Ct JE125
i 28[16] 39[9] Ezek 21[19]†
j Ht†
k 35[11] 36[19] *al* cp Gen 8[13]
l 25[5]
15–29 L12b*b*
m 26 36 39[33] 40[18] Num 3[36] 4[31] Ezek 27[6]†
n 25[9]
o Gen 13[14]
p 35 27[9] 36[23] 38[9] Num 2[10] 3[29] 10[6] Deut 3[27]* Ezek 20[46] *al*
q 26. 35–40 Num 3[36]. 4[31]. Cant 5[15] Job 38[6]†
21. L10a*l*
r 23 27 36[27]. 32* 1 Kings 6[16] Ezek 46[19] *al*
s 36[28]†
t 36[29] cp Cant 4[2] 6[6]†
u 36[29]* Ezek 46[21]. Neh 3[24].
v Deut 3[5]
w 36[33]* Judg 7[19] Ezek 41[7] *al*
30 L12i*a*
x 25[9]
31. L12b*c*

26[4a] M Or, *that is outmost in the* first *set.*
4b M Or, *set.*
5 M Or, *set.*
10a M Or, first *set.*
10b M Or, *set.*
14 M Or, *porpoise-skins.*
17 M Or, *morticed.*
24 M Or, *the first.*
31 ℌ *shalt thou make it*: Sam *shall they make it.*

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gold, their [g]hooks [shall be] of gold, upon four sockets of silver. 33 [L]And thou shalt hang up the veil under the clasps, and shalt bring in thither within the veil the [j]ark of the testimony[j]: and the veil shall [k]divide unto you between the [l]holy place and the [m]most holy. 34 And thou shalt [N]put the [n]covering upon the ark of the testimony in the most holy place. 35 And thou shalt set the [z]table without the veil, and the [a′]candlestick [o]over against the table on the side of the Dwelling toward the [p]south: and thou shalt put the table on the north side. 36 [L]And thou shalt make a [b′]screen [N]for the door of the Tent, of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen, the work of the [c′]embroiderer. 37 And thou shalt make for the screen five pillars of acacia, and overlay them with gold; their hooks shall be of gold: and thou shalt [p]cast five sockets of brass for them. p 128

27[1] [L]And thou shalt make the altar of acacia wood, five cubits long, and five cubits broad; the altar shall be [a]foursquare: and the height thereof shall be three cubits. 2 And thou shalt make the horns of it upon the four [b]corners thereof: the horns thereof shall be of one piece with it: and thou shalt overlay it with brass. 3 And thou shalt make its [c]pots to [d]take away its ashes[d], and its [e]shovels, and its [f]basons, and its [e]fleshhooks, and its [g]firepans: [a]all the vessels thereof thou shalt make of brass. 4 And thou shalt make for it a [h]grating of [i]network of brass; and upon the net shalt thou make four brasen rings in the four [M]corners thereof. 5 And thou shalt put it under the [j]ledge round the altar [b]beneath, that the net may reach halfway up the altar. 6 And thou shalt make [k]staves for the altar, staves of acacia wood, and overlay them with brass. 7 And the staves thereof shall be put into the rings, and the staves shall be upon the two [M]sides of the altar, in bearing it. 8 [l]Hollow with planks shalt thou make it: as it hath been [m]shewed thee in the mount, [m]so [N]shall they make it.

9 [L]And thou shalt make the [c]court of the [c]Dwelling: for the south side [n]southward there shall be [o]hangings for the court of fine [p]twined linen an hundred cubits long for one side: 10 and the pillars thereof shall be twenty, and their [q]sockets twenty, of brass; the [r]hooks of the pillars and their [s]fillets [shall be] of silver. 11 And likewise for the north side in length there shall be hangings an hundred cubits long, and the pillars thereof twenty, and their sockets twenty, of brass; the hooks of the pillars and their fillets of silver. 12 And for the breadth of the court on the west side shall be hangings of fifty cubits: their pillars ten, and their sockets ten. 13 And the breadth of the court [d]on the east side eastward[d] shall be fifty cubits. 14 The hangings for the one side [of the gate] shall be fifteen cubits: their pillars three, and their sockets three. 15 And for the other side shall be hangings of fifteen cubits: their pillars three, and their sockets three. 16 And for the gate of the court shall be a [t]screen of twenty cubits, of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen, the work of the embroiderer: their pillars four, and their sockets four. 17 All the pillars of the court round about shall be filleted with silver; their hooks of silver, and their sockets of brass. 18 The length of the court shall be an hundred cubits, and the breadth fifty every where, and the height five cubits, of fine twined linen, and their sockets of brass. 19 [a]All the instruments of the Dwelling in all the [e]service thereof, and all the [u]pins thereof, and all the pins of the court, shall be of brass.

20 [LN]And thou shalt command the children of Israel, that they bring unto thee [v]pure olive oil [w]beaten for the [f]light, [N]to cause a lamp to burn [g]continually. 21 In the [M]tent of meeting, without the [h]veil which is before the [i]testimony, [j]Aaron and his sons shall order it from evening to morning before Yahweh: it shall be a [M]statute [k]for ever [l]throughout their generations [M]on the behalf of the children of Israel.

y 27 36 38† 33–35 [L]12i[d]
z 25[23]
a′ 25[31]
36 [L]12b[d]
b′ 26·35·39·Num 3·2 Sam 17[19] Is 22[8] Ps 105[39]†
c′ 26–28 35·38· Ps 139[15] Pu†
1–8 [L]10d[p] 12e[a]
a 27·30 37–39 1 Kings 7[5] Ezek 41[21] 43[16] Qal†
b 38[2*]
c 16[3] 38[3*]
d Num 4[13] Piel*
e 38[3] Num 4[14*]
f 38[3] Num 4[14] 7[13..*]
g Lev 10[1] 16[12] Num 4[14] 16[6] cp 25[38] 𝔊
h 35 38·†
i δ 38[4*]
j 38[4]†
k 25[13]
l 38[7] Jer 52[21] Job 11[12*]
m 25[9]
9–19 [L]12e[c]
n 26[18]
o 35 38· Num 3[26] 4[26] 1 Kings 6[34] ?†
p 26[1]
q 26[19]
r 26[32]
s 10· 36[38] 38[10]··†
t 26[36]
u 35[18] 38· Num 3[37] 4[32] Judg 5[26] al
20· [L]10e[b] 12d[c]
v 30[24] Lev 24[2 7] Prov Job†
w 29[40] Lev 24[2] Num 28[5] 1 Kings 5[11]†

a 21[a]
b 169[c]
c 54[f]
d 56
e 140
f 104
g 124
h 171
i 161
j 12[f]
k 62
l 76[b]

26[34] 𝔊 *shalt put the veil upon the ark* &c, reading חסרכת for הכפרת. In 25[21] instructions have been already given for putting the covering on the ark. Cp Klostermann, *Neue Kirchl Zeitschr* (1897) 57.

[36] 𝔊 omits *for the door of the Tent.*

27[4] M 𝔊 *ends.* [7] M 𝔊 *ribs.* [8] 𝔊 *shalt thou.*

[20a] This reference to the provision of oil for the ever-burning lamp breaks the otherwise orderly sequence of 25–29 cp 25[6]. It implies that the Tent of Meeting is ready, and the Aaronic priesthood installed in their sacred charge. Compared with Lev 24[1–3] Num 8[1–4] it seems to have been inserted later here for completeness. It is not reproduced in 35–40.

[20b] M Or, *to set up a lamp continually.*—Cp 30[20] Lev 24[2] Num 8[2]..

[21a] M See 25[22] 29[42] 30[36].

[21b] M Or, *due.* [21c] M Or, *from*

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28[1] [L]And [a]bring thou near unto thee [b]Aaron thy brother, and [N]his sons [c]with him, from among the children of Israel, that he may [d]minister unto me in the priest's office, even Aaron, [e]Nadab and Abihu, [f]Eleazar and Ithamar, Aaron's sons. [2] And thou shalt make [g]holy garments for Aaron thy brother, for glory and for beauty. [3] [N]And thou shalt speak unto all that are [a]wise hearted, whom I have [b]filled with the spirit of wisdom, that they make Aaron's garments to [h]sanctify him, that he may [d]minister unto me in the priest's office. [4] And [c]these are the garments which they shall make; a [d]breastplate, and an [i]ephod, and a [e]robe, and a coat of [j]chequer work, a [M g]mitre, and a [h]girdle: and they shall make [g]holy garments for [b]Aaron thy brother, [L]and his sons, that he may [d]minister unto me in the priest's office. [5] And they shall take [M]the gold, and the [i]blue, and the purple, and the scarlet, and the fine linen.

[6] [L]And they shall make the [i]ephod of gold, of blue, and purple, scarlet, and fine twined linen, the work of the [j]cunning workman. [7] It shall have two shoulderpieces joined to the two ends thereof; that it may be joined together. [8] And the [k]cunningly woven band, which is upon it, [l]to gird it on withal, shall be like the work thereof, [and] of the same piece; of gold, of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen. [9] And thou shalt take two [M]onyx stones, and [m]grave on them the names of the children of Israel: [10] six of their names on the one stone, and the names of the six that remain on the other stone, according to their [J]birth. [11] With the work of an engraver in stone, like the engravings of a signet, shalt thou [m]engrave the two stones, [N]according to the names of the children of Israel: thou shalt make them to be [n]inclosed in [o]ouches of gold. [12] And thou shalt put the two stones upon the shoulderpieces of the [i]ephod, to be stones of [k]memorial for the children of Israel: and Aaron shall bear their names before Yahweh upon his two shoulders for a [k]memorial.

[13] [L]And thou shalt make ouches of gold: [14] and two [p]chains of pure gold; like [f]cords shalt thou make them, of [q]wreathen work: and thou shalt put the wreathen chains on the ouches. [15] And thou shalt make a breastplate of judgement, the work of the [j]cunning workman; like the work of the ephod thou shalt make it; of gold, of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen, shalt thou make it. [16] [r]Foursquare it shall be [and] [s]double; a [t]span shall be the length thereof, and a span the breadth thereof. [17] And thou shalt set in it [u]settings of stones, four [v]rows of stones: a row of [M]sardius, [w]topaz, and [M]carbuncle shall be the first row; [18] and the second row an [M]emerald, a [x]sapphire, and a [M]diamond; [19] and the third row a [M]jacinth, an [y]agate, and an [y]amethyst; [20] and the fourth row a [M]beryl, and an [M]onyx, and a [z]jasper: they shall be inclosed in gold in their settings. [21] And the stones shall be according to the names of the children of Israel, twelve, according to their names; like the engravings of a signet, [a']every one according to his name, they shall be for the twelve [b']tribes. [22] And thou shalt make upon the breastplate chains like cords, of wreathen work of pure gold. [23] [N]And thou shalt make upon the breastplate two rings of gold, and shalt put the two rings on the two ends of the breastplate. [24] And thou shalt put the two wreathen chains of gold on the two rings at the ends of the breastplate. [25] And the [other] two ends of the two wreathen chains thou shalt put on the two ouches, and put them on the shoulderpieces of the

1-29 $L_{11}C^{b}$
1-3 $L_{12}g^{a}$
a 31^{6} 35^{10} $36^{1.\ 8}$ Job 9^{4} 37^{24} Prov 10^{8}†
b 31^{3} 35^{31} 35
c Cp **188**
d 25^{7}
e 28· 39 Lev 8^{7}*
f 𝔊†
g 28· 39 Lev 8^{9} Ezek 21^{26}†
h 28· 39 Lev 8^{7} 13 16^{4} Is 22^{21}†
4 $L_{11}g^{b}$
i 25^{4}
6-12 $L_{12}g^{b}$
j 26^{1}
k 27· 29^{5} 39 Lev 87†
l 39^{5} ct Is 30^{22}†
m 11 36 1 Kings 7^{36} Zech 3^{9}
n 39^{6} 13 cp Ezek 41^{24} ct Num 32^{33} 𝔊†
o 28 39 Ps 45^{13}†
13-29 $L_{12}g^{c}$
p 39^{15} 1 Kings 7^{17} 2 Chron 3^{5} 16†
q 28 39*
r 27^{1}
s 26^{9}
t 39^{9a}
u 25^{7}
v 28 39 1 Kings 6^{36} $7^{2.}$· Ezek 46^{23} 2 Chron 4^{3} 13
w 39^{10} Ezek 28^{13} Job 28^{19}†
x 24^{10}
y 39^{12}†
z 39^{13} Ezek 28^{13}†
a' Cp Gen 9^{5} 𝔊
b' Cp **165**

a 118
b 12^{f}
c 176
d 129^{a}
e 12^{d}
f 12^{bc}
g 89
h 86^{c}
i 59
j 77
k 113

28[1] As the priesthood of Aaron alone is specified in [1 4], the reference to his sons and the enumeration of their names may possibly be the additions of a later editor.

[3] In [3–5] it is possible that the compiler has added a supplemental passage after the type of 31^{6} 35^{10}. The enumeration in [4] does not follow the order of the subsequent sections, and the introduction of the plural 'they shall make' causes the same kind of confusion as has been already noticed in 25^{8} 10. The opening of [6] should probably run 'and thou shalt make' cp 13 15 31 36 39.

[5] **M** See 25^{3}.

[4] **M** Or, *turban.*

[9] **M** Or, *beryl.*—Cp 25^{7}.

[11] 𝔊^{c} omits *according to the names . . .* [12] *put the two stones.* 𝔊^{AFL} omits *thou shalt make them . . . of gold.*

[17a] **M** Or, *ruby.*—39^{10} Ezek 28^{13}†.

[17b] **M** Or, *emerald.*—39^{10} cp Ezek 28^{13}†.

[18a] **M** Or, *carbuncle.*—39^{11} Ezek 27^{16} 28^{13}†.

[18b] **M** Or, *sardonyx.*—39^{11} Ezek 28^{13}†.

[19] **M** Or, *amber.*—39^{12}†.

[20a] **M** Or, *chalcedony.*—39^{13} Ezek 1^{16} 10^{9} 28^{13} Cant 5^{14} Dan 10^{6}†.

[20b] **M** Or, *beryl.*

[23] 𝔊 omits [23–28] as it stands in 𝔓, but after [29] inserts an abridgement of [24].

JE P

ephod, in the [c']forepart thereof. [26] [N]And thou shalt make two rings of gold, and thou shalt put them upon the two ends of the breastplate, upon the edge thereof, which is toward the side of the ephod inward. [27] And thou shalt make two rings of gold, and shalt put them on the two shoulderpieces of the ephod [l]underneath, [d']in the forepart thereof, [m]close by the coupling thereof, above the [k]cunningly woven band of the ephod. [28] And they shall [e']bind the breastplate by the rings thereof unto the rings of the ephod with a lace of blue, that it may be upon the [k]cunningly woven band of the ephod, and that the breastplate be not [e']loosed from the ephod. [29] And Aaron shall bear the names of the children of Israel in the breastplate of judgement upon his heart, when he goeth in unto the [n]holy place, for a [k]memorial before Yahweh [o]continually. [30] [L]And thou shalt put in the breastplate of judgement [M]the [p]Urim and the Thummim; and they shall be upon Aaron's heart, when he goeth in before Yahweh: and Aaron shall bear the judgement of the children of Israel upon his heart before Yahweh [o]continually.

[31] [L]And thou shalt make the robe of the ephod [f']all of blue. [32] And [M]it shall have a hole for the head in the midst thereof: it shall have a binding of [g']woven work round about the hole of it, as it were the hole of a [h']coat of mail, that it be not rent. [33] And upon the [i']skirts of it thou shalt make pomegranates of blue, and of purple, and of scarlet, round about the skirts thereof; and [j']bells of gold between them round about: [34] a golden bell and a pomegranate, a golden bell and a pomegranate, upon the skirts of the robe round about. [35] And it shall be upon Aaron to [k']minister: and the sound thereof shall be heard when he goeth in unto the [n]holy place before Yahweh, and when he cometh out, [q]that he die not.

[36] [L]And thou shalt make a [r']plate of pure gold, and grave upon it, like the engravings of a signet, [r]HOLY TO YAHWEH. [37] And thou shalt put it on a lace of blue, and it shall be upon the [M]mitre; upon the [c']forefront of the [M]mitre it shall be. [38] And it shall be upon Aaron's [m']forehead, and Aaron shall [s]bear the iniquity of the [t]holy things, which the children of Israel shall [u]hallow [v]in all their holy gifts; and it shall be [o]always upon his forehead, that they may be [w]accepted before Yahweh. [39] [L]And thou shalt [n']weave the coat in [n']chequer work of [M]fine linen, and thou shalt make a [M]mitre of [M]fine linen, and thou shalt make a girdle, the work of the embroiderer. [40] [L]And for Aaron's sons thou shalt make coats, and thou shalt make for them girdles, and [o']headtires shalt thou make for them, for glory and for beauty. [41] [NL]*And thou shalt put them upon* [b]*Aaron thy brother, and upon* [b]*his sons* [c]*with him; and shalt* [x]*anoint them, and* [M]*consecrate them, and* [y]*sanctify them, that they may* [d]*minister unto me in the priest's office.* [42] [NL]And thou shalt make them [p']linen [q']breeches to cover the flesh of their nakedness; from the loins even unto the thighs they shall reach: [43] and they shall be upon [b]Aaron, and upon his sons, when they go in unto the tent of meeting, or when they come near unto the altar to [k']minister in the [n]holy place; that they [s]bear not iniquity, [q]and die: it shall be a [z]statute for ever unto [a']him and unto his seed after him.

29[1] [L]And [a]this is the thing that thou shalt do unto them to [b]hallow them, to [c]minister unto me in the priest's office: [N]take one [a]young bullock[a] and two rams [d]without blemish, [2] [L]and unleavened bread, and [b]cakes unleavened [c]mingled with oil, and [d]wafers unleavened [e]anointed with oil: of [e]fine wheaten flour shalt thou make them. [3] And thou shalt put them into one

c' 37 26[9] cp 71
d' Ct 28 ℌ
e' 39[21]†
30 L IIb c 12g d
31-35 L 12g e
f' 39[22] Num 4[6] cp Lev 6[22] Deut 13[16] 33[10]*
g' 35[35] 39[22] 27*
h' 39[23]†
i' 34 39[24-26]*
Is 6[1]
j' 34 39[25]†
k' 43 29[30] 30[20] 35[19] 39[1 26 41] ct Deut 10[8]
36-38 L 12g h
l' 39[30] Lev 8[9]
m' ℌ*
39 L 12g f
n' Cp 20 *inclosed* ℌ†
40 42. L IIg b 12g g
o' 29[9] 39[28] Lev 8[13]†
41 L IIf ℓ d h
42 L IIf g
p' 39[28] Lev 6[10] 16[4 23] 32*
q' 39[28] Lev 6[10] 16[4] Ezek 44[18]†
1-35 L IIf h 12j
a (27) Cp Gen 18[7]
2 L 7m h
b (13) 2 Sam 6[19]†
c (38) ct Gen 11[7] 9*
d (7) 1 Chron 23[29]†
e (42) Gen 18[6]* cp Ezek 16[13 19] 46[14]

l 169[c]
m 43
n 88[a]
o 124
p 170
q 52[a]
r 90[b]
s 28[a]
t 88[a]
u 86[d]
v 21[b]
w 17
x 23
y 86[c]
z 62
a' 162
a 188[b]
b 86[c]
c 129[a]
d 123
e 23

28[26] This passage [26-28] seems to contain another account of the two rings [23] and their fastening on to the shoulderpieces. ⑤ omits.

[30] **M** That is, *the Lights and the Perfections.*

[32] **M** Or, *there shall be a hole in the top of it.*

[37] **M** Or, *turban.*

[39ac] **M** Or, *silk.*

[39b] **M** Or, *turban.*

[41a] This verse breaks the immediate connexion, anticipates instructions in the next chapter, and (in particular) gives directions for the anointing of Aaron's sons who are not included in the unction 29[7 29] cp Lev 8[12]. The reservation of the ceremony to Aaron is implied elsewhere in the title 'the Anointed Priest' cp 23[b]. On the other hand Aaron's sons are anointed in 30[30] 40[15] Lev 7[36] 10[7] Num 3[3], all of them passages in P[s]. In the present passage and its parallels 29[21] Lev 8[30] the ritual seems to have been editorially conformed to the advanced standard.

[41b] **M** ℌ *fill their hand.*—Cp 69.

[42] Dillmann suggests that [42.] may be an addition founded on Lev 6[10]; the linen breeches are not named in 29[9] Lev 8[13]. A slight linguistic confirmation is found in the opening formula יעשה, elsewhere only in 25[19], itself perhaps doubtful.

29[1] The description of the ceremonies of priestly consecration introduces at once a number of the ritual terms peculiar to **P** whether in the limits of the Hexateuch, or in the wider range of the Old Testament. It has not been thought necessary to tabulate the details: the marginal figures in brackets denote the number of occurrences of each significant phrase, while occasional points of linguistic contact are further noted for general purposes of illustration.

JE | P

f Lev 8[2]

g Ritually (39) cp **174**
5 $L_{IIC}c$
h 28[4]
i Lev 8[7]†

j 39[30] Lev 8[9] 21[12]
7 $L_{IID}b$
k 25[6]
8 $L_{IIG}c$
l 28[4]
m 28[40]
9b $L_{IIA}a$n

11–14 $L_{7}8f$

n (18) cp Am 3[14]

o (9)†
p (7)†
q (11)†
r (16) ct Deut 32[14]*
s (6)
t Lev 4[11] 8[17] 16[27] Num 19[5] Mal 2[3]†
15–18 $L_{7}b$m

u Lev 1[6] 12 8[20]* 1 Sam 11[7] *al*
v (8) Judg 19[29] Ezek 24[4] 6†
w (8) Am 3[12]†

19–34 $L_{7}p$j

x (8)†
y Cp **56**[d] ct Gen 13[9]
z Lev 8[23]. 14[14]. . .*
thumb = great toe ℌ (14) Judg 1[6].†
21 $L_{IIF}m$

a′ Lev 3[9] 7[3] 8[25] 9[19]†

b′ (12) Deut 28[35]*
28–32 $L_{7}m$h

c′ (13)†
d′ Lev 7[33] 8[29]*
27 $L_{IIJ}e$

[f] basket, and [f] bring them in the basket, with the bullock and the two rams. [4] And [g] Aaron and his sons thou shalt [f] bring unto the [h] door of the tent of meeting, and shalt [g] wash them with water. [5] [L] And thou shalt take the [h] garments, and put upon Aaron the coat, and the robe of the ephod, and the [i] ephod, and the breastplate, and [i] gird him with the cunningly woven band of the ephod: [6] and thou shalt set the [M] mitre upon his head, and put the [j] holy [j] crown upon the [M] mitre. [7] [L] Then shalt thou take the [k] anointing oil, and [k] pour it upon his head, and [e] anoint him. [8] [L] And thou shalt [f] bring his sons, and put coats upon them. [9] And thou shalt gird them with [l] girdles, [N] Aaron and his sons, and bind [m] headtires on them: [L] and they shall have the [l] priesthood by a [m] perpetual statute: and thou shalt [n] consecrate Aaron and his sons. [10] And thou shalt [f] bring the bullock before the tent of meeting: and Aaron and his sons shall [o] lay their hands upon the head of the bullock. [11] [L] And thou shalt [p] kill the bullock before Yahweh, at the [h] door of the tent of meeting. [12] And thou shalt take of the blood of the bullock, and put it upon the [m] horns of the altar with thy finger; and thou shalt pour out all the blood at the [o] base of the altar. [13] And thou shalt take all the [p] fat that covereth the inwards[p], and the [q] caul upon the liver, and the two [r] kidneys, and the fat that is upon them, and [q] burn them upon the altar. [14] But the flesh of the bullock, and its [s] skin, and its [t] dung, shalt thou [r] burn with fire [s] without the camp: it is a [Mt] sin offering. [15] [L] Thou shalt also take the one ram; and Aaron and his sons shall lay their hands upon the head of the ram. [16] And thou shalt slay the ram, and thou shalt take its blood, and [u] sprinkle it round about upon the altar. [17] And thou shalt [u] cut the ram into its [v] pieces, and wash its inwards, and its [w] legs, and put them [M] with its [v] pieces, and [M] with its head. [18] And thou shalt [q] burn the whole ram upon the altar: it is a [v] burnt offering unto Yahweh: it is a [w] sweet savour, an [x] offering made by fire unto Yahweh. [19] [L] And thou shalt take the other ram; and Aaron and his sons shall lay their hands upon the head of the ram. [20] Then shalt thou kill the ram, and take of its blood, and put it upon the [x] tip of the [y] right ear of Aaron, and upon the tip of the right ear of his sons, and upon the [z] thumb of their right hand, and upon the [z] great toe of their right foot, and sprinkle the blood upon the altar round about. [21] [NL] *And thou shalt take of the blood that is upon the altar, and of the* [k] *anointing oil, and* [y] *sprinkle it upon Aaron, and upon his garments, and upon his sons, and upon the garments of his sons* [z] *with him: and he shall* [a′] *be hallowed, and his garments, and his sons, and his sons' garments* [z] *with him.* [22] Also thou shalt take of the ram the fat, [N] and the [a′] fat tail, and the [p] fat that covereth the inwards, and the [q] caul of the liver, and the two [r] kidneys, and the fat that is upon them, and the right [Mb′] thigh; for it is a ram of [b′] consecration: [23] [L] and one loaf of bread, and one cake of oiled bread, and one wafer, out of the basket of unleavened bread that is before Yahweh: [24] and thou shalt put the whole upon the hands of Aaron, and upon the hands of his sons; and shalt [c′] wave them for a [d′] wave offering before Yahweh. [25] And thou shalt take them from their hands, and burn them on the altar upon the burnt offering, for a sweet savour before Yahweh: it is an offering made by fire unto Yahweh. [26] And thou shalt take the [c′] breast of Aaron's ram of consecration, and wave it for a wave offering before Yahweh: and it shall be thy [d′] portion. [27] [L] And thou shalt sanctify the breast of the [d′] wave offering, and the [M] thigh of the [e′] heave offering, which is waved, and which is [f′] heaved up, of the ram of consecration, even of that which is for Aaron, and of that which is for his sons: [28] and it shall be for Aaron and his sons as a [g′] due for ever from the children of Israel: for it is an heave offering: and it shall be an heave offering from the children of Israel of the [h′] sacrifices of their peace offerings, even their heave offering

f 11[8]
g 12[f]
h 111[b]
i 59
j 88[c]
k 128
l 129[b]
m 62
n 69[a]
o 102
p 100
q 37
r 38
s 120[b]
t 118[j]
u 148
v 118[c]
w 158
x 118[e]
y 149
z 176
a′ 86[a]
b′ 69[b]
c′ 175
d′ 118[l]
e′ 118[g]
f′ 85
g′ 62
h′ 118[l]

29[6] **M** Or, *turban.*

9 (𝔊 omits 'Aaron and his sons'; the words seem to have been added to secure for Aaron the girdle (28[4]) ignored in 5.

14 **M** ℌ *sin.*

17 **M** Or, *upon.*

21 Cp 28[41aN]. The place of this verse in (𝔊 before the last clause of 20 'and sprinkle' &c is a further indication of its supplemental character. The variation in the word 'sprinkle' ℌ should also be noticed, cp Lev 8[24 30], where it will be observed that 30 has not been inserted in a precisely corresponding situation.

22a The conjunction is omitted in Sam as well as in ℌ Lev 3[9] 7[3]; (𝔊 adds it in each case, cp Addis, *Hex* ii 266.

22b 27 **M** Or, *shoulder.*

JE | P^h | P^g | P^s

unto Yahweh. 29 L And the holy garments of Aaron shall be for his sons after him, to be anointed in them, and to be consecrated in them. 30 Seven days shall the son that is priest in his stead put them on, when he cometh into the tent of meeting to e′minister in the f′holy place. 31 And thou shalt take the ram of consecration, and seethe its flesh j′in a holy place. 32 And Aaron and his sons shall eat the flesh of the ram, and the bread that is in the basket, at the door of the tent of meeting. 33 And they shall eat those things wherewith k′atonement was made, to Nconsecrate [and] to sanctify them: but a l′stranger shall not eat thereof, because m′they are holy. 34 And if aught of the flesh of the consecration, or of the bread, remain unto the morning, then thou shalt burn the remainder with fire: it shall not be eaten, because m′it is holy. 35 And f′thus shalt thou do unto Aaron, and to his sons, according to all that I have commanded thee: seven days shalt thou consecrate them. 36 NL And every day shalt thou n′offer the bullock of sin offering for atonement: and thou shalt Mcleanse the altar, when thou makest atonement for it; and thou shalt anoint it, to sanctify it. 37 Seven days thou shalt make atonement for the altar, and sanctify it: and the altar shall be o′most holy; Mwhatsoever toucheth the altar shall s′be holy.

38 NL Now this is that which thou shalt offer upon the altar; two lambs p′of the first year day by day q′continually. 39 The one lamb thou shalt offer in the morning; and the other lamb thou shalt offer Mat r′even: 40 and with the one lamb a s′tenth part [of an ephah] of fine flour mingled with the fourth part of an g′hin of h′beaten oil; Land the fourth part of an hin of wine for a t′drink offering. 41 And the other lamb thou shalt offer Mat r′even, and shalt do thereto according to the u′meal offering of the morning, and according to the t′drink offering thereof, for a sweet savour, an offering made by fire unto Yahweh. 42 L It shall be a continual burnt offering throughout your v′generations at the door of the tent of meeting before Yahweh: where I will w′meet with you, to i′speak there unto thee. 43 And there I will w′meet with the children of Israel; Nand [the Tent] shall be x′sanctified by my y′glory. 44 And I will sanctify the tent of meeting, and the altar: Aaron also and his sons will I sanctify, to minister to me in the priest's office.

45 NL And I will z′dwell among the children of Israel, and will a″be their God. 46 And they shall b″know that I am Yahweh their God, that j′brought them forth out of the land of Egypt, that I may z′dwell among them: c″I am Yahweh their God.

30¹ NL And thou shalt make an altar a to burn asincense upon: of acacia wood shalt thou make it. ² A cubit shall be the length thereof, and

29 $L_{110}d$ | e′ 28^{35} | f′ Num 8^{26} 15^{11-13} cp Deut 25^9 | 36 $L_{12}k$ | 38–42 L_7da $12l$ | g′ (16) Ezek 4^{11} 45^{24} 46^{5}.† | h′ 27^{20} | 40 L_7wb | 42.. $L_{10}au$ | i′ Ct 25^{22} | 45 $L_{10}ar$ | j′ Cp 6^6. | 1–10 $L_{12}dd$ | a ℌ†

i′ 88b | j′ 87b | k′ 25a | l′ 153 | m′ 90a | n′ 117 | o′ 88d | p′ 119b | q′ 124 | r′ 32 | s′ 160a | t′ 118d | u′ 118h | v′ 76b | w′ 111 | x′ 86b | y′ 79 | z′ 54a | a″ 26 | b″ 179c | c″ 179a | a 95a

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29^{33} ℌ *fill their hand*: the words which follow seem to be an explanatory gloss.

36^a Addis, *Hex* ii 268, treats $36^{\cdot}$ as an afterthought based on Lev 8. It may, however, be pointed out that Lev 8^{34} regards the sevenfold atonement as already prescribed, and this involved purging the altar 15 cp Ex 29^{12}, so that some instructions of this kind might be expected in Ex 29.

36^b M Or, *purge the altar, by thy making atonement*.—Cp 137^a.

37 M Or, *whosoever*.—Cp 30^{29} Lev 11^{24}.. 15^{10}.. 22^4 Num 19^{11}.. cp Ex 19^{12}*.

38 The directions concerning the continual burnt offering 38–41 are hardly in keeping with the commands for the construction of the sanctuary and the consecration of the priesthood. They would seem more appropriate at the head of a ritual calendar, such as Num $28^{\cdot}$. There they are actually to be found 28^{3-8} cp Lev 6^{8-13}, but opinions differ as to which is the more original, and there are no decisive indications. The comparison, however, indicates that 'thou' in Ex 29^{38-41} is not addressed to Moses as in 37 and 42. (On the relation of the passage to the covenant in Neh 10^{33} cp *Introd* XIII 11β i 156.) The passage is treated here, therefore, as an editorial extension, to which a closing verse has been added in 42; note the transition from 'thou' to 'your,' and 'you' and 'thee' in the last clause (where 𝔊 and Sam have sing alone), and the attempt to harmonize different views of the Tent of Meeting. Yahweh promises both to meet his people and to speak with Moses (cp 33^{9}.) at the door of the Tent of Meeting; but in 25^{22} the meeting with Moses takes place in the innermost sanctuary, where the divine voice is to be heard from between the Cherubim above the ark. If 42 and 43 were originally discontinuous, 43 might be naturally regarded as the sequel of 37, the altar being the place where Yahweh met his people in the act of sacrifice.

39 41 M ℌ *between the two evenings*.

43 Sam 'and they shall be sanctified,' 𝔊 'and I will be sanctified.' Klostermann (*Neue Kirchliche Zeitschr* 1897 310) proposes to correct by Lev 10^3 ונקדשתי בקרבי 'and I will be sanctified in them that come nigh me.'

45 The language of $45^{\cdot}$ shows affinities with P^h (cp *Introd* XIII 8γ i 145), and the passage may have wound up the account of the institution of the Tent of Meeting now replaced by the Dwelling of P^g cp 25^{1N}: but such a description cannot be safely assigned to P^h proper which avoids the term and only speaks of a 'sanctuary,' Lev 19^{30} 20^3 21^{12} (23) 26^2.

30^1 After the full close in 29^{43-46} the instructions for an additional altar in front of the veil 1–10 have a supplemental look. The sections which follow appear to share the same character cp 11 17 22 34^N. Various considerations confirm this view, e g (1) the phrase 'the altar' 27^1 implies that there was no other. This designation occurs not less than 100 times in P: but in the latest strata the distinction is marked in various ways cp 30^{28} 31^8. 38^{30} Lev 4^7 &c. (2) There is no mention of the incense altar in the ceremony of atonement described in Lev 16, and the reference in 10 depends on the ritual there enjoined. (3) 'According to Lev 10 Num $16^{\cdot}$, the priests offered incense, not on an altar, but on pans or censers' (Addis). (4) Sam places 30^{1-10} between 26^{35} and 36; but 𝔊 follows the order of ℌ. (5) The reference to the spices for the incense 25^6 which seems to presuppose 30^7 is an editorial insertion 25^{6N}. Cp *Introd* XIII 10α. On the allied questions connected with the altars in the Temples of Solomon and Ezekiel see Stade, *ZATW* iii 168, and Nowack, *Archäol* ii 40.

JE | P[h] | P[g] | P[s]

a cubit the breadth thereof; foursquare shall it be: and two cubits shall be the height thereof: the horns thereof shall be of one piece with it. 3 And thou shalt overlay it with [b]pure gold, the [M]top thereof, and the [M]sides thereof round about, and the horns thereof; and thou shalt make unto it a [M]crown of gold round about. 4 And two golden rings shalt thou make for it under the crown thereof, upon the two ribs thereof, upon the two sides of it shalt thou make them; and they shall be for places for staves to bear it withal. 5 And thou shalt make the staves of acacia wood, and overlay them with gold. 6 And thou shalt put it before the [c]veil that is by the ark of the [d]testimony, [N]before the [e]covering that is over the testimony, where I will [f]meet with thee. 7 [L]And Aaron shall [g]burn thereon [h]incense of [i]sweet spices: every morning, when he dresseth the [c]lamps, he shall burn it. 8 And when Aaron [M]lighteth the lamps [M]at [j]even, he shall [g]burn it, a [k]perpetual incense before Yahweh throughout your [k]generations. 9 Ye shall offer no [l]strange [h]incense thereon, nor [m]burnt offering, nor [n]meal offering; and ye shall [d]pour no [o]drink offering thereon. 10 [L]And Aaron shall make [p]atonement [M]upon the horns of it [N]once in the year: with the blood of the [q]sin offering of atonement once in the year shall he make atonement [M]for it throughout your [k]generations: it is [r]most holy unto Yahweh.

11 [NL]And Yahweh [s]spake unto Moses, saying, 12 When thou takest the sum of the children of Israel, [t]according to those that are numbered of them, then shall they give every man a [e]ransom for his [u]soul unto Yahweh, [f]when thou numberest them; that there be no plague among them, when thou numberest them. 13 This they shall give, every one that passeth over unto them that are numbered, [v]half a shekel after the shekel of the [w]sanctuary: (the shekel is twenty gerahs:) half a shekel for an offering to Yahweh. 14 Every one that passeth over unto them that are numbered, from [x]twenty years old and upward, shall give the [y]offering of Yahweh. 15 The rich shall not give more, and the poor shall not [z]give less, than the half shekel, when they give the offering of Yahweh, to make atonement for your souls. 16 And thou shalt take the atonement money from the children of Israel, and shalt appoint it for the [a']service of the tent of meeting; that it may [b']be a [c']memorial for the children of Israel before Yahweh, to make atonement for your souls.

17 [NL]And Yahweh [s]spake unto Moses, saying, 18 Thou shalt also make a [g]laver of brass, and the [g]base thereof of brass, to [h]wash withal: and thou shalt put it between the tent of meeting and the altar, and thou

b 42
c 171
d 161
e 47
f 111
g 37
h 95[b]
i 32
j 124
k 76[b]
l 153
m 118[c]
n 118[h]
o 118[d]
p 25
q 118[j]
r 90[b]
s 185
t 18[a]
u 146
v 82
w 88[c]
x 169[b]
y 118[g]
z 105
a' 140
b' 27
c' 113

7.. L7id
b Cp 34
c 25[37]
d 25[29]
10 L7yc 11eb 9ha
11-16 L40b 12m
e Cp 21[30]
f Ⓢ omits
17 L12eb
g 28 31[9] 35 38. Lev 8[11]*
1 Kings 7[30].
h ℌ 40[30] 2 Chron 4[6]† ct Gen 24[32] ℌ

30[3a] **M** ℌ *roof.*—37[26].

3b **M** ℌ *walls.*—37[26].

8c **M** Or, *rim.* Or, *moulding.*—25[11].

6 This clause is omitted by Sam Ⓢ and some ℌ MSS, and has rather the appearance of an explanatory gloss.

8a **M** Or, *setteth up.* ℌ *causeth to ascend.*—Cp 27[20].

8b **M** ℌ *between the two evenings.*

10a **M** Or, *for.*

10b This verse implies the rite described in Lev 16, where no mention, however, is made of the incense altar, cp 12–14 where it is expressly ignored. This section, therefore, must be regarded as posterior to that institution. On the place of Lev 16 in **P** cp 16[1N].

10c **M** Or, *upon.*

11 The poll-tax of half a shekel 13 practically rests upon the completed sanctuary and the census (Num 1) of which nothing has yet been said: and this anticipatory reference itself indicates its supplemental character. The tax is devoted to the service of the sanctuary, but it is not prescribed how often it is to be paid. In 2 Chron 24[5]. the tax is plainly understood as an annual contribution. But in the covenant under Nehemiah Neh 10[32] only one-third of a shekel is demanded. Different explanations have been offered of this discrepancy. Kuenen and Cornill (with whom Addis agrees) suppose that the text represents a later stage of codification than the agreement under Nehemiah (a similar discrepancy may be noticed in the age at which the Levites were to begin to serve Num 8[24] and 4[3 23 30], cp 1 Chron 23[24]. ·), and that this section is a post-Ezran addition. For other suggestions cp Ryle, *Ezr-Neh, in loc.* The objection that a later scribe in incorporating this rule would have emphasized its annual character, seems partly met by the consideration that the 'service of the tent of meeting' for which the money was 'appointed' 16 was a permanent institution, obviously needing continuous support, and partly by the fact that the Jews themselves in accepting the Levitical arrangements as types for their regular guidance, actually did regard this as a yearly due.

17 The natural place for the instructions about the laver would have been in 27, after the directions concerning the altar 1–8; cp its position in the repetition 38[8]. Its association here with other later items throws it into the group of secondary passages, but the opening words of 18 'And thou shalt make' cp 1 [3 5 25 35], suggest that it was once continuous with some other passage. It may be noted further that there is no description of the size or design of the laver, while in other cases there is an abundance of precise detail.

JE | P^h | P^g | P^s

shalt put water therein. 19 [L]And [d']Aaron and his sons shall wash their hands and their feet thereat: 20 when they go into the tent of meeting, they shall wash with water, [e']that they die not; or when they come near to the altar to minister, to burn an [f']offering made by fire unto Yahweh: 21 so they shall wash their hands and their feet, that they die not: and it shall be a [g']statute for ever to them, even to him and to his seed throughout their [k]generations. d' 12[f] e' 52[a] f' 118[e] g' 62

22 [Li]Moreover Yahweh spake unto Moses, [N]saying, 23 [j']Take thou also unto thee the chief [k]spices, of [l]flowing [m]myrrh five hundred [shekels], and of sweet [m]cinnamon half so much, even two hundred and fifty, and of [n]sweet calamus two hundred and fifty, 24 and of [M]cassia five hundred, after the shekel of the [w]sanctuary, and of olive oil an hin: 25 and thou shalt make it an [h']holy anointing oil, a [o]perfume [p]compounded after the art of the [q]perfumer: it shall be an holy anointing oil. 26 And thou shalt [i']anoint therewith the tent of meeting, and the ark of the testimony, 27 and the [r]table and all the vessels thereof, and the [s]candlestick and the vessels thereof, and the [t]altar of incense, 28 and the [u]altar of burnt offering with all the vessels thereof, and the [v]laver and the base thereof. 29 And thou shalt sanctify them, that they may be [j']most holy: [M]whatsoever toucheth them shall be holy. 30 [L]And thou shalt anoint Aaron and his sons, and sanctify them, that they may [k']minister unto me in the priest's office. 31 And thou shalt speak unto the children of Israel, saying, This shall be an holy anointing oil unto me throughout your [k]generations. 32 Upon the flesh of man shall it not be [r]poured, neither shall ye make any like it, according to the [w]composition thereof: it is holy, [and] it shall be holy unto you. 33 Whosoever [q]compoundeth any like it, or whosoever putteth any of it upon a [l]stranger, he shall be [l']cut off from his people. h' 89 i' 23 j' 90 k' 129[a] l' 50

34 [NL]And Yahweh said unto Moses, Take unto thee sweet spices, [M]stacte, and [x]onycha, and [x]galbanum; sweet spices with pure [m']frankincense: of each shall there be a like weight; 35 and thou shalt make of it incense, a [o]perfume after the art of the perfumer, [M]seasoned with salt, pure [and] holy: 36 and thou shalt [y]beat some of it very small, and put of it before the [d]testimony in the tent of meeting, [z]where I will [f]meet with thee: it shall be unto you [j']most holy. 37 And the incense which thou shalt make, according to the [w]composition thereof ye shall not make for yourselves: it shall be unto thee holy for Yahweh. 38 Whosoever shall make like unto that, to smell thereto, he shall be [l']cut off from his people. m' 72

31[1] [NL]And Yahweh [a]spake unto Moses, saying, 2 [a]See, I have called by name [b]Bezalel the son of Uri, the son of Hur, of the [c]tribe of Judah: 3 and I have [b]filled him with the [c]spirit of God, in wisdom, and in [d]understanding, and in knowledge, and in all manner of [d]workmanship, 4 to devise [e]cunning works, to work in gold, and in silver, and in brass, 5 and in cutting of stones for [f]setting, and in carving of wood, to work in all manner of [d]workmanship. 6 [g]And I, behold, I have appointed with him [e]Oholiab, the son of Ahisamach, of the [c]tribe of Dan; and in the hearts of all that are [h]wise hearted I have put wisdom, that they may make all that I have commanded thee: 7 the tent of meeting, and the [f]ark of the testimony, and the [g]covering that is thereupon, and all a 185 b 13 c 165 d 177[b] e 15 f 161 g 47

19.. [L]nf[n] 12h[e]

22-32 [L]12d[f]
i ℌ = *and*
j Gen 6[21] ℌ
k 25[6]
l Lev 25[10] ℌ*
m Prov 7[17] Cant 4[14]
n 35[28]* Is 3[24] *al*
o 35 ℌ†
p 1 Chron 9[30] 2 Chron 16[14]†
q 33 35 37[29]* 1 Chron 9[30] Eccl 10[1]
r 25[23]
s 25[31]
t Cp 1-7
u Ct 2[7][1]
30 [L]11d[i] f[n]

v Cp Deut 28[40]*
w Ct 5[8]

34-38 [L]7i[e] 12d[g]
x ℌ†

y 2 Sam 22[43] ‖ Ps 18[42] Job 14[19]†
z Cp 6

1-11 [L]12a[l]
a 7[1]

b 28[3]
c 35[31] Gen 1[1] 41[38] Num 24[2]*
d 35[31] 36[1] Deut 32[28]*
e 35[32].. ct Gen 6[5] ℌ*
f Cp 25[7]
g Gen 6[17]
h 28[3]

30[22] The use of the holy oil assumes the existence of the two altars [28] and the laver; and this section, therefore, cannot be earlier than [1-10]: moreover in [30] the unction is enjoined on Aaron's sons (i e ordinary priests) whereas in 29[7] Lev 8[12] Aaron alone is to be anointed.

[24] **M** Or, *costus*.—Ezek 27[19]†. [29] **M** Or, *whosoever*.—29[37].

[34a] The prescriptions concerning the incense are the natural sequel to the ordinance of the incense-altar [1-10]. That they were not included in the original scheme is confirmed by the fact that the references to the incense and the oil for the chrism 25[6] have been added. On the history of incense-offerings cp Benzinger, *Archäol* 444, and Nowack, *Archäol* i 247.

[34b] **M** Or, *opobalsamum*.—ℌ = *drop* Job 36[27]†.

[35] **M** Or, *tempered together*.—Cp Lev 2[13] Ezek 16[4]†.

31[1] The recapitulation in [1-11] is based on the series of instructions in 25·· including 31; the passage belongs therefore to the secondary strata of **P** and prepares the way for the great repetition 35-40.

J E | P[h] | P[g] | P[s]

the furniture of the Tent; [8] and the [i]table and its vessels, and the pure [j]candlestick with all its vessels, and the [k]altar of incense; [9] and the [l]altar of burnt offering with all its vessels, and the [m]laver and its base; [10] and the [M]finely wrought [n]garments, and the [h]holy garments for [1]Aaron the priest, and the garments of his sons, to [j]minister in the priest's office; [11] and the [o]anointing oil, and the incense of [p]sweet spices for the [k]holy place: [q]according to all that I have commanded thee shall they do.

[12] [NL]And Yahweh [a]spake unto Moses, saying, [13] [l]Speak thou also unto the children of Israel, saying, Verily ye shall keep my [m]sabbaths: for it is a [r]sign between me and you throughout your [n]generations; that ye may [o]know that I am Yahweh which [p]sanctify you. [14a] [L]Ye shall keep the [m]sabbath therefore; for [q]it is holy unto you: every one that [s]profaneth it shall [r]surely be put to death.

[14b] For whosoever [s]doeth any work therein, [t]that soul shall be cut off from among his people. [15] Six days shall [s]work be done; but on the seventh day is a sabbath of [u]solemn rest, [v]holy to Yahweh: whosoever doeth any work in the sabbath day, he shall [r]surely be put to death. [16] Wherefore the children of Israel shall keep the sabbath, to observe the sabbath throughout their [n]generations, for a [w]perpetual covenant. [17] It is a [r]sign between me and the children of Israel for ever: for in six days Yahweh made heaven and earth, and on the seventh day he [t]rested, and was [u]refreshed.

[18a] And he gave unto Moses, when he had [v]made an end of communing with him upon mount [x]Sinai, the two [y]tables of the testimony....

[18b] [N]And Yahweh gave him the two] tables of stone, written with the finger of God.

32[1] [NL]And when the people saw that Moses [a]delayed to come down from the mount, the people [b]gathered themselves together unto Aaron, and said unto him, Up, make us [M]gods, which shall go before us; for as for this Moses, the man that [a]brought us up out of the land of Egypt, we know not what is become of him. [2] And Aaron said unto them, [c]Break off the golden [d]rings, which are in the ears of your wives, of your sons, and of your daughters, and bring them unto me. [3] And all the people [c]brake off the golden rings which were in their ears, and brought them unto Aaron. [4] And he received it at their hand, and fashioned it with a [e]graving tool, and made it a [f]molten calf: and [N]they said, [M]These be thy gods, O Israel, which [a]brought thee up out of the land of Egypt. [5] And when Aaron saw [this], he [b]built an altar before it; and Aaron made proclamation, and said, To-morrow shall be a [g]feast to Yahweh. [6] And they [h]rose up early on the [i]morrow, and [c]offered [j]burnt offerings, and brought [j]peace offerings; and the people sat down to [k]eat and to drink, and rose up to [l]play.

[7] [N]*And Yahweh spake unto Moses, Go,* [m]*get thee down; for thy people,*

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i 25[28]
j 25[31]
k 30[1]
l 30[28] ct 27[1]
m 30[18]
n 28[2]
o 31[25]
p 31[34]
q Cp 189[b]
12. *L*9b*h*
r 17 ℌ=*token* Gen 9[12] 17[11]
14-17 *L*9b*o*
s Ezek 20[16 21 24] 22[8] *al*
t Gen 2[2]
u 23[12]
v Gen 17[22] ℌ
1-24 *L*5b*d* e*c*
a ℌ Polel Judg 5[28]†
b Ct 2[6] cp [P]24
c 3 24 Gen 27[40] Qal*
d Cp Gen 35[4]
e Is 8[1]†
f 34[17] Lev 19[4] Num 33[52] Deut 9[12 16] 27[15]* Hos 13[2] *al*
g Cp Ex 13[6]
h 24[4]
i 30* 18[13]
j 20[24]
k Gen 25[34]
l Cp Gen 21[9] ℌ
m Deut 9[12]

h 88[c]
i 12[a]
j 129[a]
k 88[a]
l 188[b]
m 137
n 76[b]
o 179[b]
p 86[c]
q 90[a]
r 52[b]
s 177[a]
t 50[a]
u 137[c]
v 90[b]
w 62
x 7
y 161[d]
a 136
b 137
c 110

31[10] **M** Some ancient versions render, *garments of service.*

[12] The language of the Sabbath-law here enforced with such emphasis has several affinities with **P**[h]; [13] 'keep my sabbaths' cp Lev 19[3 30] 26[2]; 'I am Yahweh which sanctify you' Lev 20[8] 21[8 15 23] 22[9 16 32]; [14] 'profane' (of the sabbath only here in Hex), frequent in **P**[h] in other applications Lev 18[21] 19[8 12 29] 20[3] 21[6 12 15 23] 22[2 9 15 32]; 'every one that profaneth it' ℌ pl followed by sing vb cp Lev 17[14] 19[8]. It may be inferred that the language of an older law is here incorporated and enriched with a fuller setting. In what stage of **P** this took place is less clear. It is not certain how far **P**[g] made similar appropriations, though there are phenomena in 6[2]..29[42].. which point in that direction. One or two words, however, are not in the manner of **P**[g]; [16] 'to observe (lit *do*) the sabbath' only in Deut 5[15], [17] 'made heaven and earth' instead of 'created,' and 'was refreshed.' On the argument founded by Budde on these peculiarities cp 20[11N] Gen 1[1N]; they are, however, not out of character with the more varied usage of other secondary passages. Note further the transition to 'children of Israel' [16]; [17b] reads like an explanatory addition.

[18b] At this point the compiler resumes the narrative of **E**, suspended in 24[18b]. The description of the tables of stone as 'written with the finger of God' reappears in Deut 9[10] and was certainly in **D**'s source. As the narrative that follows 32[1-6] seems due to **E**, it is most natural to ascribe [18b] to the same document. The words in brackets are supplied from Deut 9[10] (ℌ *delivered* = *gave*).

32[1a] The narrative of the apostasy of the golden calf seems to contain various elements, but its main story is almost unanimously ascribed to **E**. In [15 17] Moses descends with Joshua from the mount with the two tables in his hands, the description in [16] cohering with 31[18b] and 24[13]. The passage in [15-24] appears to be homogeneous (only Dillm breaks it at [19]) and carries with it [1-6]. For details of the analysis cp [7 25 30], and on the place of the whole story cp 34[28].

[1b] **M** Or, *a god.* [4a] ℌ[E] *he.* [4b] **M** Or, *This is thy god.*

[7] In the sequel of the story [17-19] Moses seems wholly unpre-

J E JE J E P

which thou [a]*broughtest up out of the land of Egypt, have* [n]*corrupted themselves:* [8] *they have* [c]*turned aside* [d]*quickly out of the way which I commanded them: they have made them a* [f]*molten calf, and have worshipped it, and have sacrificed unto it, and said, These be thy gods, O Israel, which* [a]*brought thee up out of the land of Egypt.* [9] *And Yahweh said unto Moses,* [p]*I have seen this people, and, behold, it is a* [q]*stiffnecked people:* [10] [e]*now therefore* [r]*let me alone, that my wrath may* [f]*wax hot against them, and that I may* [s]*consume them: and I will* [t]*make of thee a great nation.* [11] *And Moses* [u]*besought Yahweh his God, and said, Yahweh, why doth thy wrath* [t]*wax hot against thy people, which thou hast brought forth out of the land of Egypt with* [v]*great power and with a* [w]*mighty hand?* [12] *Wherefore should the Egyptians* [z]*speak, saying,* [y]*For evil did he bring them forth, to* [s]*slay them in the mountains, and to* [s]*consume them from the* [h]*face of the* [r]*ground? Turn from thy* [a']*fierce wrath, and* [t]*repent of this evil against thy people.* [13] [b']*Remember Abraham, Isaac, and Israel,* [j]*thy servants, to whom thou* [k]*swarest by thine own* [c']*self, and saidst unto them, I will multiply your* [l]*seed as the stars of heaven, and all this land that I have spoken of will I* [d']*give unto your seed, and they shall inherit it for ever.* [14] *And Yahweh* [t]*repented of the evil which he said he would do unto his people.*

[15] And Moses [e']turned, and went down from the mount, with the two tables [N]*of the testimony in his hand; tables that were written on both their* [f']*sides; on the one side and on the other were they written.* [16] And the tables were the work of God, and the writing was the writing of [g']God, [h']graven upon the tables. [17] And when Joshua heard the noise of the people as they [i']shouted, he said unto Moses, There is a noise of war in the camp. [18] And he said, It is not the voice of them that [j']shout for [k']mastery, neither is it the voice of them that [j']cry for [l']being overcome: but the noise of them that [m']sing do I hear. [19] And it came to pass, as soon as he came nigh unto the camp, that he saw the calf and the [n']dancing: and Moses' anger [f]waxed hot, and he cast the tables out of his hands, and brake them [c']beneath the mount. [20] And he took the calf which they had made, and burnt it with fire, and [p']ground it to [q']powder, and [r']strewed it upon the water, and made the children of Israel drink of it. [21] And Moses said unto Aaron, What did this people unto thee, that thou hast brought a [s']great sin upon them? [22] And Aaron said, Let not the anger of my [m]lord [f]wax hot: [u]thou knowest the people, that they are [set] [t']on evil. [23] For they said unto me, Make us [w']gods, which shall go before us: for as for this Moses, the man that [a]brought us up out of the land of Egypt, we know not what is become of him. [24] And I said unto them, Whosoever hath any gold, let them [c]break it off; so they gave it me: and I cast it into the fire and there came out this calf.

...[25] [NL]And when Moses saw that the people were broken [v']loose; for

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pared for the discovery of the apostasy. It is certainly conceivable that the actual spectacle of it should have aroused a wrath before unrealized; but, as Bacon has observed, 'the fact remains that [15–24] would be a great deal simpler and more intelligible if [7–14] had not preceded.' The intercession in [9–14] is marked by special J phrases, e g 'face of the ground' 'repent' (of Yahweh) [12], but as it refers in [13] to a supplemental passage in Gen 22[16] it must be assigned to the harmonist (unless with Bacon [13] be ascribed to a subsequent hand, in which case the rest might be derived from J). But the whole interview is parallel in style and thought to another in Num 14[11..], where again there seem traces of later adaptation. On the whole, therefore, [9–14] is here treated as continuous. The introduction to it is found in [7..], which has apparently replaced the account of the conclusion of Moses' stay in the mount preceding his descent [15]. The verses were probably known to D in their present position cp Deut 9[12..]. It may be noticed that [9] which seems to make a fresh start is omitted by Ⓖ. Steuernagel (*Deut* 33) ingeniously supposes that it has been introduced here from Deut 9[13].

32[12] So ℌ. **T** *earth.*

[15] The reference to the 'testimony' shows here the hand of Rᴾ cp [P]161: in Deut 9[11] [15] the sacred stones are called 'tables of the covenant'; they are carried in Moses' hand cp 34[29]; D represents them as borne in his hands Deut 9[15] cp Ex 32[19] Qᵉrî (Kᵉtîb *hand*). The detail in [15b] is after the manner of P; for the rare use of עֵבֶר in the sense of 'side' cp 25[37] 28[6] ℌ.

[25a] The account of the massacre in which the Levites take Yahweh's side is difficult to harmonize with the rest of the narrative, for after so severe a punishment why should the people need further chastisement [35]? It is not clear what is the precise meaning of [25], nor whether Moses pauses at the gate [26] on first entering the camp on the descent from the mount, or whether (after expostulating with Aaron [21..]) he then takes up his position there to prevent the escape of the guilty people. Further obscurity shrouds the close of the incident [29], where the tribe of Levi is apparently consecrated as the sacred tribe in consequence of its vigorous championship of Yahweh's cause. This is altogether different from the programme of P in 28: and it seems wholly unconnected with the arrangements of the

J	E	JE	J	E	P	
		Aaron had let them loose for a [M]derision among their [w']enemies: [26] then Moses stood in the gate of the camp, and said, Whoso is on Yahweh's side, [let him come] unto me. And all the sons of Levi [x']gathered themselves together unto him. [27] And he said unto them, [o]Thus saith Yahweh, the God of Israel, Put ye every man his sword upon his thigh, and go to and fro from gate to gate throughout the camp, and [g]slay [p]every man his [p]brother, and every man his [p]companion, and every man his neighbour. [28] And the sons of Levi did [q]according to the word of Moses: and there fell of the people that day about three thousand men. [29] And Moses said, [M]Consecrate yourselves to-day to Yahweh, [M]yea, every man [M]against his son, and [M]against his brother; that he may bestow upon you a blessing this day....				
		[30] [N]And it came to pass on the [i]morrow, that Moses said unto the people, Ye have sinned a [s']great sin: and [e]now I will go up unto Yahweh; [r]peradventure I shall make [y']atonement for your sin. [31] And Moses returned unto Yahweh, and said, [z']Oh, this people have sinned a [s']great sin, and have made them gods of gold. [32] Yet [e]now, if thou wilt [z']forgive their sin—; and if not, [s]blot me, [t]I pray thee, out of thy [a'']book which thou hast written. [33] And Yahweh said unto Moses, Whosoever hath sinned against me, him will I blot out of my book. [34] And [e]now go, [b'']lead the people unto [the place] of which I have spoken unto thee: behold, [c'']mine [u]angel shall go before thee: nevertheless in the day when I [d'']visit, I will visit their sin upon them.			r 64	
		[35] And Yahweh [e'']smote the people, because they made the calf, which Aaron made.				
		33[1] [N]And Yahweh spake unto Moses, Depart, [a]go up hence, thou and the people which thou hast [a]brought up out of the land of Egypt, unto the land of which I [b]sware unto Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, saying, Unto thy seed will I [b]give it: [2] and I will [c]send an [c]angel before thee; and I will [d]drive out the [e]Canaanite, the Amorite, and the Hittite, and the Perizzite, the Hivite, and the Jebusite: [3] unto a land [d]flowing with milk and honey: for I will not go up in the [e]midst of thee; for thou art a [f]stiffnecked people: lest I [f]consume thee in the way. [4] And when the people heard these evil tidings, they [g]mourned: and no man did put on him his [h]ornaments.			a 136 b 217 c 4 d 34 e 58	

w' 15[7]
x' Gen 29[3] ct [1]
y' Ct [P]25
z' Gen 50[17]
a'' Mal 3[16] Ps 69[28] Dan 12[1]
b'' 13[17]
c'' 23[23] 33[2]
d'' Cp Gen 50[25] Am 3[14]
e'' Cp 12[23] Josh 24[5]
a Gen 13[1]
b Gen 12[7]
c Cp 23[20] 32[34]
d Cp 23[28] 14[8]
e Cp 23[23] 17[c]
f [5] 32[9].
g Gen 37[34] Num 14[39]*
h [5]. ℌ* cp 3[22]

Tent of Meeting described in **E** 33[7–11] where the care of the sanctuary is entrusted to the Ephraimite Joshua. These considerations suggest the derivation of [25–29] from **J**, who has already recognized the sacerdotal function, though the relation between the new Levites and the priests mentioned in 19[22] is nowhere explained. The ascription is not free from objection on grounds both of matter and form. Linguistically, the phrases [25] 'broken loose' 'let them loose,' [27] 'thus saith Yahweh God of Israel' 'every man his brother,' point to **E**; though in [28] 'according to the word of Moses' the style of **J** is approached: no sharp lines, however, can be drawn around the possibilities of interchange in such expressions. More perplexing is the question, if [25–29] be drawn from **J**, what was its antecedent in that document? Did **J** also relate the calf-apostasy? There is no reason to think so, unless it be this passage itself, which would hardly have been introduced here by the harmonist unless its connexion in **J** had some affinities with its new setting in **E**. It seems to replace in the combined narrative the manifestation of the divine anger against Aaron, which must have been a feature in the original story cp Deut 9[20]. This circumstance confirms its assignment to **J**, but throws no light on its place in that document. Bacon conjectures that the offence thus punished was rather rebellion than idolatry; but there is no adequate evidence for any confident decision.

32[25b] **M** ℌ *whispering.*—ℌ†. [29a] **M** ℌ *Fill your hand.*

[29b] **M** Or, *for every man* hath been *against his son and against his brother.*

[29cd] **M** Or, *upon.*

[30] In [30–35] it is usual to see the sequel of **E**'s narrative, and the margins show abundant points of contact with **E**'s usage. There is still, however, some incongruity between [33] and [35]. The implication of [34b] is that the punishment is indefinitely postponed (the passage has been thought to refer to the fall of the kingdom of Israel Am 3[14]), and the immediate infliction of the plague in [35] is wholly unexpected. In allotting it to **J** Bacon can only overcome a similar incongruity in relation to [25–29] by suggesting that R[P] has inserted 'people' for the original authors of the movement whom he identifies with Nadab and Abihu. It is further probable that [30–34] is a later expansion of the narrative. The metaphor of the 'book' only appears elsewhere in post-exilian literature: the developed consciousness of sin, atonement, and personal responsibility (cp Ezek 18) may belong to a more advanced order of theological reflexion. In [35] the awkward juxtaposition of the two final clauses seems to result from some editorial manipulation.

33[1] In 32[34] Moses has already received instructions to commence the march. The fresh command 'depart, go up hence' is accordingly ascribed to **J**. The sequence of [3] on [1] is interrupted by the renewed promise of the guidance of the Angel, introduced probably from 32[34] cp 23[20 23]. But this promise is practically inconsistent with the refusal of Yahweh [3] to accompany the people, for the Angel was his manifested presence. Both grammatical connexion and harmonizing purpose mark this verse, therefore, as an addition. In [4] the mourning of the people on hearing that they must undertake the journey without the divine aid, has been apparently amplified by the clause 'and no man did put on him his ornaments,' which is wanting in (𝔊). [4b] is really inconsistent with [6] which is most naturally assigned to **E** (its absence from (𝔊), however, may be also due to the perception of its incongruity with [6], so that it was dropped to avoid confusion). On the hypothesis that [7–11] was preceded by an account of the institution of the sacred tent cp [7S], Bacon (with whom Battersby agrees) suggests that the ornaments which the people now strip from themselves as they had once stripped them from the Egyptians (ℌ = 'spoiled') were offered in penitential self-devotion for the decoration of the Meeting-place of Yahweh and Israel. **R** has then combined the representations of [1–4] and [6] by means of the connexion in [5]. But in respect of **J**'s version of the Covenant now placed in 34, the command in [1] to depart is evidently placed too soon.

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[5] *And Yahweh said unto Moses, Say unto the children of Israel, Ye are a [f]stiffnecked people: if I go up into the [e]midst of thee for one moment, I shall [f]consume thee: therefore now [i]put off thy ornaments[i] from thee, that I may know what to do unto thee.*

[6] And the children of Israel [j]stripped themselves of their ornaments from mount [f]Horeb onward.

[7] ...[NL]Now Moses used to take the tent and to pitch it without the camp, [k]afar off from the camp; and he called it, The tent of meeting. And it came to pass, that every one which [l]sought Yahweh went out unto the tent of meeting, which was without the camp. [8] And it came to pass, when Moses went out unto the Tent, that all the people rose up, and stood, every man at his tent door, and looked after Moses, until he was gone into the Tent. [9] And it came to pass, when Moses entered into the Tent, the [m]pillar of cloud [n]descended, and stood at the door of the Tent[n]: and [Yahweh] spake with Moses. [10] And all the people saw the pillar of cloud stand at the door of the Tent: and all the people rose up and [o]worshipped, every man at his tent door. [11] And Yahweh spake unto Moses [p]face to face, as a [g]man speaketh unto his friend. And he turned again into the camp: [L]but his [h]minister Joshua, the son of Nun, a young man, [q]departed not out of the Tent.

[12] [N]And Moses said unto Yahweh, See, thou sayest unto me, [a]Bring up this people: and thou hast not let me know [M]whom thou wilt send with me. Yet thou hast said, I know thee by name, and thou hast also [i]found grace in my sight. [13] Now therefore, I pray thee, if I have [i]found grace in thy sight, shew me now thy [N]ways, that I may know thee, to the end that I may find grace in thy sight: and consider that this nation is thy people. [14] And he said, My [r]presence shall go [with thee] and I will give thee [s]rest. [15] And he said unto him, If thy presence go not [with me] [a]carry us not up hence. [16] For wherein [t]now shall it be known that I have [i]found grace in thy sight, I and thy people? is it not in that thou goest with us, so that we be [u]separated, I and thy people, from all the people that are upon the [j]face of the [T]ground?

[17] And Yahweh said unto Moses, I will do this thing also that thou hast spoken: for thou hast [i]found grace in my sight, and I know thee by name. [18] And he said, Shew me, I pray thee, thy [v]glory. [19] And he said, I will make all my goodness pass before thee, and will [w]proclaim the name of Yahweh before thee; and I will be [x]gracious to whom I will be gracious, and will [y]shew mercy on whom I will shew mercy. [20] And he said, Thou canst not [k]see my face: for man shall not see me and [z]live. [21] And Yahweh said, Behold, there is a place by me, and thou shalt stand

i ℌ†
j ℌ Hithpa† cp 3[22]
7-11 *L* Iob*a*
k Gen 21[16]
l Cp Hos 5[6]
m Cp 13[21]N
n Num 12[5] cp Deut 31[15]
o Gen 22[5]
p Cp Num 12[8] Gen 32[30] Deut 5[4]
11b *L* IIh*b*
q 13[22] cp Num 11[28]
r 15 ℌ=*face* 11 cp 20[3]
s [D]98
t Gen 27[33]
u 8[22]
v Num 14[21]. ct [P]79
w 34[5].
x Cp Gen 33[5] Num 6[25]
y Deut 13[17] ℌ= *have compassion*
z Cp Deut 5[24]
f 10[5]
g 11[2b]
h 10[9]
i 31[a]
j 40
k 20[3]

33[7] The sudden introduction of this description of the Sanctuary is in the highest degree surprising. 'The tent' [7] is evidently well known, but nothing has yet been said about it. For it is clear that this cannot be the Levitical Dwelling 25–29, though in 29[42] it is called the Tent of Meeting, (1) because the Dwelling has not yet been constructed cp 35–40, and (2) because the place of the Dwelling is in the centre of the camp, with the twelve tribes grouped round it Num 2. The Tent of Meeting, on the other hand, is outside, at a distance cp Num 11[16] [24–30] 12[4]. Further, it is not served by the Levitical priesthood, but by the Ephraimite Joshua [11] Num 11[28], whose presence in the Dwelling would have been forbidden under pain of death. The passage in the text, therefore, conceives the sanctuary in a manner absolutely incompatible with P, and must be drawn from a wholly independent source (cp *Introd* VIII i 2 i 51). The only available sources are J and E, and the decision in favour of E is unanimous among the critics. No doubt is possible that 7–11 Num 11[16]. [24–30] and 12[4].. all belong to the same group of narratives: while the association of Moses with Joshua cp 24[13] 17[9], and the stress laid on prophecy, identify them with E. But if E described the usage of the sacred Tent, he must also have narrated its institution, and with it the construction of the ark. In the final compilation this section was no doubt set aside for the more elaborate representations of P. But it is a probable conjecture that such an account once followed [6]. The Levitical Dwelling is wrought out of the gifts of the people. The story of their voluntary offerings no doubt had its counterpart in the earlier source: and the statement that the children of Israel parted with their ornaments seems best explained by the application of them to the preparation of the Tent. A curious point of verbal contact is found in the employment of the same term 'spoiled themselves' which served earlier for the 'spoiling' of the Egyptians.

[12a] The expostulation of Moses in this passage seems directly connected with the command in [1–3]. But it may be doubted whether the materials of [12–23] are now arranged in their proper order. The words quoted in [12] 'Yet thou hast said' &c are not uttered till [17]: either, therefore, [17] once stood before [12], or, if [17] is in its place, some other divine utterance must have preceded [12]. The latter is the view of Bacon who unites [3] with [12] by means of Num 11[10b–15] and a conjectural passage containing the required phrase (it must be remembered that before the union of JE with P Ex 33–34[28] was followed immediately by Num 10[29–12]). Another suggestion is that of Kautzsch who proposes to translate [14] as a question, 'Shall (or must) my presence go with thee, and must I give thee rest?' while Dillmann regards [14–16] as the sequel of 34[6–9], a suggestion which has the support of Driver. The difficulty may be partially met by a simple rearrangement of the verses; if [17] be transferred as the antecedent of [12], the prayer of Moses [13] 'Make me to *know* thy way' is answered by the promise 'My presence shall go with thee.' Of this [16] Moses desires immediate assurance, which Yahweh grants with the announcement [19] that he will make his goodness pass before him. But Moses, still urgent, prays that Yahweh will enable him to *see* his glory, his very self [18]. The prayer cannot be satisfied [20], 'Thou canst not *see* my face' (the 'presence' of [15]): but in the cleft of the rock he shall behold his back as Yahweh passes by [21–23]. The more natural order would seem to be [17] [12–15] [19] [18] [20–23], leading directly to 34[6–9].

[12b] M Or, *him whom.*

[13] ℌ (Kᵉtîb) 𝔗 𝔖 𝔊[ven] *way*: 𝔊[ABL] 𝔏 *thyself* (*thy face*) cp [20], and Dillm *in loc.* [16] So ℌ. 𝕿 *earth.*

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upon the rock: [22] and it shall come to pass, while my [v]glory passeth by, that I will
[a'] Is 2[21]† put thee in a [a']cleft of the rock, and will [i]cover thee with my hand until I have
passed by: [23] and I will take away mine hand, and thou shalt see my back: but my
[k]face shall not be seen.

[a] 4 ℌ *stones* ct 24[12] 31[18]
[b] Cp 28N
[c] 19[11] Josh 8[4]
[d] 19[20]

34[1] [N]And Yahweh said unto Moses, Hew thee two tables of [a]stone
like unto the first: and [b]I will write upon the tables the words that were on
the first tables, which thou brakest. [2] And be [c]ready by the morning, and
come up in the morning unto mount [a]Sinai, and present thyself there to
me on the [d]top of the mount. [3] And no man shall come up with thee,
[b]neither let any man be seen throughout all the mount; [b]neither let the
[c]flocks nor herds feed before that mount. [4] And he hewed two tables of
[a]stone like unto the first; and Moses rose up early in the morning, and
went up unto mount [a]Sinai, as Yahweh had commanded him, and took
in his hand two tables of [a]stone. [5] And Yahweh [d]descended in the
[e] Ct 33[9] [e]cloud, [T]and he stood with him there, and [e]called upon [M]the name of
Yahweh.

[f] 33[19]
[g] Deut 4[31]* cp 33[19]
[h] 22[27]* cp 33[19]
[i] Num 14[18]*
[j] 20[7] ℌ = *hold [him] guiltless*
[k] 32[9]
[l] Num 14[19].

[6] [N]And Yahweh passed by before him, and [f]proclaimed, Yahweh, Yahweh, a God
[g]full of compassion and [h]gracious, [i]slow to anger, and plenteous in [f]mercy and truth;
[7] [M]keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin: and
that will by no means [j]clear [the guilty]; visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon
the children, and upon the children's children, upon the third and upon the fourth
generation. [8] And Moses [g]made haste, and [h]bowed his head toward the earth, and
worshipped. [9] And he said, If now I have [l]found grace in thy sight, O Lord, let the
[J]Lord, I pray thee, go in the [k]midst of us; for it is a [k]stiffnecked people; and
[l]pardon our iniquity and our sin, and [N]take us for thine inheritance.

[m] 3[20]
11-16 [L]5d*b*
[n] Cp [D]29[b]
[o] Cp 33[2]
[p] 3[8] Deut 7[1]

[10] [N]And he said, Behold, I [l]make a covenant: before all thy people I will
do [m]marvels, such as have not been [M]wrought in all the earth, nor in any nation:
and all the people among which thou art shall see the work of Yahweh, for it is
a terrible thing that I do with thee. [11] [L]Observe thou that which I [n]command thee
this day: behold, I [o]drive out before thee the [p]Amorite, and the Canaanite, and the

						a	76
						b	11
						c	33
						d	19
						e	15[a]
						f	57[a]
						g	43
						h	12[b]
						i	31[a]
						j	56
						k	58
						l	181

34[1] At this point J's narrative of the Covenant [10-27] is introduced (cp 20[22N]), but in the present text it is combined with other matter which can hardly have belonged to it originally. It is evident that there is a close connexion between [6-9] and 33[19], the solemn proclamation of [6.] being the answer to the entreaties of Moses and the fulfilment of the divine promise. The scene in the cleft of the rock where Yahweh passes by 33[22] 34[6] declaring his own august titles, is in a different locality from the top of the mountain where he descends for Moses to stand with him and invoke his aid. But when these verses are removed, it would still seem that the preparation for the great theophany [1-5] is not in its original place. The resemblance to the passages assigned to J in 19 cp [2.] with 19[11b-13] 20.., makes it probable that the incident here depicted stood originally in close connexion with them, and constituted the core of J's account of the Sinai-revelation. The Covenant itself is obviously new; the opening words of [10] have no other covenant behind them. But the transpositions consequent on the union of J and E rendered it necessary to find another place for J's version of the 'Words of Yahweh' cp [28N]; and it is here brought into connexion with a renewal of the Tables which had been broken in sight of the apostate Israel. The phrases which seem to have been inserted to effect this adaptation are printed in small type. From Deut 10[1-5] it may be plausibly inferred that the narrative also provided for the construction of the ark, this reference having been afterwards removed as inconsistent with [25] and [37] cp 33[7N]. It is, however, possible, so some critics have thought, that the directions concerning the stones may have been derived from E which must have contained an account of their replacement; to this suggestion of Kuenen's Wellh replies that if E did relate the restoration of the tables, the natural place would have been before the account of the sanctuary which contained the ark 33[7..]. Others have suggested that as in [27] Moses is instructed to write the divine words, the original command ran 'thou shalt write,' which was afterwards altered to the promise 'I will write' in conformity with E's representation that the inscription on the stones was divine cp 31[18b] 32[16]. The sudden introduction of the name Moses after [4a] lends a slight additional probability to the view that [1 4a c] are foreign elements wrought into J's text [2 3 4b 5].

[5a] So **M**. **T** *and stood with him there, and proclaimed the name of Yahweh.*

[5b] **M** Or, *Yahweh by name.*

[6] For the place of this section cp [1N] and 33[12N]. Bacon ascribes [7b] to R[d], and Battersby regards the proclamation of the divine titles as the expression of a later school of religious thought. Such aggregates of predicates are supposed to belong to a more advanced devotional vocabulary than can be traced with certainty in the writers of the eighth century (cp the difficulty suggested by Am 4[13] 5[8] &c). If this view be adopted, it carries with it a similar amplification in 33[19]. On the other hand cp Dr A B Davidson (Hastings' *DB* ii 202a), 'the very surprising ancient passage Ex 34[5].. left little to be added later.'

[7] **M** See 20[5]..

[9] Dillm is inclined to adopt Ewald's emendation 'and lead us' (*nᶜhithānu* for *nᶜhaltānu*), with reference to the refusal of Yahweh to 'go up in the midst' of Israel 33[3] cp 33[12]. Dillm then finds the answer to the prayer of Moses in 33[14-17], a connexion also favoured by Driver; cp 33[12N].

[10a] The covenant in [10-27] is obviously parallel (cp 20[22N]) to the 'Words of Yahweh' in [23] which are solemnly adopted as the base of the Covenant in 24[3-8]. As it appeared, however, that the 'Words' had undergone considerable editorial manipulation and expansion, so it may be affirmed that the 'Covenant' of 34 has received various additions to the simplicity of its primitive form. This may be stated on general grounds of analogy, for example, with the Ten Words of 20[1-17], an analogy recognized by the author (or implied by the editor) of [27-28]: and it is confirmed by the observation of the occasional close parallels both in phraseology and thought with Deut cp [11-13] 15. 21. The language of [10] is also not without features of apparently later date; the announcement to Moses of wonders transcending all human experience resembles similar vindications of the divine greatness by Moses to Pharaoh, in which there was reason to see a later hand, e g 9[16]: the phrase 'such as have not been *created*' finds, indeed, support in Num 16[30], but has natural affinities with the language of later prophecy, e g Jer 31[22] Is 45[7] 48[7] &c (cp Cheyne, *Introd to the Book of Isaiah* 21[1] and [P]48); and 'work of Yahweh' is found elsewhere only in Deut 11[7] (cp [3]) Josh 24[31] || Judg 2[7] Jer 51[10]. On the whole, though with hesitation, the chief part of [10] is assigned to the expander. Much other growth must probably be recognized if the description in [28] be applied to the original form of [10-27].

[10b] **M** ℌ *created.*

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Hittite, and the Perizzite, and the Hivite, and the Jebusite. [12] [q]Take heed to thyself, lest thou [l]make a [r]covenant with the inhabitants of the land whither thou goest, lest it be for a [s]snare in the midst of thee: [13] [L]but ye shall [t]break down their altars, and [t]dash in pieces their [M]pillars, and ye shall [t]cut down their [M]Asherim: [14] [NL]for thou shalt worship no [u]other god: for Yahweh, whose name is [v]jealous, is a [v]jealous God: [15] lest thou [l]make a [r]covenant with the inhabitants of the land, and they [w]go a whoring after their gods, and do sacrifice unto their gods, and one call thee and thou eat of his sacrifice; [16] and thou [x]take of their daughters unto thy sons, and their daughters go a whoring after their gods, and make thy sons go a whoring after their gods. [17] [L]Thou shalt [y]make thee no [z]molten gods[z]. [18] [L]The [a']feast of unleavened bread shalt thou keep. Seven days thou shalt eat unleavened bread, [b']as I commanded thee, at the time appointed in the month Abib: for in the month [c']Abib thou camest out from Egypt. [19] [Ld']All that openeth the womb is mine; and all thy [m]cattle that is male, the firstlings of ox and sheep. [20] And the [e']firstling of an ass thou shalt redeem with a [M]lamb: and if thou wilt not redeem it, then thou shalt break its neck. All the firstborn of thy sons thou shalt redeem[e']. [L]And [f']none shall [g']appear before me empty. [21] [NL]['] Six days thou shalt work, but on the seventh day thou shalt rest: in [i']plowing time and in [j']harvest thou shalt rest. [22] [L]And thou shalt observe the feast of [k']weeks, [even] of the firstfruits of wheat [j']harvest, [L]and the feast of [j']ingathering at the year's [M]end. [23] Three times in the year shall all thy males [l']appear before the Lord Yahweh[n], the God of Israel. [24] [N]For I will [l']cast out nations before thee, and [m']enlarge thy borders[m']: neither shall any man [n']desire thy land, when thou goest up to [g']appear before Yahweh thy God three times in the year. [25] [L]Thou shalt not [o']offer the blood of my sacrifice with leavened bread; [L]neither shall the sacrifice of the [N]feast of the passover [To]remain all night unto the morning. [26] [L]The [p']first of the firstfruits of thy ground thou shalt bring unto the house of Yahweh thy God. [L]Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk. [27] [L]And Yahweh said unto Yahweh, Write thou these words: for after the [q']tenor of these words I have [l]made a covenant with thee and with Israel. [28] [N]And he was there with Yahweh [r']forty days and forty nights; he did [s']neither eat bread, nor drink water. And [t']he wrote upon the tables the words of the covenant, the ten [M]commandments[N].

m 18

n 120

o 178

q Cp Gen 24[6] D[10]8
r Deut 7[2]
s Deut 7[16]
13 *L*5e*a*
t Deut 7[5]
14 *L*5a*a*
u 20[3]
v 20[5]
w Num 14[33] Deut 31[16]
x Deut 7[3]
17 *L*5b*a*
y 20[4 23]
z Lev 19[4]†
18–24 *L*9a*a*
18a *L*9e*b*
a' 23[15]
b' 13[6]
c' 13[4]
19–20b *L*8a*b*b*b*
d' 13[12] ct 22[29.]
e' 13[13]
20c *L*7e*a*
f' 23[15b]
g' 23[8.] cp 20[3]
21 *L*9b*a*
h' 23[12]
i' Gen 45[6]*
j' 23[16]
22a *L*9f*a*
k' Deut 16[9] ct 23[16]
22b *L*9i*a*
l' Cp D39[b] ct 23[28.]
m' Deut 12[20] 19[8]*
n' 20[17] ‖ Deut 5[21] 7[25] Josh 7[21]
25 *L*7a·n*a*
o' Ct 23[18]
25b *L*7c*a*9d*b*
26a *L*8c*b*
p' 23[19]
26b *L*6d*a*
27 *L*11*a*
q' Gen 43[7]
r' Cp 24[18b]
s' Deut 9[9 18]
t' Cp [1] Deut 10[4]

34[13a] **M** Or, *obelisks.*—Cp 23[24].

[13b] **M** Probably the wooden symbols of a goddess Asherah.

[14] The particle 'for' may be the connecting link between the previous exhortation and the first 'Word.'

[20] **M** Or, *kid.*

[21] This verse is obviously out of place cp 23[12], as it interrupts the sequence of the feasts, and the law of firstlings connected with the early spring festival of Unleavened Bread. It probably stood between [17] and [18].

[22] **M** 𝔊 *revolution.*—𝔊* 1 Sam 1[20].

[24] The indications of Deuteronomic phraseology in this verse, 'cast out,' 'enlarge thy borders,' 'Yahweh thy God,' receive a curious confirmation from the fact that the worshipper who desires to 'see Yahweh's face' must *go up.* Does this mean to the central sanctuary at Jerusalem cp Deut 17[8]? Apparently, for it is provided that during his absence at the distant temple his land shall be undisturbed.

[25a] In 23[18] 'my feast'; here limited apparently to the passover, which is not otherwise named, and may be specified in later harmony with Deut 16[4].

[25b] 𝔊 as in 23[18] Deut 16[4]. **T** *be left.*

[28a] This verse seems the natural sequel of [10–27] and is so here printed. But it is not free from embarrassment. If the text of [27.] is continuous, then the words of the Covenant were inscribed on the tables by Moses. On the other hand in [1] Yahweh promises to write the words himself. Can [28] and [1] be assigned to the same source? The suggestion already quoted in [1N] for overcoming this difficulty seems certainly rather forced. It must, therefore, be regarded as conceivable that [28] is wholly or partially derived from another document, which can only be **E**. This view receives some support from two circumstances. (1) The words of the Covenant are called the Ten Words, a title which is elsewhere given to 20[2–17] cp Deut 10[4]: for reasons stated in [28cN] it does not seem likely that this designation was also applied to **J**'s Covenant (it may, however, be supposed that the appositional phrase is a later gloss). (2) A very early use of the words *he wrote* &c applies them unhesitatingly to Yahweh Deut 10[4]. **D**, therefore, could hardly have found them in a connexion in which Moses was the subject: in reading Deut 10[1–4] it does not seem possible to thrust in Ex 34[10–27] between [3] and [4]. As **E** reported the first tables to have been written by God 32[16], it would be natural for the second pair to be in like manner divinely graven: and those critics who find traces of **E** in [1] and [4], see similar indications in [28].

[28b] **M** 𝔊 *words.*—Different reconstructions of the 'Ten Words' out of [14–26] have been offered by F W Newman, *Hist of the Hebrew Monarchy*[2] (1847) 123; Stade, *Gesch* i 510; Wellh, *Comp* 331·; Holzinger, *Einl* 217·; Bacon, *Exodus* 297; Briggs, *Higher Crit* 189–210.

[28c] At the close of the difficult sections containing the Sinai-Horeb revelation according to **JE** 19–24 32–34[28], it may be desirable to sum up the general results of the analysis, bearing in mind the cautious remark of Driver that 'more than one hypothesis may be framed which will account, at least apparently, for the facts demanding explanation.' The present form of the narrative is the result of a long process the steps of which can be very imperfectly traced. The elements of the problem can perhaps best be approached through a consideration of the parallel narrative in Deut: the following table exhibits the corresponding passages in **J E** and **D**.*

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* The passages are cited in their present form irrespective of the activity of **R**.

J (*Ex*)	E (*Ex*)	D (*Deut*)
Theophany at Sinai 3_{19}.	Theophany at the Mount (Horeb) E_{19}.	The Covenant on Horeb 5_{2-5}.
	The Ten Words 20^{1-17}.	The Ten Words 5_{6-21}.
	Approach of Moses alone 20^{18-21}.	Approach of Moses alone 5_{22-31}.
	The Words of Yahweh 20_{22-26}.	
	The Book of Judgements $21-23^{9}$.	
	The Words of Yahweh (continued) 23^{10-33}.	
Summons to Moses, Aaron, &c 24^{1-2}.		
	The Covenant of the Words of Yahweh 24^{3-8}.	
Ascent of Moses, Aaron, &c, to a sacred Feast 24^{9-11}.		
	Ascent of Moses and Joshua 24^{12-15a}.	
	Moses in the Mount for forty days 24^{18b}.	Moses in the Mount for forty days 9^{9}.
	Gift of the tables 31^{18b}.	Gift of the Tables 9^{10}.
	The Golden Calf 32^{1-6}.	
(JE) Warning of Yahweh and intercession of Moses 32^{7-14}.		
		Warning of Yahweh 9^{12-14}.
	Descent of Moses and Joshua; fracture of the Stones; destruction of the calf and expostulation with Aaron 32^{15-24}.	Descent of Moses; fracture of the Stones; intercession of Moses, anger of Yahweh with Aaron, and destruction of the calf $9^{15-21\ 25-29}$.
Massacre by the Levites and their appointment as the sacred tribe 32^{25-29}.		
Instructions to depart and refusal of Yahweh to go with Israel 33^{1-4}.	Intercession of Moses; instructions to depart; plague 32^{30-35}.	
	The people strip themselves of their ornaments. Usage of the Tent of Meeting 33^{6-11}.	
Colloquy with Yahweh 33^{12-23}.		
Preparation of the Stones and ascent of Mount Sinai 34^{1-5}.		Preparation of the Stones and Ark, and ascent of Mount Sinai 10^{1-3}.
Yahweh passes by before Moses 34^{6-9}.		
Yahweh's Covenant 34^{10-27}.		
Moses writes the Words of the Covenant, the Ten Words 34^{28}.	[? Yahweh writes the Words of the Covenant, the Ten Words 34^{28}.]	Yahweh writes the Ten Words, and the stones are placed in the ark 10^{4-5}.
		Separation of the tribe of Levi to carry the ark 10^{8}.

The questions suggested by this table are manifold; but (1) it may be well to start from the element common to **J E** and **D**, viz the solemn institution of a Covenant at Sinai (Horeb) between Yahweh and Israel. Yet the terms of this Covenant are not identical. In all three documents they are described as 'Words,' but the contents of the 'Words' do not agree. There is a close approximation between the Covenant-words of **J** and **E**, but the Ten Words of **D** are obviously independent. (2) The representation of **D** is definite and emphatic that the published legislation at Horeb was limited to the Ten Words. In Deut 5^{30} the people are dismissed to their tents, while Moses remains on the mount: 'but as for thee stand thou here by me, and I will speak unto thee all the commandment, and the statutes, and the judgements which thou shalt teach them, that they may do them in the land which I give them to possess it.' The new legislation which forms the substance of the Deuteronomic code, is thus conceived to have been communicated to Moses at Horeb, but first promulgated to Israel on the eve of their passage over the Jordan to take possession of the land of Canaan. But (3) while the greater part of the Covenant-words of **J** and **E** reappear later on in **D** among the laws delivered in the land of Moab, **E** contains in addition the Ten Words which **D** selects as the basis of the Horeb-covenant, and a book of Judgements besides, which is also largely reproduced at the end of the wanderings in **D**. It was long ago noticed by Goethe that according to the present arrangement of 34^{10-28} the second tables contained another version of the Ten Words, and recent criticism has widely adopted this view. But that was seen to carry with it the implication that it was derived from a different source; and as soon as the Ten Words of 20 were definitely assigned to **E**, the Ten Words of 34 naturally fell to **J**. Accordingly (to go no further back than 1880) Dillm proposed to transfer 34^{11-26} to the scene between Yahweh and Moses, Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, and the seventy representative elders 24^{1-2}; the feast upon the mount $^{9-11}$ then solemnized the ratification of the covenant. It is impossible here to review all the suggestions of reconstruction which have since been made, but two schemes require a brief exposition. (1) In his treatise on the *Hexateuch* Kuen dwelt with much force on the evidences of a Deuteronomic redaction of the Sinai-Horeb sections of **JE**; and he pointed out that while **D** had used the Covenant-book of **E** ('Words' + 'Judgements'), he made no reference to its delivery to Moses or its acceptance by the people, and further that there was also no room in **D** for the Covenant-words of **J** at Sinai. From this he inferred that neither **E**'s Covenant-book nor **J**'s Covenant-words formed part of **JE**'s account of the events at Sinai. Seeking a more suitable place for them originally, and observing that the contents of both codes were designed for the settled life of Canaan, he suggested that they had originally occupied in **JE** the place now assumed by **D** itself, viz the 'field of Moab.' The promulgation of the Deuteronomic 'Statutes and Judgements' is itself regarded as a second Covenant; it superseded both the Covenant-book and the Covenant-words; and if these were to be preserved at all, it was needful to find for them some other occasion. It was the work of R^{d} to transfer them to the Sinai-Horeb period; and adapt them to the new setting. These were not, however, the only additions which the original narratives received. The Ten Words in 20^{1-17}, and the fabrication of the Golden Calf, were incorporated into **E**, when it passed from Ephraim and was expanded in Judea. The nucleus of the Horeb Covenant-story was found in $24^{1.\ 9-11}$ which Kuen ascribed to E^{1}; the Covenant-book and the Covenant-sacrifice beneath the mount on which Moses died in Moab being fused together with the sacred Covenant-meal upon the Mount of God. Thus **E**'s Horeb-scenes underwent successive enlargements in different stages of its history, the latest of all being the great transposition of the Covenant-book from the end to the beginning of the wanderings. The redistribution of Kuen has been enthusiastically adopted by Cornill and Krätzschmar. (2) A very different reconstruction has been presented by Bacon. Distinguishing the Covenant-book of the older criticism into a collection of 'Judgements' and a book of the 'Words of Yahweh,' he accepts Kuen's theory of the displacement caused by union with **D** so far as concerns the 'Judgements': but this leaves the Covenant-words and ceremony still at Horeb. The main problem then before him is to determine the original places of the two Covenants in **J** and **E**. While, with Kuen, he sends the 'Judgements' of $21-23^{9}$ forward to Moab, with Dillm he draws the Covenant-words of **J** back to $24^{1.\ 9-11}$ and regards them as **J**'s version of the Ten Words. The Ten Words of 20^{1-21} are left in their place: but if they constituted the sole contents of the Horeb-covenant of **E** (cp Deut 5), what occasion can be found for further Words and their deliberate ratification? These are viewed as a renewal of the Covenant-relation which has been broken by the great apostasy. The brilliant combinations of Bacon assume many dislocations in the existing narrative, but do not involve such wholesale transpositions as the proposals of Kuen; they save much more for the original material of the Sinai-Horeb revelation both in **J** and **E**. The two documents, according to Bacon, must have run here, as elsewhere, a closely parallel course: and the general harmony of their contents may be exhibited as under:—

J	E
Yahweh appears on Sinai $19^{20-22\ 24\ 11b-13\ 25}$.	Yahweh (Elohim) appears on Horeb $19^{3a\ 9r-11a\ 14-17\ 19}$.
	The Ten Words 20^{1-21} 19^{3b}[. .] $^{6b-8}$.
Ascent of Moses &c: Covenant-meal $24^{1.\ 9-11}$.	
Preparation of the Stones, the Covenant-words $34^{1-5r\ 10-28r}$.	Ascent of Moses to receive the Tables $24^{12-14\ 18b}$.
[Rebellion of Israel.]	
Intercession with Yahweh 32^{7-14r}.	The Golden Calf 32^{1-6}.
Massacre by the Levites 33^{25r-29}.	Moses descends with the tables 31^{18b} 32^{16} and destroys the Calf 32^{17-24}.
Chastisement by Yahweh who commands Moses to depart 32^{35r} $33^{1\ 3}$.	Intercession of Moses who is instructed to lead the people away 32^{30-34}.

JE | P^h | P^g | P^s

29 [N]And it came to pass, when Moses came down from mount [P]Sinai with the two tables of the [q]testimony in [N]Moses' hand, when he came down from the mount, that Moses wist not that the skin of his face [M]shone [M]by reason of his speaking [r]with him. 30 And when Aaron and all the children of Israel saw Moses, behold, the skin of his face shone; and they were afraid to come nigh him. 31 And Moses called unto them; and Aaron and all the [s]rulers of the [t]congregation returned unto him: and Moses spake to them. 32 And afterward all the children of Israel came nigh: and he gave them in commandment all that Yahweh had spoken [r]with him in mount Sinai. 33 And when Moses had [w']done speaking [r]with them, he put a [v']veil on his face. 3 But when Moses went in before Yahweh to [w']speak with him, he took the [v']veil off, until he came out; and he came out, and spake unto the children of Israel that which he [x']was commanded; 35 and the children of Israel saw the face of Moses, that the skin of Moses' face shone: and Moses put the [v']veil upon his face again, until he [w']went in to speak with him.

35^1 [NL]And Moses [a]assembled all the [a]congregation of the children of Israel, and said unto them, [b]These are the words which Yahweh hath commanded, that ye should do them. 2 [M]Six days shall [c]work be done, but on the seventh day there shall be to you an [d]holy day, a [e]sabbath

p 7
q 161
r 185^a
s 131
t 45

[w'] Lev 16^{20} Josh 19^{51} ℌ* cp Gen 17^{22}
[v'] 33-35 ℌ†
[x'] Cp 25^{22} Num 7^{89}
[w'] ℌ Lev 8^{35} 10^{13} Num 3^{16} 36^2 cp Gen 45^{19} Ezek (3)†
1-3 I_{9b} [c]

a 45[b]
b 188
c 177
d 90^a
e 137^c

J	E
Renewed intercession of Moses (Num $11^{10c\ 11.\ 14.}$) 33^{12-23}.	Mourning of the people and surrender of their ornaments $33^{4\ 6}$.
Second great manifestation of Yahweh, with pardoning mercy 34^{6-9r}.	
[Construction of the Ark and Tent, and appointment of the Levites to carry the Ark.]	[Construction of the Ark and the Tent.]
	The Covenant renewed: the second Ten Words 20^{22-26} 23^{10-16} 22^{29-31} $23^{18\ 19b\ 13\ 20-31}$ 24^{3-8}.
Visit of Hobab $18^{7\ 10}$.	Visit of Jethro 18^{1-27r}.
	Usage of the Tent of Meeting 33^{7-11}.
	Scenes at the Tent (1) the Seventy Elders Num $11^{16.\ 24-30}$ (2) murmurs at Moses' wife Num 12^{1-15}.
Departure from Sinai Num 10^{29-36r}.	[Departure from Horeb.]

Every reader of Bacon's elaborate expositions of this scheme must admire its boldness and skill. It does not altogether overcome the difficulty on which Kuen has laid so much stress, viz the Deuteronomic affirmation that the Horeb-legislation was limited to the Ten Words. Too much weight, however, must not be attached to this assertion in view of the free adaptation which can constantly be traced in D's use of older materials. But not only does it emphasize (in the case of E) a Covenant-renewal which D ignores, it also ascribes to the Ten Words of E a Covenant-character of which the narrative says nothing, yet it altogether neglects them when the Covenant is remade. Further, in identifying the Covenant-words of J with the Ten Words, it suggests by implication that those of E were of later date; for if they were known to J, why should he have substituted others for them? This is not a difficulty to the critics who, like the numerous writers already cited 20^{1N}, regard the Ten Words of E as the product of the great prophetic movement of the eighth century, but it is an embarrassment to the view of their earlier origin. If the Ten Words in their simplest form are really of ancient use, it seems inconceivable that J should have produced a totally different code and called it by the same name. Apart from that designation (which may, after all, be a later and mistaken gloss) there is close concurrence between the terms of the two Covenants in J and E, rendering it probable that in the original documents they occupied similar places. Substantial agreement, with variations in terminology and order, is the natural mark of a common antiquity. It is in the last resort conceivable, therefore, that J and E both contained the Ten Words and the Covenant-story: in the union of JE one delivery of the Ten Words was found sufficient; and while E's version was retained, J's was set aside. The two Covenants, however, did not resemble each other so closely as to be incompatible at a little distance, and both therefore were incorporated at different stages of the united narrative, undergoing further revision afterwards by R^d. The Covenant-idea rose into prominence in reflexion on the past, and D, in embodying the materials of JE's 'Covenant-words' in the legislation of Moab may have transferred the conception with the title to the utterance in the hearing of the people at the Mount of God. (This view, however, seems less probable than that suggested in 20^{1N}.) In the analysis in the text nothing further is attempted than the distribution of the narrative into its constituent elements. The reader must form his own judgement as to the processes through which they have passed on the way to their present combination. Cp (for a different criticism) Battersby, 'Exodus' in Hastings' *DB* i 810a.

34^{29a} This section is closely allied to P, and seems the natural continuation of 31^{18}. But it has not been assigned to P^g without challenge, for Kuen observes that it 'presupposes the existence of the sanctuary that, according to P, has still to be built, and seems to place it outside the camp $34.$ in common with 33^{7-11}.' He regards it, therefore (*Hex* 76 332) as an addition from a much later hand. It is clear that $34.$ implies the sanctuary, but there is no reference to its situation and it is difficult to know why it should be supposed to be outside. The narrative of P must have contained some mention of Moses' descent, and his communication of the divine instructions to the people. It is probable, therefore, that $29-33$ belongs to it, while the expander may have added the particulars concerning the removal of the veil on occasion of Moses' attendance on Yahweh in the sanctuary, thus converting into a continuous phenomenon what was the exceptional result of his solemn communion on the mount. In this view 32, which obviously anticipates $35^{4}..$ in the present text, served as the earlier conclusion of the Sinai scene in P before the insertion of the great Repetition (cp 35^{1N} and $4N$) and $34.$ is an addition of a later editor.

29^b The awkward occurrence of the name Moses here (which Sam corrects into 'his') and the repetition of the clause 'when he came down from the mount' point to some kind of amalgamation, possibly from the narrative of J.

29^c **M** Or, *sent forth beams* (ℌ *horns*).

29^d **M** Or, *while he talked with him.*

35^1 The Sabbath-law in $1-3$ is often regarded as a part of the great Repetition of the instructions for the preparation of the Dwelling cp 31^{12-17}. But the title 'these are the words' &c suggests a longer series of injunctions than the commands in $2.$; and of these 2 only is actually contained in 31^{15}, 3 being entirely independent. It is probable, therefore, that this was the beginning of a more extensive collection, and does not stand in its original place. At the close of 3 (𝔖 adds the phrase 'I am Yahweh.' If the words are genuine, it becomes almost certain that the passage has been editorially transposed cp Lev 23^3.

^{2} **M** See 31^{15}.

JE	P[h]	P[g]	P[s]

of solemn rest to Yahweh: whosoever [c]doeth any work therein shall be put to death. [3] Ye shall kindle no fire throughout your [f]habitations upon the sabbath day[a]. f 55[4]

[4] [NL]And Moses [g]spake unto all the congregation of the children of Israel, saying, g 185
[b]This is the thing which Yahweh commanded, saying, [5] [M]Take ye from among you an [b]offering unto Yahweh: whosoever is of a willing heart, let him bring it, Yahweh's offering; [6] gold, and silver, and brass; and blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine linen, and goats' [hair]; [7] and rams' skins dyed red, and sealskins, and acacia wood; [8] [c]and oil for the light, and spices for the anointing oil, and for the sweet incense; [9] and onyx stones, and stones to be set, for the ephod, and for the breastplate. [10] [L]And let every wise hearted man among you come, and make all that Yahweh hath commanded; [11] the Dwelling, its tent, and its covering, its clasps, and its boards, its bars, its pillars, and its sockets; [12] the ark, and the staves thereof, the covering, and the veil of the screen; [13] the table, and its staves, and all its vessels, and the [M]shewbread; [14] the candlestick also for the light, and its vessels, and its lamps, and the oil for the light; [15] and the [d]altar of incense, and its staves, and the [e]anointing oil, and the sweet [f]incense, and the screen for the door, at the door of the Dwelling; [16] the [g]altar of burnt offering, with its grating of brass, its staves, and all its vessels, the [h]laver and its base; [17] the hangings of the court, the pillars thereof, and their sockets, and the screen for the gate of the court; [18] the pins of the tabernacle, and the pins of the court, and their [i]cords; [19] the [M]finely wrought garments, for ministering in the holy place,

a ℌ adds *I am Yahweh*
4-9 [L]12a*a*
b 25[2]
c ℌ om 8 cp 25[6]
10-19 [L]12a*b*
d 30[1..]
e 30[25]
f 30[35]
g Ct 27[1]
h 30[18]
i 39[40] Num 3[26 37] 4[26 32*]

35[4] The lengthy narrative of the construction of the Dwelling in 35[4]–40 obviously reproduces 25–28 30–31[11]: the following table is designed to show the variations of order between the original and the repetition, and between ℌ and ℌ in the second section:—

Ex 25–31.	*Ex* 35[4]–40 ℌ.	*Ex* 35[4]–40 ℌ.
25[1-9] the Offerings and the Pattern	35[4-19]	35[4-8] ℌ[8] om, [9-19] with variations
	[20–36[7]]	[20–36[7]]
10-21 the Ark	37[1-9]	38[1-8] curtailed
23-30 the Table	10-16	9-12 ℌ[11] om, curtailed
31-40 the Lampstand	17-24	13-17 much curtailed, ℌ[24] om
26[1-14] the Tent	36[8-19]	cp 37[1]
15-30 the Framework	20-34	cp 38[18-21]
31-37 the Veil and Screen	35-38	37[8-6]
27[1-8] the Altar	38[1-7] the Altar of Burnt Offering	cp 38[22-24]
9-19 the Forecourt	9-20	37[7-18] with variations
20-21 the Oil for the Light	——	——
28[1-5] the Priests' Vestments	39[1]	cp 39[13] 36[8b]
6-12 the Ephod	2-7	36[9-14]
13-30 the Breastplate of Judgement	8-21	15-29
31-35 the Robe	22-26	30-34
36-38 the Turban	30-31	38-40
39-43 the Linen Coats	27-29	35-37
29 the Priests' Consecration	Lev 8	Lev 8
30[1-10] the Incense Altar	37[25-28]	——
11-16 the half-shekel Tax	38[21-23] 24-31	37[19-21] 39[1-10]
17-18 the Laver	8	38[26]
19-21 the Priests' Ablutions	cp 40[30-32]	cp 38[27]
22-38 the Perfumes and Oil	37[29]	38[25]
31[1-11] Bezalel and Oholiab	35[30-36[1]]	35[30-36[1]]
	39[32-43] the work finished	39[11] [12 13 cp 1] 14-23
	40[1-16] the Dwelling to be set up	40[1-13] ℌ 7 11 om, 8 curtailed
	17-33 the Dwelling set up	14-27 ℌ 28 29b om, ℌ 30-32 om, cp ℌ 38[27]
	34-38 the Cloud upon the Dwelling	28-32

The criticism of this section was first undertaken in 1862 by Dr J Popper in his treatise *Der Biblische Bericht über die Stiftshütte*. His main results have been accepted by Kuenen, who has discussed them in his *Hexateuch* pp 76–80 332. The chief points on which he lays stress are—(1) the incorporation in their proper order of the secondary sections in 30–31[11]: thus the altar of incense 30[1–10] is described after the ark, table, and lampstand, which stood within the Tent; and the laver 30[17–] is named after the altar of burnt offering 38[8]: this rearrangement implies a hand at least as late as the addition of 30–31[11] to 25–29. But (2) it can be shown to have been still more recent, for the account of the half-shekel tax and its purpose differs in 38[24–31] from that in 30[11–16] cp 38[25N]. This conclusion (3) is confirmed by divergences of phraseology in the Repetition; thus 36[10 12. 22] has אחת אל אחותה 'one to another,' for אשה אל אחותה 26[3] 5. 17 cp Sam 26[3] &c. It is further (4) supported by indications of diversity of authorship in 35–40 (with which Lev 8 = Ex 29 must be combined), e g 40[27–32] anticipates the account of the consecration of the priests Lev 8, and their first sacrifice Lev 9: and in 39[1–31] the formula 'as Yahweh commanded Moses' recurs seven times, though not previously employed in 35–38. It is (5) in harmony with this general view of prolonged redactional activity that ℌ should display such marked peculiarities of dislocation, curtailment, or omission: the text of the Repetition could not have been definitely fixed. Moreover, the phenomena of translation are unexpected: technical terms in the Repetition are sometimes rendered by fresh words, and not by their counterparts in the preceding sections: why should such changes have been introduced if the same translator had been at work? and if a new hand took up the task, was it not because new material called for incorporation in the Greek version? Popper, therefore, boldly concluded that 35–40 did not assume its final form until after the preparation of ℌ had been begun, and this view is favoured by Kuenen, though it may be doubted how far the variations of rendering suffice to justify the conclusion (cp parallel phenomena in Num 3–4). Apart, however, from this particular inference the generally late character of 35–40 * is further indicated (1) by the circumstance that the account of the breastplate of judgement 39[8–21] includes alike in ℌ and ℌ the duplicate passage which ℌ omitted from 28[13–30]; and (2) by the remarkable parallel between the institution of the new ritual order and the ancient cosmic order. The sevenfold 'as Yahweh commanded Moses' 39[1–31] (cp 40[19–32]) matches the sevenfold 'and it was so' 'and God saw that it was good' of Gen 1; the finished work is inspected by Moses 39[43] and draws forth his blessing cp Gen 1[31] 2[3] 2[3]. Such a parallel seems to belong to the age which witnessed the beginnings of Rabbinical speculation (cp Jos, *Antt* iii 7 7, Philo, *Vit Mos* iii 6 ff).

[5] **M** See 25[2–7]. [13] **M** Or, *Presence-bread*.
[19] **M** See 31[10].

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* Dillm (*NDJ* 635) admitted that the present sequence has been expanded from a much briefer base, and found the original nucleus in 35[1–3 4. 20. 36[2–6] 40[1. 34–38]. No clear criteria, however, seem to be available for such discrimination, though it seems highly probable that **P** originally contained some brief account of the fulfilment of the instructions in 25–28: cp Gen 6[22] Ex 12[28] &c.

JE | P[h] | P[g] | P[s]

the holy garments for Aaron the priest, and the garments of his sons, to minister in the priest's office.

20-29 L12a,c

[20] [L]And all the congregation of the children of Israel departed from the presence of Moses. [21] And they came, every one whose heart stirred him up, and every one whom his spirit made willing, [and] brought Yahweh's offering, for the work of the tent of meeting, and for all the service thereof, and for the holy garments. [22] And they came, both men and women, as many as were willing hearted, [and] brought brooches, and [M]earrings, and signet-rings, and [M]armlets, all jewels of gold; even every man that [h]offered an [h]offering of gold unto Yahweh. [23] And every man, with whom was found blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine linen, and goats' [hair], and rams' skins dyed red, and sealskins, brought them. [24] Every one that did [i]offer an [i]offering of silver and brass brought Yahweh's offering: and every man, with whom was found acacia wood for any work of the service, brought it. [25] And all the women that were wise hearted did spin with their hands, and brought that which they had spun, the blue, and the purple, the scarlet, and the fine linen. [26] And all the women whose heart stirred them up in wisdom spun the goats' [hair]. [27] And the rulers brought the [M]onyx stones, and the stones to be set, for the ephod, and for the breastplate; [28] and the spice, and the oil; for the light, and for the anointing oil, and for the sweet incense. [29] The children of Israel brought a freewill offering unto Yahweh; every man and woman, whose heart made them willing to bring for all the work, which Yahweh had commanded to be made [j]by the hand of Moses.

h 175
i 85
j 180[a]

30-36[1] L12a,d

[30] [ML]And Moses said unto the children of Israel, See, Yahweh hath called by name Bezalel the son of Uri, the son of Hur, of the tribe of Judah; [31] and he hath filled him with the spirit of God, in wisdom, in understanding, and in knowledge, and in all manner of workmanship; [32] and to devise cunning works, to work in gold, and in silver, and in brass, [33] and in cutting of stones for setting, and in carving of wood, to work in all manner of cunning workmanship. [34] And he hath put in his heart that he may [j]teach, both he, and Oholiab, the son of Ahisamach, of the tribe of Dan. [35] Them hath he filled with wisdom of heart, to work all manner of workmanship, of the [M]engraver, and of the cunning workman, and of the embroiderer, in blue, and in purple, in scarlet, and in fine linen, and of the weaver, even of them that do any workmanship, and of those that devise cunning works. 36[1] And Bezalel and Oholiab shall work, and every wise hearted man, in whom Yahweh hath put wisdom and understanding to know how to work all the work for the service of the sanctuary, according to all that Yahweh hath commanded.

j Lev 10[11]

2-7 L12a,e

[2] [L]And Moses called Bezalel and Oholiab, and every wise hearted man, in whose heart Yahweh had put wisdom, even every one whose heart stirred him up to [a]come unto the work to do it: [3] and they received of Moses all the offering, which the children of Israel had brought for the work of the service of the sanctuary, to make it withal. And they brought yet unto him freewill offerings every morning. [4] And all the wise men, that wrought all the work of the sanctuary, came every man from his work which they wrought; [5] and they spake unto Moses, saying, The people bring much more than [a]enough for the service of the work, which Yahweh commanded to make. [6] And Moses gave commandment, and they caused it to be proclaimed throughout the camp, saying, Let neither man nor woman make any more work for the offering of the sanctuary. So the people were restrained from bringing. [7] For the stuff they had was sufficient for all the work to make it, and too much.

a 40[32] Lev 16[1] H†
a 58

8-19 L12b,a

[8] [ML]And every wise hearted man among them that wrought the work made the Dwelling with ten curtains; of fine twined linen, and blue, and purple, and scarlet, with cherubim the work of the cunning workman made he them. [9] The length of each curtain was eight and twenty cubits, and the breadth of each curtain four cubits: all the curtains had one measure. [10] And he coupled five curtains [b]one to another: and [the other] five curtains he coupled one to another. [11] And he made loops of blue upon the edge of the one curtain [M]from the selvedge in the coupling: likewise he made in the edge of the curtain that was outmost in the second [M]coupling. [12] Fifty loops made he in the one curtain, and fifty loops made he in the edge of the curtain that was in the second [M]coupling: the loops were opposite [b]one to another. [13] And he made fifty clasps of gold, and coupled the curtains [b]one to another with the clasps: so the Dwelling was one. [14] And he made curtains of goats' [hair] for a tent over the Dwelling: eleven curtains he made them. [15] The length of each curtain was thirty cubits, and four cubits the breadth of each curtain: the eleven curtains had one measure. [16] And he coupled five curtains by themselves, and six curtains by themselves. [17] And he made fifty loops on the edge of the curtain that was outmost in the [M]coupling, and fifty loops made he upon the edge of the curtain which was [outmost in] the second [M]coupling. [18] And he made fifty clasps of brass to couple the tent together, that it might be one. [19] And he made a covering for the tent of rams' skins dyed red, and a covering of [M]sealskins above.

b Ct 2[6] H

20-34 L12b,b

[20] [ML]And he made the boards for the Dwelling of acacia wood, standing up. [21] Ten

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35[22a] M Or, *nose-rings*.
22b M Or, *necklaces*.—Num 31[50]†.
30 M See 31[1-6].
36[8] M See 26[1-14].
27 M Or, *beryl*.
35 M Or, *craftsman*.
11a M Or, *that was outmost in the* first *set*.
17a M Or, first *set*.
19 M Or, *porpoise-skins*.
11b M Or, *set*.
17b M Or, *set*.
20 M See 26[15-29].

JE | P^h | P^g | P^s

cubits was the length of a board, and a cubit and a half the breadth of each board. [22] Each board had two tenons, [M]joined [b]one to another: thus did he make for all the boards of the Dwelling. [23] And he made the boards for the Dwelling; twenty boards for the south side southward: [24] and he made forty sockets of silver under the twenty boards; two sockets under one board for its two tenons, and two sockets under another board for its two tenons. [25] And for the second side of the Dwelling, on the north side, he made twenty boards, [26] and their forty sockets of silver; two sockets under one board, and two sockets under another board. [27] And for the hinder part of the Dwelling westward he made six boards. [28] And two boards made he for the corners of the Dwelling in the hinder part. [29] And they were double beneath, and in like manner they [N]were entire unto the top thereof unto [M]one ring: thus he did to both of them in the two corners. [30] And there were eight boards, and their sockets of silver, sixteen sockets; under every board two sockets. [31] And he made bars of acacia wood; five for the boards of the one side of the Dwelling, [32] and five bars for the boards of the other side of the Dwelling, and five bars for the boards of the Dwelling for the hinder part westward. [33] And he made the middle bar to pass through in the midst of the boards from the one end to the other. [34] And he overlaid the boards with gold, and made their rings of gold for places for the bars, and overlaid the bars with gold.

35. $L_{12}bc$ [35] [ML]And he made the veil of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen: with cherubim the work of the cunning workman made he it. [36] And he made thereunto four pillars of acacia, and overlaid them with gold: their hooks were of gold; 37. $L_{12}bd$ and he cast for them four sockets of silver. [37] [L]And he made a screen for the door of the Tent, of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen, the work of the embroiderer; [38] and the five pillars of it with their hooks: and he overlaid their chapiters and their fillets with gold: and their five sockets were of brass.

1-9 $L_{12}c$ 37[1] [ML]And Bezalel made the ark of acacia wood: two cubits and a half was the length of it, and a cubit and a half the breadth of it, and a cubit and a half the height of it: [2] and he overlaid it with pure gold within and without, and made a [M]crown of gold to it round about. [3] And he cast for it four rings of gold, in the four feet thereof; even two rings on the one [M]side of it, and two rings on the other [M]side of it. [4] And he made staves of acacia wood, and overlaid them with gold. [5] And he put the staves into the rings on the sides of the ark, to bear the ark. [6] And he made a [T]covering of pure gold: two cubits and a half [was] the length thereof, and a cubit and a half the breadth thereof. [7] And he made two cherubim of gold; of [M]beaten work made he them, at the two ends of the covering; [8] one cherub at the one end, and one cherub at the other end: of one piece with the covering made he the cherubim at the two ends thereof. [9] And the cherubim spread out their wings on high, covering the covering with their wings, with their faces one to another; toward the covering were the faces of the cherubim.

10-16 $L_{12}da$ [10] [ML]And he made the table of acacia wood: two cubits [was] the length thereof, and a cubit the breadth thereof, and a cubit and a half the height thereof: [11] and he overlaid it with pure gold, and made thereto a crown of gold round about. [12] And he made unto it a border of an handbreadth round about, and made a golden crown to the border thereof round about. [13] And he cast for it four rings of gold, and put the rings in the four corners that were on the four feet thereof. [14] Close by the border were the rings, the places for the staves to bear the table. [15] And he made the staves of acacia wood, and overlaid them with gold, to bear the table. [16] And he made the vessels which were upon the table, the dishes thereof, and the spoons thereof, and the bowls thereof, and the flagons thereof, to pour out withal, of pure gold.

17-24 $L_{12}db$ [17] [ML]And he made the candlestick of pure gold: of beaten work made he the candlestick, even its base, and its shaft; its cups, its knops, and its flowers, were of one piece with it: [18] and there were six branches going out of the sides thereof; three branches of the candlestick out of the one side thereof, and three branches of the candlestick out of the other side thereof: [19] three cups made like almond-blossoms in one branch, a knop and a flower; and three cups made like almond-blossoms in the other branch, a knop and a flower: so for the six branches going out of the candlestick. [20] And in the candlestick were four cups made like almond-blossoms, the knops thereof, and the flowers thereof: [21] and a knop under two branches of one piece with it, and a knop under two branches of one piece with it, and a knop under two branches of one piece with it, for the six branches going out of it. [22] Their knops and their branches were of one piece with it; the whole of it was one beaten work of pure gold. [23] And he made the lamps thereof, seven, and the tongs thereof, and the snuff-dishes thereof, of pure gold. [24] Of a talent of pure gold made he it, and all the vessels thereof.

25-28 $L_{12}dd$ [25] [ML]And he made the altar of incense of acacia wood: a cubit was the length thereof, and a cubit the breadth thereof, foursquare; and two cubits was the height thereof; the horns thereof were of one piece with it. [26] And he overlaid it with pure gold, the top thereof, and the sides thereof round about, and the horns of it: and he made unto

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36^{22} **M** Or, *morticed.*

29^{a} The tenses in this verse excite some suspicion; the impf יהיו has the appearance of being 'copied mechanically' from 26^{24} (Dillm and Addis); Sam seems to correct to היו. But see Driver, *Tenses*[3] p 162[1].

25^{b} **M** Or, *the first.*

37^{1} **M** See 25^{10-20}.

3^{ab} **M** $\mathfrak{H}$ *rib.*

7 **M** Or, *turned.*

17 **M** See 25^{31-39}.

35 **M** See 26^{31-37}

2 **M** Or, *rim.* Or, *moulding.*

6-9 So **M**. **T** *mercy-seat.*

10 **M** See 25^{23-29}.

25 **M** See 30^{1-5}.

JE | P[h] | P[g] | P[s]

it a crown of gold round about. [27] And he made for it two golden rings under the crown thereof, upon the two ribs thereof, upon the two sides of it, for places for staves to bear it withal. [28] And he made the staves of acacia wood, and overlaid them with
29 L_{12}d*fg* gold. [29] [ML]And he made the holy anointing oil, and the pure incense of sweet spices, after the art of the perfumer.

1-7 L_{12}e*a* 38[1] [ML]And he made the altar of burnt offering of acacia wood: five cubits was the length thereof, and five cubits the breadth thereof, foursquare; and three cubits the height thereof. [2] And he made the horns thereof upon the four corners of it; the horns thereof were of one piece with it: and he overlaid it with brass. [3] And he made all the vessels of the altar, the pots, and the shovels, and the basons, the fleshhooks, and the firepans: all the vessels thereof made he of brass. [4] And he made for the altar a grating of network of brass, under the ledge round it beneath, reaching halfway up. [5] And he cast four rings for the four ends of the grating of brass, to be places for the staves. [6] And he made the staves of acacia wood, and overlaid them with brass. [7] And he put the staves into the rings on the sides of the altar, to bear it withal; he made it hollow with planks.

8 L_{12}e*b* [8] [ML]And he made the laver of brass, and the base thereof of brass, of the mirrors of [M]the [M]serving women which served at the door of the tent of meeting.

9-20 L_{12}e*c* [9] [ML]And he made the court: for the south side southward the hangings of the court were of fine twined linen, an hundred cubits: [10] their pillars were twenty, and their sockets twenty, of brass; the hooks of the pillars and their fillets were of silver. [11] And for the north side an hundred cubits, their pillars twenty, and their sockets twenty, of brass; the hooks of the pillars and their fillets of silver. [12] And for the west side were hangings of fifty cubits, their pillars ten, and their sockets ten; the hooks of the pillars and their fillets of silver. [13] And for the east side eastward fifty cubits. [14] The hangings for the one side [of the gate] were fifteen cubits; their pillars three, and their sockets three; [15] and so for the other side: on this hand and that hand by the gate of the court were hangings of fifteen cubits; their pillars three, and their sockets three. [16] All the hangings of the court round about were of fine twined linen. [17] And the sockets for the pillars were of brass; the hooks of the pillars and their fillets of silver; and the overlaying of their chapiters of silver; and all the pillars of the court were filleted with silver. [18] And the screen for the gate of the court was the work of the embroiderer, of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen: and twenty cubits was the length, and the height in the breadth was five cubits, [N]answerable to the hangings of the court. [19] And their pillars were four, and their sockets four, of brass; their hooks of silver, and the overlaying of their chapiters and their fillets of silver. [20] And all the pins of the Dwelling, and of the court round about, were of brass.

21-31 L_{12}f [21] [La]This is the [a]sum of [the things for] the Dwelling, even the Dwelling of the | a 188
a Cp Num 4[49] testimony, as they were counted, [b]according to the commandment of Moses, for the | b 19[c]
service of the Levites, [c]by the hand of Ithamar, the son of Aaron the priest. [22] And | c 180
Bezalel the son of Uri, the son of Hur, of the tribe of Judah, made all that Yahweh commanded Moses. [23] And with him was Oholiab, the son of Ahisamach, of the tribe of Dan, [M]an engraver, and a cunning workman, and an embroiderer in blue, and in purple, and in scarlet, and fine linen.

b Cp Num 2[86] ℌ [24] All the gold that was [b]used for the work in all the work of the sanctuary, even the
ct Ex 3[16]* gold of the [d]offering, was twenty and nine talents, and seven hundred and thirty | d 1181
shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary. [25] [N]And the silver of them that were numbered of the congregation was an hundred talents, and a thousand seven hundred and threescore and fifteen shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary: [26] a beka a head, [that is], half a shekel, after the shekel of the sanctuary, for every one that passed over to them that were numbered, from twenty years old and upward, for six hundred thousand and three thousand and five hundred and fifty men. [27] And the hundred talents of silver were for casting the sockets of the sanctuary, and the sockets of the veil; an hundred sockets for the hundred talents, a talent for a socket. [28] And of the thousand seven hundred seventy and five [shekels] he made hooks for the pillars, and overlaid their chapiters, and made fillets for them. [29] And the brass of the offering was seventy talents, and two thousand and four hundred shekels. [30] And therewith he

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37[29] **M** See 30[23. 34].

38[1] **M** See 27[1–8].

8a **M** See 30[18].—The brevity of the reference is again noteworthy cp 30[17N]; the source of the statement concerning the serving women's mirrors is unknown. Such women are only mentioned elsewhere in a late addition to the text in 1 Sam 2[22] (cp Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of Samuel* p 26), and the reference to them here may be derived from some Midrash.

8b **M** Or, *the women which assembled to minister*.—Cp 92[c].

8c **M** See Num 4[23] 8[24] 1 Sam 2[22]. 9 **M** See 27[9–19].

18 ℌ as in 25[27] 28[27] P43, but hardly in the same sense. Dillm sees in it a sign of later addition to the text: rather does the diversity of usage confirm the conclusion partly suggested by the heightened detail, that the whole passage, like so much else embedded in the Great Repetition, is considerably posterior to the sections of the original design.

23 **M** Or, *a craftsman*.

25 It is noteworthy that in 25–28 the 'silver of the offering' (cp 'gold of the offering' 24 'brass of the offering' 29) is ignored, and the writer only deals with the product of the poll-tax of half a shekel. This is based (1) on a misunderstanding of 30[11–16], where the money is to be applied for the 'service of the tent of meeting' 16, i e for the maintenance of the permanent cultus, not for the construction of the fabric; and (2) on the census of the males now recorded in Num 1. But that census did not take place till a month after the completion of the Dwelling cp Num 1[1] Ex 40[1]. Ewald accordingly suggested (*Antiquities* 303[8]) that if Num 1 did not precede this passage originally, a preliminary levy was described and afterwards omitted. The view here taken (after Wellh, Kuen, and Dillm, *Ex*[3] 355 404, *NDJ* 635) regards the discrepancy as due to the misinterpretation of a later amplifying scribe.

JE	P^h	P^g	P^s
		made the sockets to the door of the tent of meeting, and the brasen altar, and the brasen grating for it, and all the vessels of the altar, [31] and the sockets of the court round about, and the sockets of the gate of the court, and all the pins of the Dwelling, and all the pins of the court round about.	
1-31 $L_{11}cg$		39[1] ^{L}And of the blue, and purple, and scarlet, they made finely wrought garments,	
1 $L_{12}ga$		for ministering in the holy place, and made the holy garments for Aaron ; ^{Na}as Yahweh commanded Moses.	a 189[c]
2-7 $L_{12}g$		[2] ^{ML}And he made the ephod of gold, blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen. [3] ^{N}And they did beat the gold into thin plates, and cut it into wires, to work it in the blue, and in the purple, and in the scarlet, and in the fine linen, the work of the cunning workman. [4] They made shoulderpieces for it, joined together : at the two ends was it joined together. [5] And the cunningly woven band, that was upon it, to gird it on withal, was of the same piece [and] like the work thereof; of gold, of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen ; ^{a}as Yahweh commanded Moses.	
		[6] And they wrought the onyx stones, inclosed in ouches of gold, graven with the engravings of a signet, according to the names of the children of Israel. [7] And he put them on the shoulderpieces of the ephod, to be stones of memorial for the children of Israel ; ^{a}as Yahweh commanded Moses.	
8-21 $L_{12}gc$		[8] ^{ML}And he made the breastplate, the work of the cunning workman, like the work of the ephod ; of gold, of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen. [9] It was foursquare ; they made the breastplate double : a span was the length thereof, and a span the breadth thereof, being double. [10] And they set in it four rows of stones : a row of sardius, topaz, and carbuncle was the first row. [11] And the second row, an emerald, a sapphire, and a diamond. [12] And the third row, a jacinth, an agate, and an amethyst. [13] And the fourth row, a beryl, an onyx, and a jasper : they were inclosed in ouches of gold in their settings. [14] And the stones were according to the names of the children of Israel, twelve, according to their names ; like the engravings of a signet, every one according to his name, for the twelve tribes. [15] And they made upon the breastplate chains like cords, of wreathen work of pure gold. [16] And they made two ouches of gold, and two gold rings ; and put the two rings on the two ends of the breastplate. [17] And they put the two wreathen chains of gold on the two rings at the ends of the breastplate. [18] And the [other] two ends of the two wreathen chains they put on the two ouches, and put them on the shoulderpieces of the ephod, in the forepart thereof. [19] And they made two rings of gold, and put them upon the two ends of the breastplate, upon the edge thereof, which was toward the side of the ephod inward. [20] And they made two rings of gold, and put them on the two shoulderpieces of the ephod underneath, in the forepart thereof, close by the coupling thereof, above the cunningly woven band of the ephod. [21] And they did bind the breastplate by the rings thereof unto the rings of the ephod with a lace of blue, that it might be upon the cunningly woven band of the ephod, and that the breastplate might not be loosed from the ephod ; ^{a}as Yahweh commanded Moses.	
22-26 $L_{12}ge$		[22] ^{ML}And he made the robe of the ephod of woven work, all of blue ; [23] and the hole of the robe in the midst thereof, as the hole of a coat of mail, with a binding round about the hole of it, that it should not be rent. [24] And they made upon the skirts of the robe pomegranates of blue, and purple, and scarlet, [and] twined [linen]. [25] And they made bells of pure gold, and put the bells between the pomegranates upon the skirts of the robe round about, between the pomegranates ; [26] a bell and a pomegranate, a bell and a pomegranate, upon the skirts of the robe round about, to minister in ; ^{a}as Yahweh commanded Moses.	
27-29 $L_{12}gfg$		[27] ^{ML}And they made the coats of fine linen of woven work for Aaron, and for his sons, [28] and the ^{M}mitre of fine linen, and the goodly headtires of fine linen, and the linen breeches of fine twined linen, and the girdle of fine twined linen, [29] and blue, and purple, and scarlet, the work of the embroiderer ; ^{a}as Yahweh commanded Moses.	
30 $L_{12}gh$		[30] ^{ML}And they made the plate of the holy crown of pure gold, and ^{a}wrote upon it a writing, like the engravings of a signet, HOLY TO YAHWEH. [31] ^{N}And they tied unto it a lace of blue, to fasten it upon the ^{M}mitre above ; ^{a}as Yahweh commanded Moses.	
32-43 $L_{12}h$		[32] ^{NL}Thus was ^{b}finished all the work of the Dwelling of the tent of meeting : and the children of Israel did according to all that Yahweh commanded Moses, ^{b}so did they.	b 189[a]
		[33] And they brought the Dwelling unto Moses, the Tent, and all its furniture, its clasps, its boards, its bars, and its pillars, and its sockets ; [34] and the covering of rams' skins dyed red, and the covering of ^{M}sealskins, and the veil of the screen ;	

39[1] This phrase, repeated seven times in 39^{1-31}, seems to correspond to the sevenfold refrains in Gen 1 cp [32].

[2] **M** See 28^{6-12}.

[3] This verse has no counterpart in 28^{6-12}.

[8] **M** See 28^{15-28}.—It will be noted that the repetition contains both descriptions [16-18] [19-21] of the rings for fastening on the breastplate ; and while (𝔊) omits 28^{26-28} the corresponding passage 39^{19-21} 𝔏 is in its place 36^{27-29} (𝔊).

[22] **M** See 28^{31-34}.

[27] **M** See $28^{39.42}$.

[28] **M** Or, *turban*.

[30] **M** See 28^{36}.

[31a] This verse has no counterpart in the preceding section.

[31b] **M** Or, *turban*.

[32] On the indications of a parallel between the order of the Dwelling and the order of the heavens and the earth in Gen 1 see 35^{4N} *ad fin.* (𝔊) omits [32a], and reproduces [33-43] with variations of order and some omissions. The peculiar designation 'Dwelling of the tent of meeting' [32] occurs only here and in $40^{1\ 6\ 29}$, where (𝔊) has only 'tent of meeting.'

[34] **M** Or, *porpoise-skins*.

JE | P[h] | P[g] | P[s]

35 the ark of the testimony, and the staves thereof, and the covering; 36 the table, all the vessels thereof, and the shewbread; 37 the pure candlestick, the lamps thereof, even the lamps to be set in order, and all the vessels thereof, and the oil for the light; 38 and the golden altar, and the anointing oil, and the sweet incense, and the screen for the door of the Tent; 39 the brasen altar, and its grating of brass, its staves, and all its vessels, the laver and its base; 40 the hangings of the court, its pillars, and its sockets, and the screen for the gate of the court, the cords thereof, and the pins thereof, and all the instruments of the service of the Dwelling, for the tent of meeting; 41 the finely wrought garments for ministering in the holy place, and the holy garments for Aaron the priest, and the garments of his sons, to minister in the priest's office. 42 According to all that Yahweh commanded Moses, so the children of Israel did all the work. 43 And Moses [c]saw all the work, and, behold, they had done it; as Yahweh had commanded, even [b]so had they done it: and Moses [d]blessed them.

c Cp Gen 1[31]
d Cp Gen 1[28] 2[3]

1-15 $L_{12}i a$

40[1] [L]And Yahweh [a]spake unto Moses, saying, 2 On the first day of the [b]first month shalt thou [c]rear up the [d]Dwelling of the tent of meeting. 3 And thou shalt put therein the ark of the testimony, and thou shalt screen the ark with the veil. 4 And thou shalt bring in the table, and set in order the things that are upon it; and thou shalt bring in the candlestick, and [M]light the lamps thereof. 5 And thou shalt set the golden altar for incense before the ark of the testimony, and put the screen of the door to the Dwelling. 6 And thou shalt set the altar of burnt offering before the door of the [d]Dwelling of the tent of meeting. 7 [N]And thou shalt set the laver between the tent of meeting and the altar, and shalt put water therein. 8 And thou shalt set up the court round about, and hang up the screen of the gate of the court. 9 And thou shalt take the anointing oil, and anoint the tabernacle, and all that is therein, and shalt hallow it, and all the furniture thereof: and it shall be holy. 10 And thou shalt anoint the altar of burnt offering, and all its vessels, and sanctify the altar: and the altar shall be most holy. 11 And thou shalt anoint the laver and its base, and sanctify it. 12 And thou shalt bring Aaron and his sons unto the door of the tent of meeting, and shalt wash them with water. 13 [L]And thou shalt put upon Aaron the holy garments; [L]and thou shalt anoint him, and sanctify him, that he may minister unto me in the priest's office. 14 [L]And thou shalt bring his sons, and put coats upon them: 15 [L]and thou shalt [a]anoint them, as thou didst anoint their father, that they may minister unto me in the priest's office: and their anointing shall [e]be to them for an [f]everlasting priesthood [g]throughout their generations. 16 [Lh]Thus did Moses: according to all that Yahweh commanded him, so did he.

a	185[a]
b	183
c	60[b]
d	54[e]
e	27
f	62
g	76[b]
h	189

13a $L_{11}Ch$
13b $L_{11}Dd$
14. $L_{11}Ef$ p g d
15 $L_{11}Dg$
a Cp 28[41N]
16 $L_{12}ib$

17-19 $L_{12}ic$

17 [L]And it came to pass in the [b]first month in the second year, on the first day of the month, that the Dwelling was [c]reared up. 18 And Moses [c]reared up the Dwelling, and laid its sockets, and set up the boards thereof, and put in the bars thereof, and reared up its pillars. 19 And he spread the tent over the Dwelling, and put the covering of the tent above upon it; [N]as Yahweh commanded Moses. 20 [L]And he took and put the testimony into the ark, and set the staves on the ark, and put the covering above upon the ark: 21 and he brought the ark into the Dwelling, and set up the veil of the screen, and screened the ark of the testimony; as Yahweh commanded Moses. 22 And he put the table in the tent of meeting, upon the side of the Dwelling northward, without the veil. 23 And he set the bread in order upon it before Yahweh; as Yahweh commanded Moses. 24 And he put the candlestick in the tent of meeting, over against the table, on the side of the Dwelling southward. 25 And he [M]lighted the lamps before Yahweh; as Yahweh commanded Moses. 26 And he put the golden altar in the tent of meeting before the veil: 27 and he burnt thereon incense of sweet spices; as Yahweh commanded Moses. 28 [N]And he put the screen of the door to the Dwelling. 29 And he set the altar of burnt offering at the door of the [d]Dwelling of the tent of meeting, [N]and offered upon it the burnt offering and the meal offering; as Yahweh commanded Moses. 30 [N]And he set the laver between the tent of meeting and the altar, and put water therein, to wash withal. 31 [ML]And Moses and Aaron and his sons washed their hands and their feet thereat: 32 when they went into the tent of meeting, and when they [b]came near unto the altar, they washed: as Yahweh commanded Moses. 33 [L]And he reared up the court round about the Dwelling and the altar, [N]and set up the screen of the gate of the court. So Moses finished the work.

20-30 $L_{12}id$

31. $L_{12}ie$
b 36[2]
33 $L_{12}if$

34-38 $L_{10}bg$

34 [L]Then the cloud covered the tent of meeting, and the [i]glory of Yahweh filled the Dwelling. 35 And Moses was not able to enter into the tent of meeting, because the cloud [j]abode thereon, and the [i]glory of Yahweh filled the Dwelling. 36 And when the cloud was taken up from over the Dwelling, the children of Israel went onward, throughout all their [k]journeys: 37 but if the cloud were not taken up, then they journeyed not till the day that it was taken up. 38 For the cloud [N]of Yahweh was upon the Dwelling by day, and there was fire therein by night, in the sight of all the house of Israel, throughout all their [k]journeys.

i	79
j	54[a]
k	97[c]

40[4] **M** Or, *set up*.
19 Again a sevenfold repetition 19–32 cp 39[1N].
25 **M** Or, *set up*.
29 (Ɓ omits 29[b].
31 **M** See 30[19].
7 (Ɓ omits 7 11 and curtails 8.
28 (Ɓ omits.
30–32 (Ɓ omits cp (Ɓ 38[27].
33 (Ɓ omits 33[b].

38 For יהוה Klostermann proposes (*NKZ* 1897 p 76) to read יהיה 'was' (otherwise unexpressed in ℌ). The construction 'there was cloud' will then be parallel to ℌ in the next [b]clause. It may be added that 'cloud of Yahweh' occurs elsewhere only in Num 10[34], cp 'thy cloud' Num 14[14].

LEVITICUS[N]

JE	P^t	P^g	P^s	
		1[1] [NL]*And Yahweh called unto Moses, and spake unto him* [N]*out of the tent of meeting, saying,*		
		[2] *Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them,* [N]When [a]any man of you offereth an oblation unto Yahweh, ye shall offer your oblation of the cattle, [even] of the [a]herd and of the flock.		a 190[b]
		[3] [b]If his oblation be a burnt offering of the herd, [c]he shall offer it a male without blemish: [N]*he shall offer it at the door of the tent of meeting,* that he may be [b]accepted before Yahweh. [4] And [d]he shall lay his hand upon the head of the burnt offering; and it shall be [c]accepted for him to make atonement for him. [5] And [e]he shall kill the bullock before Yahweh: and [N]*Aaron's sons,* the priests, shall present the blood, and [f]sprinkle the blood		b 17[b] c 17[a]

1–3 L11[w] 1–13 L7b[j]

a Ct *flock and herd* JE33 *b* 10 14 3[1] 6 12 *c* 10 3[1] 6 *d* 3[2] 8 13 4[4] *e* 11 3[2] 8 13 4[4] *f* 11 3[2] 8 13

The Book of Leviticus forms an important part of the Priestly Code. In the chronology of the *Hex* it comprises the body of legislation imparted to Moses in the month between the erection of the Dwelling Ex 40[17] on New Year's Day at the opening of the second year after the Exodus and the first census, for which instructions were given on the first of the second month in the same year Num 1[1]. When its legislative contents are examined, it is seen that they fall into groups, in which the most clearly marked are 1–7 11–15 and 17–26. At 9 the narrative continuation of Ex 29 seems to be resumed; but this element again falls into the background in 10. The study of the several groups reveals the fact that they are not entirely homogeneous with themselves or with each other. The first is concerned with sacrifice; the second deals chiefly with the laws for the preservation of ritual cleanness; while the third has secured the name of the Holiness-legislation cp *Introd* XIII 8 i 143, its varied contents being again and again summed up under that conception. On the general features of the other two cp *ibid* 9 i 152. By common consent the oldest materials are to be found in P^h; they can be to a certain extent disengaged from the framework in which they are now incorporated; and in some sections, such as the Calendar of the Feasts 23, or the Jubile-law 25, they can be separated from the later legislation with which they are now combined. That this union had been effected at the time of the promulgation of Ezra's law-book has been argued *Introd* i 138, on the basis of a comparison of Lev 23[34] with Neh 8[14] cp *ibid* 156. It is probable also that the mass of priestly teaching comprised in 1–7 and 11–15 had also found its place by the same date in the great code of P. Whether the repetition of Ex 29 in 8 was also included may, however, be doubted: and similar uncertainty must affect 16 cp *Introd* XIII 11β i 156–7, and 27 *ibid* XVI 3δ i 179. In studying the significance of the code historically, the distinction between the age of a usage or custom and the date of the written law which prescribes it, must be always maintained: this work is concerned only with the attempt to fix the literary relations of the documents and their constituent elements. Cp Driver and White, *Lev* in Haupt's *SBOT* 57.

1[1a] The first legislative group 1–7 contains a comprehensive account of the offerings to be brought to the Sanctuary. In its present position this section interrupts the connexion, for the consecration of the priests in 8–9 should follow Ex 35–40 as Ex 29 succeeds 25–28. To what precise editorial method this is due, whether Ex 35–40 and Lev 8–9 were inserted later on either side of the sacrificial code in Lev 1–7, or whether the code was subsequently placed in close relation with the account of the completion of the sanctuary, cannot be precisely determined. But in its existing form the group is certainly later than P^g cp 4[1N]. The conspectus of its contents shows that it is itself composite. Broadly speaking, it falls into two unequal divisions 1[2]–6[7] and 6[8]–7[36], which show a certain parallelism of contents,

1[3–17]	Burnt Offering	6[8–13]
2[1–16]	Meal Offering	6[14–23]
3[1–17]	Peace Offering	7[11–34]
4[1]–5[13]	Sin Offering	6[24–30]
5[14]–6[7]	Guilt Offering	7[1–10]

The order in the two sections is not identical, nor is their matter the same. The second group must be regarded as supplementary to the first: it is designed mainly for the priestly officials 6[9] [25] contrasted with the lay worshippers 1[2] 4[2]; and it is concerned largely with the sacred dues. For differences of detail see the Analysis and the table of *Laws* vol i. Attention may also be called to the large group of cultus terms and formulae, the constant repetition of which is characteristic of the legal style of P: thus, *Aaron's sons* 12[f], *atonement* 25, *without blemish (perfect)* 123, *bring near (offer, present)* 118[a], *burn* 37, *burn with fire* 38, *clean* 42, *guilt offering* 118[f], *heave offering* 118[g], *holy* 86 &c, *kill* 100, *lay his hand on* 102, *meal offering* 118[h], *oblation* 118[b], *offering made by fire* 118[c], *sacrifice of peace offerings* 118[i], *sin offering* 118[j], *soul* 146[a], *sprinkle* 148, *sweet savour* 158, *unclean* 167, *wave offering* 118[l], *work* 177: introductory formulae, *Yahweh spake . . . saying* 185[a], *speak unto . . .* 185[b], *if any one sin* 190, *this is the law . . .* 188. The descriptions of ritual acts are again and again cast in the same mould, as the marginal references will show. On the relation of the priestly teaching (P^t) to P^g cp *Introd* XIII 9 i 152.

1[b] The editor who placed the whole section here seems to have attempted by this title to connect it with the situation implied in the erection of the Tent of Meeting or Dwelling.

2 The first division 1[2]–6[7] might be described as a 'Manual for worshippers, revised and enlarged from various sources, and in part re-written.' The nucleus is found in 1–3 which treats of the burnt offering 1, the meal offering 2, and the sacrifice of peace offerings 3. Neither 4 (late P^s) nor 5–6[7], which treat of the sin offering and guilt offering, seems to belong to 1–3 in its original form. Perhaps they take the place of the corresponding section of the little code 1–3; or, if that never dealt with these offerings, they have been added supplementally from other sources. The substance of 1–3 seems in the main older than P^g, and somewhat resembles P^h, yet it is not entirely in one piece cp 2[4–16]. Some phrases which may be plausibly assigned to the compiler are marked by small type: whether he was himself also the author of P^g there seems no means of determining.

3 The reference to the Tent of Meeting interrupts the connexion. Lev 22[19–25] P^{hr} shows clearly that the acceptance depends on the absence of blemish. In no other passage of 1–3 is the place of offering defined.

5[a] In 1–3 'the priest' occurs eleven times, and 'Aaron's sons, the priests' or an equivalent phrase, eleven times. It seems more natural to regard the plurals as interpolated than as original, for why should each paragraph revert to the singular 9 12. 2[2] &c? In 9 13 the singular is actually preserved; (𝔊 converts all the verbs 'kill' 5 'flay' 'cut' 6 'kill' 11 'cut' 12 into plurals, assigning all these functions to the priests, and 'wash' 9 13 (cp Sam 9) is altered to match. The formula of P^g 'Aaron' or 'Aaron and his sons' is here replaced by the peculiar phrase 'Aaron's sons the priests' 5 8 11 2[2] 3[2]. This appears to be an adaptation of the simple term 'the priest' 9 12 13 &c by prefixing the designation 'Aaron's sons' and turning the singular 'priest' into the plural. In one case, however, the unique description 'Aaron's sons the priest' 7 points to the origin of the combination. (𝔊 and Sam, however, read 'the priests,' which is adopted by Kautzsch, Driv–Wh, and Addis.) These and other facts (cp 7[N]) confirm the suggestion that the substance of 1–3 is earlier than P^g, but the editing later.

round about upon the altar [N]*that is at the door of the tent of meeting.* [6] And he shall
g 12 Ex 29¹⁷ flay the burnt offering, and [g]cut it into its [g]pieces. [7] And *the sons of Aaron* the
h Gen 22⁹ priest shall [N]put fire upon the altar, and [h]lay wood in order upon the
i 12 8²⁰† fire: [8] and *Aaron's sons*, the priests, shall lay the pieces, the head, and the [i]fat,
in order upon the wood that is on the fire which is upon the altar: [9] but
j 13 Ex 29¹⁷ its [j]inwards and its [j]legs shall [k]he [d]wash with water: and the [l]priest d 174ᵃ
k Sam 𝔊 *they* shall burn the whole on the altar, for a burnt offering, an offering made
l 13 17 2² 8. cp 16 by fire, of a sweet savour unto Yahweh.

[10] And if his oblation be of the flock, of the sheep, or of the goats,
for a burnt offering; he shall offer it a male without blemish. [11] And
m Ct 5a he shall kill it [m]*on the side of the altar northward* before Yahweh: and *Aaron's sons*,
the priests, shall sprinkle its blood upon the altar round about. [12] And
he shall cut it into its pieces, with its head and its [i]fat: and the priest
shall lay them in order on the wood that is upon the fire which is upon
n 𝔊 *they* the altar: [13] but the inwards and the legs shall [n]he [d]wash with water:
and the priest shall offer the whole, and burn it upon the altar: it is
a burnt offering, an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto Yahweh.

14-17 *L7bk* [14] [NL]*And if his oblation to Yahweh be a burnt offering of fowls, then he shall*
offer his oblation of turtledoves, or of young pigeons. [15] *And the priest shall*
bring it unto the altar, and [M]*wring off its head, and burn it on the altar;*
and the blood thereof shall be [o]*drained out on the* [p]*side of the altar:* [16] [L]*and*
o 5⁹*
p 5⁹ 𝔊=*wall* ct 11
16 *L1odn* *he shall take away its* [q]*crop with the* [M]*filth thereof, and cast it beside the altar*
on the east part, in the place of the [r]*ashes:* [17] *and he shall* [s]*rend it by the wings*
q 𝔊† *thereof,* [*but*] *shall not* [e]*divide it asunder: and the priest shall burn it upon* e 53
r 4¹² 6¹⁰.*
s Pi* cp 11³ 7 26 Deut 14⁶. Qal *the altar, upon the wood that is upon the fire: it is a burnt offering, an offering*
made by fire, of a sweet savour unto Yahweh.

1-3 *L7maoi* **2**[1] [L]And when any one offereth an oblation of a [N]meal offering unto
a Ex 29² Yahweh, his oblation shall be of [a]fine flour; and he shall [a]pour [a]oil upon a 128
it, and put [b]frankincense thereon: [2] and he shall bring it to *Aaron's sons* the b 72
b 5¹² Num 5²⁶† priests: and he shall [b]take thereout his [c]handful of the fine flour thereof,
c 5¹² 6¹⁵ Gen 41⁴⁷† and of the oil thereof, with all the frankincense thereof; and the priest
shall burn [it as] the [c]memorial thereof upon the altar, an offering made c 112ᵇ
3 *L11jh* by fire, of a sweet savour unto Yahweh: [3] [L]and that which is left of the
meal offering shall be *Aaron's and his sons'*: it is a thing most holy of the
offerings of Yahweh made by fire.

4-13 *L7mbonc* [4] [NL]*And when* [d]*thou offerest an oblation of a meal offering* [e]*baken in the oven,*
d 14 ct 1 1² *it shall be unleavened* [f]*cakes of fine flour*[f] *mingled with oil, or unleavened* [f]*wafers*
e 𝔊† *anointed with oil.* [5] *And if thy oblation be a meal offering of the* [M]*baking pan,*
f Ex 29² *it shall be of fine flour unleavened, mingled with oil.* [6] *Thou shalt* [e]*part it in*
g 6²¹ cp Gen 18⁵ *h* 7⁹ [g]*pieces, and* [a]*pour oil thereon: it is a meal offering.* [7] *And if thy oblation be*
a meal offering of the [h]*frying pan, it shall be made of fine flour with oil.* [8] *And*
[N]*thou shalt bring the meal offering that is made of these things unto Yahweh:*
and it shall be presented unto the priest, and he shall bring it unto the altar.
[9] *And the priest shall* [d]*take up from the meal offering the* [c]*memorial thereof, and* d 85ᵃ

1[5b] Ct[11b]: the order of the words in 𝔊 'upon the altar round about *that is*' &c makes it probable that the local description has been added.

7 This direction to kindle a special fire seems to conflict with the ordinance for maintaining a perpetual fire on the altar 6[8-13]: Kalisch regards it, therefore, as belonging to an antecedent ritual stage. The view of Knobel, repeated by Dillm, that the author here contemplates only the first burnt offering seems sufficiently met by the remark of Kalisch that the precepts of the chapter are altogether general in their application. If this view is correct, the regulation supplies another testimony to the relative antiquity of the substance of this section.

14 A supplement, as the title in [2] only contemplates 'herd and flock.' Note that here 'the priest' kills the bird; on the subject in [5] cp Dillm-Ryss 'the offerer,' and Driv-Wh more probably 'one of the attendants at the temple.'

15 **M** Or, *pinch.*—5[8]†. 16 **M** Or, *feathers.*—𝔊†.

2[1] The word *minḥah*, rightly rendered here 'meal offering,' from its invariable usage in **P**, is in **J** a generic word for offerings of any sort cp Gen 4[3-5]. Its place is taken in **P** for this sense by the word *Qorban*, rendered in this verse and usually 'oblation.' Cp [P]11[8h].

4 The passage [4-16] is marked as supplementary, as (1) it is merely a more detailed duplicate of [1-3], and (2) the use of 'thou' and 'ye' stamps it as distinct from the rest of 1-3 which is couched in the third person (but cp [8]). In [13] it has affinity with [P]h.

5 **M** Or, *flat plate.*—6[21] 7[9] Ezek 4[3] 1 Chron 23[29]†.

8 𝔊 'and he shall bring,' which harmonizes with [8b] 'and he shall present it' 𝔖. Perhaps the reading of *MT* ואת־הבא was originally והבא אתה, the letter ה having been accidentally anticipated. In the last clause it is customary to understand the priest as subject; but the priest's action only begins in [9], and the context points to the worshipper. In that case [8] may be regarded as part of an editorial amalgam.

JE | P[t] | P[g] | P[s]

shall burn it upon the altar: an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto Yahweh. [10] [L]*And that which is left of the meal offering shall be* Aaron's and his sons': *it is a thing most holy of the offerings of Yahweh made by fire.* [11] *No meal offering, which ye shall offer unto Yahweh, shall be made with leaven: for ye shall burn* [i]*no leaven, nor any honey, as an offering made by fire unto Yahweh.* [12] *As an oblation of first [fruits] ye shall offer them unto Yahweh: but they shall not come up for a sweet savour on the altar.* [13] *And every oblation of thy meal offering shalt thou* [j]*season with salt; neither shalt thou* [k]*suffer the salt of the* [N]*covenant of thy God* [k]*to be lacking from thy meal offering: with all thine oblations thou shalt offer salt.*

[14] [L]*And if* [d]*thou offer a meal offering of firstfruits unto Yahweh, thou shalt offer for the meal offering of thy firstfruits corn in the ear* [l]*parched with fire,* [m]*bruised corn of the* [n]*fresh ear.* [15] *And thou shalt put oil upon it, and lay* [b]*frankincense thereon: it is a meal offering.* [16] *And the priest shall burn the* [c]*memorial of it, part of the* [m]*bruised corn thereof, and part of the oil thereof, with all the* [b]*frankincense thereof: it is an offering made by fire unto Yahweh.*

3 [1] [L]And [a]if his oblation be a sacrifice of [M]peace offerings; if he offer of the herd, whether [a]male or female, he shall offer it without blemish before Yahweh. [2] And he shall lay his hand upon the head of his oblation, and kill it [N]*at the door of the tent of meeting:* and *Aaron's sons* the priests shall sprinkle the blood upon the altar round about. [3] And he shall offer of the sacrifice of peace offerings an offering made by fire unto Yahweh; the [b]fat that covereth the inwards, and all the fat that is upon the inwards, [4] and the two [c]kidneys, and the fat that is on them, which is by the [d]loins, and the [c]caul upon the liver, [M]with the kidneys, shall he take away. [5] And *Aaron's sons* shall burn it on the altar [e]*upon the burnt offering, which is upon the wood that is on the fire:* it is an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto Yahweh.

[6] And if his oblation for a sacrifice of peace offerings unto Yahweh be of the flock; [a]male or female, he shall offer it without blemish. [7] If he offer a lamb for his oblation, then shall he offer it before Yahweh: [8] and he shall lay his hand upon the head of his oblation, and kill it before *the tent of meeting:* and *Aaron's sons* shall sprinkle the blood thereof upon the altar round about. [9] And he shall offer of the sacrifice of peace offerings an offering made by fire unto Yahweh; the fat thereof, the fat [f]tail entire, he shall take it away [b]hard by the [g]backbone; and the [b]fat that covereth the inwards, and all the fat that is upon the inwards, [10] and the two [c]kidneys, and the fat that is upon them, which is by the loins, and the caul upon the liver, [M]with the kidneys, shall he take away. [11] And the priest shall burn it upon the altar: it is the [M]food of the offering made by fire unto Yahweh.

[12] And if his oblation be a goat, then he shall offer it before Yahweh: [13] and he shall lay his hand upon the head of it, and kill it before *the tent of meeting:* and the *sons of Aaron* shall sprinkle the blood thereof upon the altar round about. [14] [L]And he shall offer thereof his oblation, [even] an offering made by fire unto Yahweh; the [b]fat that covereth the inwards, and all the fat that is upon the inwards, [15] and the two [c]kidneys, and the fat that is upon them, which is by the loins, and the caul upon the liver, [M]with the kidneys, shall he take away. [16] And the priest shall burn them upon the altar: it is the food of the offering made by fire, for a sweet savour: all the fat is Yahweh's.

[17] It shall be a [c]perpetual statute [d]throughout your generations in all your [e]dwellings, that ye shall eat neither fat nor blood.

10 L mJh
i Ct 7[13] Am 4[5]
j Ex 30[35]
k Cp Ex 12[15] ℌ
14-16 L 7mc oi 8ch
l Josh 5[11]*
m 16†
n 23[14] 2 Kings 4[42]
1-16 L 7pg
a 1[3]
b 9 14 4[8] Ex 29[13] ct 1[8]
c 10 15 Ex 29[13]
d 10 15 4[9] 7[4]*
e Ct 11 16 1[9] 13 2[2] cp 1[17] 6[12]
f Ex 29[22]
g ℌ†
14-17 L 6ef

a 107[a]
b 43
c 62[c]
d 76[b]
e 55[a]

2[13] Cp 'bread of thy God' 21[8] &c. 'God' is used with a pronominal suffix, but without the name Yahweh, twenty times in passages assigned to P[h] Lev 18[21] 19[12 14 32] 21[6-8 12 17 21.] 22[25] 23[14] 24[15] 25[17 36 43] Num 10[10] 15[40] (cp 67). In six out of the ten other passages where it is thus used in the *Hex* the pronoun is needed by the context in each case. The exceptions are Num 25[13] (P[g]) Deut 31[17] 32[3] (the Song of Moses) Josh 9[23].

3[1] M Or, *thank offerings.*

2 The usual phrase is 'kill it before Yahweh' 1[5] cp [11]. In 8[13] the editor would seem to have found it sufficient to replace 'Yahweh' by 'the tent of meeting' as the place of his presence. Cp 1[3].

4 10 15 M Or, *which he shall take away by the kidneys.*

11 M ℌ *bread.*—Cp Lev 21[6 8 17 21.] 22[25], all P[h].

JE | P^t | P^g | P^s

1-35 L^{78}j
a 27 2^1 ℌ
b 5 16 6^{22}

4[1] [N]And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying, [2] Speak unto the children of Israel, saying, [a]If any one[a] shall sin [M]unwittingly, in any of the things which Yahweh hath commanded not to be done, and shall do any one of them: [3] [N]if the [b]anointed priest shall sin so as to bring [b]guilt on the people; then let him offer for his sin, [c]which he hath sinned, a young bullock without blemish unto Yahweh for a sin offering. [4] And he shall bring the bullock unto the door of the tent of meeting before Yahweh; and he shall lay his hand upon the head of the bullock, and kill the bullock before Yahweh. [5] And the [b]anointed priest shall take of the blood of the bullock, and bring it to the tent of meeting: [6] and the priest shall [c]dip his finger in the blood, and sprinkle of the blood seven times before Yahweh, before the [d]veil of the sanctuary. [7] And the priest shall put of the blood upon the horns of the [e]altar of sweet incense before Yahweh, which is in the tent of meeting; and all the blood of the bullock shall he pour out at the [f]base of the [g]altar of burnt offering, which is at the door of the tent of meeting. [8] And all the fat of the bullock of the sin offering he shall [d]take off from it; the [h]fat that covereth the inwards, and all the fat that is upon the inwards, [9] and the two [i]kidneys, and the fat that is upon them, which is by the loins, and the caul upon the liver; [M]with the kidneys, shall he take away, [10] as it is [d]taken off from the ox of the sacrifice of peace offerings: and the priest shall burn them upon the [j]altar of burnt offering. [11] And the skin of the bullock, and all its flesh, with its head, and with its [k]legs, and its inwards, and its [l]dung, [12] even the whole bullock shall he carry forth [e]without the camp unto a clean [m]place, where the [n]ashes are [o]poured out, and burn it on wood with fire: where the ashes are [o]poured out shall it be burnt.

[13] And if the whole [f]congregation of Israel shall [p]err, and the thing be [q]hid from the eyes of the [N]assembly, and they have done any of the things which Yahweh hath commanded not to be done, and are [g]guilty; [14] when the sin wherein they have sinned is known, then the assembly shall offer a [N]young bullock for a sin offering, and bring it before the tent of meeting. [15] And the elders of the [f]congregation shall lay their hands upon the head of the bullock before Yahweh: and the bullock shall be killed before Yahweh. [16] And the [b]anointed priest shall bring of the blood of the bullock to the tent of meeting: [17] and the priest shall [c]dip his finger in the blood, and sprinkle it seven times before Yahweh, before the veil. [18] And he shall put of the blood upon the horns of the [e]altar which is before Yahweh, that is in the tent of meeting, and all the blood shall he pour out at the [f]base of the [j]altar of burnt offering, which is at the door of the tent of meeting. [19] And all the fat thereof shall he [d]take off from it, and burn it upon the altar. [20] [r]Thus shall he do with the bullock; [r]as he did with the bullock of the sin offering, [r]so shall he do with this: and the priest shall make atonement for them, and they shall be [s]forgiven. [21] And he shall carry forth the bullock [e]without the camp, and burn it as he burned the first bullock: it is the sin offering for the assembly.

[22] When a [h]ruler sinneth, and doeth [a]unwittingly any one of all the things which Yahweh his God hath commanded not to be done, and is [g]guilty; [23] if his sin, wherein he hath sinned, be made known to him, he shall bring for his oblation a goat, a male without blemish; [24] and he shall lay his hand upon the head of the goat, and kill it in the [t]place where they kill the burnt offering before Yahweh: it is a sin offering. [25] And the priest shall [u]take of the blood of the sin offering with his finger, and put it upon the horns of the [j]altar of burnt offering, and the blood thereof shall he pour out at the [f]base of the altar of burnt offering. [26] And all the fat thereof shall he burn upon the altar, as the fat of the sacrifice of peace offerings: and the priest shall make atonement for him as concerning his sin, and he shall be [s]forgiven.

[27] And [a]if any one of the [M]common people sin [a]unwittingly, in doing any of the things which Yahweh hath commanded not to be done, and be [g]guilty; [28] if his sin, [c]which he hath sinned, be made known to him, then he shall bring for his oblation a goat, a [i]female without blemish, for his sin [c]which he hath sinned. [29] And he shall lay his hand upon the head of the sin offering, and kill the sin offering in the [t]place of burnt offering. [30] And the priest shall [u]take of the blood thereof with his finger, and put it upon the horns of the [j]altar of burnt offering, and all the blood thereof shall he pour out at the [f]base of the altar. [31] And all the fat thereof shall he take away, as the fat is taken away from off the sacrifice of peace offerings; and the priest shall burn it upon the altar for a sweet savour unto Yahweh; and the priest shall make atonement for him, and he shall be [s]forgiven.

[32] And if he bring a [N]lamb as his oblation for a sin offering, he shall bring it

c 17 9^9 14^6 16 51 Num 19^{18}
d Ex 26^{33}
e Ex $30^{1..}$
f Ex 29^{12}
g Ex 30^{28}
h 3^3
i 3^4
j Cp 7 ct 3^5
k Ex 29^{17}
l Ex 29^{14}
m Cp 1^{16} ct 6^{11}
n 1^{16}
o ℌ†
p Num 15^{22*} cp Deut 27^{18}
q 5^{2-4} Num 5^{13} Niph*
r Cp 189
s 26 31 35 5^{10}... 19^{22} Num $15^{25.\ 28}$ Niph†
t 1^{3}...
u 30 34 8^{15} 16^{14} Ex 29^{12} Num 19^4

4^1 The description of the rites of the sin offering in 4 is clearly later than the bulk of 1–7 for it distinguishes the 'altar of sweet incense' [7] from the 'altar of burnt offerings' cp Ex 30^1. For other indications cp notes [3] [14] [32], and the marginal references.

[2] **M** Or, *through error.*

[3] The following section illustrates the enrichment of ritual and the elaboration of ceremonial characteristic of the later P^s compared with P^g and the earlier P^s. Ct Ex 29^{10-14} P^g, and Lev 8^{14-17} P^s, where the blood of the sin offering is not taken into the inner sanctuary.

[9] **M** See 3^4.

[13] The use of this word [13. 21] is unexpected by the side of the term 'congregation.' For the 'elders' [15] cp Ex 12^{21} and Lev 9^1.

[14] This requirement is probably another indication of later date. In 9^3 15 16^5 &c (P^g) the offering of a he-goat is enough. (𝔊) and Sam add 'without blemish.'

[27] **M** ℌ *people of the land.*

[32] In [28] a goat is required cp [3] [14] [23]. This section which allows a lamb as alternative, may therefore be a supplement, but as the language is unchanged, it is probably from the same hand.

a 168
b 81^b
c 143^d
d 85
e 120^3
f 45^a
g 81^3
h 131
i 107^d

JE | P[t] | P[g] | P[s]

a [i]female without blemish. [33] And he shall lay his hand upon the head of the sin offering, and kill it for a sin offering in the [t]place where they kill the burnt offering. [34] And the priest shall [m]take of the blood of the sin offering with his finger, and put it upon the horns of the [j]altar of burnt offering, and all the blood thereof shall he pour out at the [f]base of the altar: [35] and all the fat thereof shall he take away, as the fat of the lamb is taken away from the sacrifice of peace offerings; and the priest shall burn them on the altar; [M]upon the offerings of Yahweh made by fire: and the priest shall make atonement for him as touching his sin [c]that he hath sinned, and he shall be [g]forgiven.

5-7 [L]11[x] 1-6 [L]7[8a] 1 [L]4[f h] a Cp Num 5[21] 2 [L]6[b d] b 2-4 4[13] 3 [L]6[g c] 4 [L]5[c h] c Ps 106[33] Prov 12[18]† d Cp Is 41[23] e 4[3] 7-10 [L]7[8b] f Cp Ex 36[5] ct 11 ℌ g 1[17] h 1[15] i 4[7] j 9[16] Num 15[24] 29[18] k 1[8 16 18] 6[7] 4[20] 11-13 [L]7[8c] l 2[1] m 2[2] n 4[2] 14-16 [L]7[9a]

5[1] [NL]And if any one sin, in that he heareth the voice of [a]adjuration, he being a witness, whether he hath seen or known, if he do not utter [it], then he shall [a]bear his iniquity: [2] [L]or if any one touch any unclean thing, whether it be the carcase of an unclean beast, or the carcase of unclean cattle, or the carcase of unclean [b]creeping things, and it [b]be hidden from him, and he be unclean, then he shall be [c]guilty: [3] [L]or if he touch the [d]uncleanness of man, whatsoever his uncleanness be wherewith he is unclean, and it be hid from him; when he knoweth of it, then he shall be guilty: [4] [L]or if any one swear [c]rashly with his lips to [d]do evil, or to do good, whatsoever it be that a man shall utter [c]rashly with an oath, and it be hid from him; when he knoweth of it, then he shall be guilty in one of these [things]: [5] and it shall be, when he shall be guilty in one of these [things], that he shall [e]confess that wherein he hath sinned: [6] and he shall bring [M]his guilt offering unto Yahweh for his sin [c]which he hath sinned, a female from the flock, a lamb or a goat, for a sin offering; and the priest shall make atonement for him as concerning his sin.

a 28[1] b 15[7b] c 8[1a] d 16[7c] e 44

[7] [NL]*And if his means [f]suffice not for a lamb, then he shall bring [k]his guilt offering for that wherein he hath sinned, two turtledoves, or two young pigeons, unto Yahweh; one for a sin offering, and the other for a burnt offering.* [8] *And he shall bring them unto the priest, who shall offer that which is for the sin offering first, and [M]wring off its head from its neck, but shall not [g]divide it asunder:* [9] *and he shall sprinkle of the blood of the sin offering upon the [h]side of the altar; and the rest of the blood shall be [h]drained out at the [i]base of the altar: it is a sin offering.* [10] *And he shall [M]offer the second for a burnt offering, [j]according to the [N]ordinance: and the priest shall make atonement for him as concerning his sin [c]which he hath sinned, and he shall be [k]forgiven.*

f 10[9] g 16[0b]

[11] [L]*But if his [f]means suffice not for two turtledoves, or two young pigeons, then he shall bring his oblation for that wherein he hath sinned, the [g]tenth part of an ephah of fine flour for a sin offering; he shall put no [l]oil upon it, neither shall he put any frankincense thereon: for it is a sin offering.* [12] *And he shall bring it to the priest, and the priest shall [m]take his handful of it as the memorial thereof, and burn it on the altar, [M]upon the offerings of Yahweh made by fire: it is a sin offering.* [13] *And the priest shall make atonement for him as touching his sin [c]that he hath sinned [n]in any of these things, and he shall be [k]forgiven: and* [the remnant] *shall be the priest's, as the meal offering.*

h 16[4a] i 16[8]

[14] [NL]*And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying,* [15] *If any one commit a [h]trespass, and sin [i]unwittingly, in the holy things of Yahweh; then he shall bring his guilt offering unto Yahweh, a ram without blemish out of the flock, according to thy*

4[35] **M** Or, *after the manner of.*

5[1] This chapter has been regarded as an appendix to 4. But there are no clear indications of late date like those in 4 (cp [6] with 4[28-31]). On the other hand the passage in 5-6[7] is rather a collection of fragments (cp [14] 6[1]) of different origin and date on the sin and guilt offerings (see vol i *Laws*). The oldest nucleus seems to lie in 5[1-6], because of the absence of ritual direction, and the greater individuality of style. In [1] the cause of guilt is by no means parallel with the error of inadvertence 4[2]. The accumulation of different cases in [1-4] ct 4[3 13 22 27], the phrase 'bear his iniquity,' and the stress on 'uncleanness,' point to affinity with P[h]: while the absence of any definite distinction between sin and guilt offerings implies that the use of the terms was not yet fully fixed. [6 7b] **M** Or, *for his guilt.* Or, *his trespass offering.*

[7a] A supplement added to meet cases of poverty. The elaborate ritual directions in [8] ct [6] show the later origin of the passage.

[8] **M** Or, *pinch.*—Cp 1[15]. [10a] **M** Or, *prepare.*

[10b] A reference to the usage already defined 1[4]...

[12] **M** Or, *after the manner of.*

[14] In [14-16] and 6[1-7] guilt offerings are required as well as restitution in full with one-fifth more, in cases of withholding what is due to Yahweh and to a neighbour. These passages seem later than 5[1-6] as they distinguish the guilt offering clearly, but they are somewhat similar in form. The same may be said of [17-19] which now interrupts the sequence of the 'trespass' sections, and seems to be itself supplemental to 5[1-6]. The discovery of guilt incurred unconsciously [4] is met by confession and atonement. But what of the cases where subsequent calamity or misfortune (cp Dillm *in loc*) suggested the presence of guilt for which the sufferer could not account [17]? These also required a proper guilt offering, and a ram is demanded [18], ct the goat of 4[23 28].

JE P[t] P[g] P[s]

[j]estimation in silver by shekels, after the [k]shekel of the sanctuary, for a guilt
o 6[5] offering: [16] and he shall [o]make restitution for that which he hath done amiss in
p 6[5] 22[14] 27[13] Num 5[7] cp Gen 47[24]* the holy thing, and shall add the [p]fifth part thereto, and give it unto the priest:
and the priest shall make atonement for him with the ram of the guilt offering,
and he shall be [k]forgiven.

17-19 L7g[b] [17] [L]And if any one sin, and do any of the things [q]which Yahweh hath
q 4[13] commanded not to be done; though he knew it not, yet is he guilty, and
shall [a]bear his iniquity. [18] And he shall bring a ram without blemish out
of the flock, according to thy [j]estimation, for a guilt offering, unto the
priest: and the priest shall make atonement for him concerning the thing
wherein he erred [l]unwittingly and knew it not, and he shall be [k]forgiven.
[19] It is a guilt offering: he is certainly guilty before Yahweh.

1 [5[20] in ℌ] **6**[1] [L]*And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying,* [2] *If any one sin, and commit a* [a]*trespass* a 154[a]
1-7 L7g[b] 3a[f] e[b] 5c[i] *against Yahweh, and deal falsely with his* [N]*neighbour in a matter of* [c]*deposit, or*
a [4] ct Gen 41[36]† *of* [N]*bargain, or of* [b]*robbery, or have* [c]*oppressed his neighbour;* [3] *or have found*
b Is 61[8] Ezek 22[29] Ps 62[10]† *[d]that which was lost, and deal* [e]*falsely therein, and* [e]*swear to a lie; in any of*
c 19[13] Ezek 18[18] *all these that a man doeth, sinning therein:* [4] *then it shall be, if he hath sinned,*
d Ex 22[9] *and is* [b]*guilty, that he shall restore that which he took by robbery, or the thing* b 81[a]
e 19[11]. *which he hath gotten by oppression, or the* [c]*deposit which was committed to him,*
or the [d]*lost thing which he found,* [5] *or any thing about which he hath sworn*
f Ex 30[12] Num 5[7] ℌ *falsely; he shall even restore it in* [f]*full, and shall* [g]*add the fifth part more*
g 5[16] *thereto: unto him to whom it appertaineth shall he give it, in the day of his*
[e]being found guilty. [6] *And he shall bring his guilt offering unto Yahweh,* c 81[b]
a ram without blemish out of the flock, according to thy [d]*estimation, for a guilt* d 61
offering, unto the priest: [7] *and the priest shall make atonement for him before*
h 5[13] *Yahweh, and he shall be* [h]*forgiven; concerning whatsoever he doeth so as to be*
[e]guilty thereby.

8 [61 in ℌ] [8] [NL]*And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying,* [9] *Command Aaron and his sons, saying,* [N]This is
8-13 L7b[l] the law of the burnt offering: [N]the burnt offering shall be [M]on the [i]hearth
i Cp Is 33[14] Ps 102[3]† upon the altar all night unto the morning; and the fire of the altar shall
j 12. Deut 32[22]* be [j]kept burning thereon. [10] [L]And the priest shall put on his linen
10 L10d[o] 11g[a] [k]garment, and his linen [l]breeches shall he put upon his flesh; and he
k ℌ* shall [e]take up the [m]ashes whereto the fire hath consumed the burnt offering
l Ex 28[42] e 85
m 1[16] on the altar, and he shall put them beside the altar. [11] And he shall [n]put
n 16[23] off his garments, and put on other garments, and carry forth the ashes
[f]without the camp unto [N]a clean place. [12] And the fire upon the altar shall f 120[a]
o Ex 35[3] ℌ be [j]kept burning thereon, it shall not [k]go out; and the priest shall [o]burn
wood on it every morning: and he shall lay the burnt offering in order
upon it, and shall burn thereon the fat of the peace offerings. [13] Fire shall
be [j]kept burning upon the altar [s]continually; it shall not [k]go out. g 124

14-18 7m[d]oi [14] [L]And this is the law of the meal offering: the [N]*sons of Aaron* shall offer
p 2[2] it before Yahweh, before the altar. [15] And he shall [p]take up therefrom his
handful, of the fine flour of the meal offering, and of the oil thereof, and

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6[2a] On 2-7 cp 5[14N]. The word 'neighbour' ℌ is found elsewhere only in **P[h] 206**: its occurrence here suggests that this passage may have some affinity with that group cp 5[1N].

[2b] **M** Or, *pledge.*—ℌ†.

8 The section 6[8]–7[38] which closes the sacrificial code, might be called 'a manual for priests, edited afresh with several additions.' The original constituents are easily separated by following the clues afforded by the introductory formulae 'this is the law of . . .' and the terms of the colophon 7[37]. Both the order of subjects, and the framework in which they are set, show that this collection is not based on 1–6[7], or by the same author as 1–3. But the ease with which the references to **P[g]** can be eliminated, seems to indicate that in its original form this section was, like 1–3, older than **P[g]**. The phrases that appear to be from an editor's hand are again marked by small type.

[9a] This is the first occurrence of a phrase which occurs altogether seventeen times cp 18[8b], but always in passages already isolated on other grounds as part of a collection of priestly teaching. In titles it will be found in Lev 6[9 14 25] 7[1 11] 14[2] Num 6[13] 9[14]: in colophons Lev 11[46] 12[7] 13[59] 14[32 54 57] 15[32] Num 5[29] 6[21].

[9b] It may be a question whether the law in [9-13] has not been modified by the editor. It seems, though somewhat obscurely, to refer to the daily burnt offering, and in particular to that of the evening. If this was only instituted very late, as some critics have suggested cp Nowack, *Hebr Archäol* ii 222, this paragraph must be either late or revised. Some authorities, chiefly on this ground, ascribe the whole section 6[8]–7 to **P[s]**. But the analogy of the remaining paragraphs confirms the belief that the general case of the burnt offering was originally in the writer's view cp [12b].

[9c] **M** Or, *on its firewood.*

[11] This direction shows that the passage is at least earlier than 1[16] and 4[11]., where 'the place of the ashes' is apparently well known.

[14] Ct 'the priest' [10-12]. In inserting 'sons of Aaron' the editor has left the singular in the next verse.

JE | P[t] | P[g] | P[s]

all the frankincense which is upon the meal offering, and shall burn it upon the altar for a sweet savour, as the memorial thereof, unto Yahweh.

16-18 L[11]j

16 L And that which is left thereof shall *Aaron and his sons* eat: it shall be eaten without leaven in a [x]holy place; *in the court of the tent of meeting they shall eat it.* 17 L It shall not be baken with leaven. *I have [q]given it as their portion of my offerings made by fire;* it is most holy, as the sin offering, and as the guilt offering. 18 Every male among the [r]*children of Aaron* shall eat of it, *as a [h]due for ever [i]throughout your generations, from the offerings of Yahweh made by fire:* whosoever toucheth *them* shall be holy.

17 L[7]nd
q 7[34] Num 18[8] 19...
r Ct 29 7[6] ⑧ *priests*
h 62[c]
i 76[b]

19-23 L[7]me 11de

19 NL *And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying,* 20 *This is the oblation of Aaron and of his sons, which they shall offer unto Yahweh [s]in the day when he is anointed; the [j]tenth part of an ephah of fine flour for a meal offering [g]perpetually, [k]half of it in the morning, and half thereof in the evening.* 21 *On a [m]baking pan it shall be made with oil; when it is [f]soaked, thou shalt bring it in: in [m]baken pieces shalt thou offer the meal offering for a sweet savour unto Yahweh.* 22 *And the [u]anointed priest that shall be in his stead from among his sons shall offer it: by a [b]statute for ever it shall be wholly burnt unto Yahweh.* 23 *And every meal offering of the priest shall be wholly burnt: it shall not be eaten.*

s Cp 8-9
j 160[b]
k 82

24-29 L[7]8d

24 L *And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying,* 25 *Speak unto Aaron and to his sons, saying,* This is the law of the sin offering: in the place where the burnt offering is killed shall the sin offering be killed before Yahweh: it is most holy.

t 7[12] 1 Chron 23[29]†
u 4[3]

26 29 L[11]ji

26 L The priest that offereth it for sin shall eat it: in [v]a holy place shall it be eaten, *in the court of the tent of meeting.* 27 M Whatsoever shall touch the flesh thereof shall be holy: and when there is sprinkled of the blood thereof upon any garment, thou shalt [l]wash that whereon it was sprinkled in [v]a holy place. 28 But the [w]earthen vessel wherein it is sodden shall be broken: and if it be sodden in a brasen vessel, it shall be [x]scoured, and [y]rinsed in water. 29 [z]Every male among the priests shall eat thereof: it is most holy.

v Cp 16
l 173

w 11[33] 14[5 50] 15[12] Num 5[17]*
x Jer 46[4] 2 Chron 4[16]†
y 15[11].*
z 7[6] cp 18

30 L[7]8j

30 NL And no sin offering, whereof any of the blood is brought into the tent of meeting to make atonement in the holy place, shall be eaten: it shall be burnt with fire.

1-7 L[7]gd

7[1] L And this is the law of the guilt offering: it is most holy. 2 In the place where they kill the burnt offering shall they kill the guilt offering: and the [a]blood thereof shall he sprinkle upon the altar round about. 3 And he shall offer of it all the fat thereof; the [b]fat tail, and the [c]fat that covereth the inwards, 4 and the two kidneys, and the fat that is on them, which is by the loins, and the caul upon the liver, M with the kidneys, shall he take away: 5 and the priest shall burn them upon the altar for an offering made by fire unto Yahweh: it is a guilt offering. 6 L[d] Every male among the priests shall eat thereof: it shall be eaten in [e]a holy place: it is most holy. 7 As is the sin offering, so is the guilt offering: there is one law for them: the priest that maketh atonement therewith, he shall have it.

a 1[5]
b Ex 29[22]
c 3[3] Ex 29[13]

6. L[11]j
d 6[29]
e 6[26]

8 L[7]bo11jn

8 NL And the priest that offereth any man's burnt offering, even the priest shall have to himself the skin of the burnt offering which he hath offered.

9 L[7]mf 11j

9 L *And every meal offering that is baken in the oven, and all that is dressed in the [f]frying pan, and on the [m]baking pan, shall be the priest's that offereth it.*

f 2[7]†

10 L[7]mm 11jo

10 NL And every meal offering, [g]mingled with oil, or [h]dry, shall all the sons of Aaron have, [a]one as well as another.

g 2[5]
h ℌ*
a 184

6[16] This direction is repeated in [26] 7[6] 10[12-14], and the unusual expression 'a holy place' also occurs in [27]: the clause defining the locality as 'the court' &c seems to have been added to explain the ambiguous phrase. In 10[16-20], a later supplement based on 6[25-30], the phrase is altered into 'the place of the sanctuary,' which confirms the conjecture that the defining clauses are explanatory glosses.

19 An ordinance about the double daily meal offering seems here to have been applied to the day of the priestly consecration to avoid the appearance of clashing with the daily burnt offering: or the phrase may have been inserted to prepare the way for the ceremonies of 8-. [21a] M See 2[5].

[21b] M The meaning of the ℌ word is uncertain.—†.

27 M Or, *whosoever.*

30 This regulation has the appearance of a supplement, marking an exception to the 'law of the sin offering,' arising out of the introduction of varieties of sin offering in P[s], as in 4. Ct 'holy place' (ℌ = *holiness* 88[a]) with 'a holy place' [26]: the reference to the 'tent of meeting' coincides with 4[5], and is not supplemental as in [26].

7[4] M See 3[4].

8 The references to the priest's dues on the burnt offering and meal offering are plainly additions in their present context. But it is hard to see why they should have been thrust in here. With [8] ct Ex 29[14] where the skin is burnt: it is now made a perquisite of the officiating priest. [9] M See 2[5].

10 This seems a later supplement, providing for the kind of meal offering that had then become most common. See L[7]m[N].

JE | P[t] | P[g] | P[s]

11-21 $L_7 p^h$
12-15 $L_7 n c t^b$
i 13 15 22^{29} ct Josh 7^{19*}
j Ex 29^2
k 6^{21}
15-18 $L_7 c^f$
l Ct 22^{30} ℌ
16 $L_8 g^d$
m 19^6
n 19^7 Ezek 4^{14} Is 65^{4}†
19-21 $L_6 c^g$
21 $L_6 b^g$
o $11^{10-13\ 20\ 23\ 41}$ Ezek 8^{10} Is 66^{17}† cp Deut 29^{17}
22-27 $L_6 e^g$
p 17^{15} 22^8 cp Ex 22^{31}
q Ex 29^{24}.
r Ex 29^{26}
31-34 $L_{11} j^k$
s 2^{11}
t Ex 29^{26}
u Num 3^{12} 8^{16} 18^6
v 6^{17}
35. $L_{11} j^p$ d*j*

11 [NL]And this is the law of the sacrifice of peace offerings, which one shall offer unto Yahweh. 12 [L]If he offer it for a [i]thanksgiving, then he shall offer with the sacrifice of thanksgiving unleavened [j]cakes mingled with oil, and unleavened [j]wafers anointed with oil, and [N]cakes mingled with oil, of fine flour [k]soaked. 13 With [j]cakes of leavened bread he shall offer his oblation with the sacrifice of his peace offerings for [i]thanksgiving. 14 And of it he shall offer one out of each oblation for an heave offering unto Yahweh; it shall be the priest's that sprinkleth the blood of the peace offerings. 15 [L]And the flesh of the sacrifice of his peace offerings for [i]thanksgiving shall be eaten on the day of his oblation; he shall not [l]leave any of it until the morning. 16 [L]But if the sacrifice of his oblation be a vow, or a freewill offering, it shall be eaten on the day that he offereth his sacrifice: and [m]on the morrow that which remaineth of it shall be eaten: 17 but that which remaineth of the flesh of the sacrifice on the third day shall be burnt with fire. 18 And if any of the flesh of the sacrifice of his peace offerings be eaten on the third day, it shall not be [b]accepted, neither shall it be imputed unto him that offereth it: it shall be an [n]abomination, and the soul that eateth of it shall [c]bear his iniquity. 19 [L]And the flesh that toucheth any unclean thing shall not be eaten; it shall be burnt with fire. And as for the flesh, every one that is clean shall eat thereof: 20 but the soul that eateth of the flesh of the sacrifice of peace offerings, that pertain unto Yahweh, having his uncleanness upon him, that soul shall be [d]cut off from his people. 21 [L]And when any one shall touch any unclean thing, the uncleanness of man, or an unclean beast, or any unclean [o]abomination, and eat of the flesh of the sacrifice of peace offerings, which pertain unto Yahweh, that soul shall be [d]cut off from his people.

b 17[a]
c 28[a]
d 50[a]

22 [LN]*And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying,* 23 *Speak unto the children of Israel, saying, Ye shall eat no fat, of ox, or sheep, or goat.* 24 *And the fat of that* [p]*which dieth of itself, and the fat of that which is torn of beasts, may be used for any other* [e]*service: but ye shall in no wise eat of it.* 25 *For whosoever eateth the fat of the beast, of which men offer an offering made by fire unto Yahweh, even the soul that eateth it shall be* [d]*cut off from his people.* 26 *And ye shall eat no manner of blood, whether it be of fowl or of beast, in any of your* [f]*dwellings.* 27 *Whosoever it be that eateth any blood, that soul shall be* [d]*cut off from his people.*

e 177[b]
f 55[a]

28 [N]*And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying,* 29 *Speak unto the children of Israel, saying, He that offereth the sacrifice of his peace offerings unto Yahweh shall bring his oblation unto Yahweh out of the sacrifice of his peace offerings:* 30 *his own* [q]*hands shall bring the offerings of Yahweh made by fire; the fat with the* [r]*breast shall he bring, that the breast may be waved for a wave offering before Yahweh.* 31 [L]*And the priest shall burn the fat upon the altar: but the* [r]*breast shall be Aaron's and his sons'.* 32 *And the right* [M]*thigh shall* [s]*ye give unto the priest for an heave offering out of the sacrifices of your peace offerings.* 33 *He* [N]*among the sons of Aaron, that offereth the blood of the peace offerings, and the fat, shall have the right* [M]*thigh for a* [t]*portion.* 34 [N]*For the wave breast and the heave* [M]*thigh have I* [u]*taken of the children of Israel out of the sacrifices of their peace offerings, and have* [v]*given them unto Aaron the priest and unto his sons as a* [g]*due for ever from the children of Israel.*

g 62[c]

35 [N]This [h]his the [M]anointing-portion of Aaron, and the anointing-portion of his sons,

h 188[b]

7[11] The paragraph on the 'peace offerings' especially conveys the impression of a very early piece. With 12-14 ct Num 15^9; 15-18 cp 22^{29}.; 18 'abomination' cp 19^7, 'bear his iniquity' cp 19^8 20^{17} 19; 20. 'cut off from his people' 17^4 9. 18^{29} 19^8 20^{18} (22^3) 23^{29}.; there are thus several phraseological affinities with P[h].

12 The order in ℌ 'and fine flour soaked cakes mingled with oil' is peculiar. ℌ omits the repetition of 'cakes mingled.' Cp 8^{26} Ex 29^{23}.

22 A supplement of uncertain origin and date (though showing affinity with earlier passages) providing for the slaughter and consumption of animals not offered in sacrifice.

28 A supplement similar to the preceding, about the priests' dues. The appearance of 'Aaron and his sons' in 31 after 'the priest' is noteworthy, and similarly 'ye' 32. Can this be an early draft of Ex 29^{26-28} completed and inserted here? In that case 35. would be its conclusion by the later editor.

32-34 M Or, *shoulder*.—Ex 29^{22}.

33 The position of these words in ℌ after 'fat' confirms the general grounds for their rejection.

34 A supplement by R[P] who here returns to the use of the first person in the divine utterance to which he is accustomed.

35[a] Here the sons of Aaron share in his anointing, as in P[s] only; cp Ex 28^{41}.

35[b] M Or, *portion*.—Cp Num 18^8 ℌ in this sense†.

JE	P[t]	P[g]	P[s]	
		out of the offerings of Yahweh made by fire, in the day when he presented them to [i]minister unto Yahweh in the priest's office ; [36] which Yahweh commanded to be given them of the children of Israel, in the day that he [j]anointed them. It is a [g]due for ever throughout their [k]generations.		i 129[a] j 23 k 76[b]
37 $L_7 a n$		[37] [NL]This is the law of the burnt offering, of the meal offering, and of the sin offering, and of the guilt offering, and of the [l]consecration, and of the sacrifice of peace offerings ; [38] [N]which Yahweh commanded Moses in mount [m]Sinai, in the day that he commanded the children of Israel to offer their oblations unto Yahweh, in the wilderness of Sinai.		l 69[b] m 7
1-36 $L_{11} d i f j$		[8] [1] [ML]And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying, [2] Take Aaron and his sons [a]with him, and the [a]garments, and the [b]anointing oil, and the [c]bullock of the sin offering, and the [c]two rams, and the basket of unleavened bread ; [3] and [b]assemble thou all the [c]congregation at the [d]door of the tent of meeting. [4] And Moses [d]did as Yahweh commanded him ; and the congregation was assembled at the door of the tent of meeting. [5] And Moses said unto the congregation, [e]This is the thing which Yahweh hath commanded to be done. [6] [L]And Moses brought Aaron and his sons, and [e]washed them with water. [7] [L]And he [f]put upon him the coat, and girded him with the girdle, and clothed him with the robe, and put the ephod upon him, and he girded him with the cunningly woven band of the ephod, and bound it unto him therewith. [8] [L]And he placed the [g]breastplate upon him : and in the breastplate he [h]put [M]the Urim and the Thummim. [9] And he [i]set the [M]mitre upon his head ; and upon the [M]mitre, in [j]front, did he set the golden plate, the holy [k]crown ; [l]as Yahweh commanded Moses. [10] [L]And Moses took the anointing oil, [NL]*and anointed the* [f]*Dwelling and all that was therein, and* [g]*sanctified them.* [11] [N]*And he* [h]*sprinkled thereof upon* [m]*the altar seven times, and anointed the altar and all its vessels, and the* [n]*laver and its base, to* [g]*sanctify them.* [12] And he [i]poured of the anointing oil upon Aaron's head, and anointed him, to [g]sanctify him. [13] [L]And Moses [o]brought Aaron's sons, and clothed them with coats, and girded them with girdles, and bound headtires upon them ; [l]as Yahweh commanded Moses. [14] [L]And he brought the bullock of the sin offering : and Aaron and his sons [p]laid their hands upon the head of the bullock of the sin offering. [15] And he [q]slew it ; and Moses [r]took the blood, and put it upon the horns of the altar round about with his finger, [N]and [j]purified the altar, and [i]poured out the blood at the base of the altar, and [g]sanctified it, to make [k]atonement for it. [16] And he took all the [s]fat that was upon the inwards, and the caul of the liver, and the two kidneys, and their fat, and Moses burned it upon the altar. [17] But the [t]bullock, and its skin, and its flesh, and its dung, he burnt with fire [l]without the camp ; [l]as Yahweh commanded Moses. [18] [L]And he presented the ram of the burnt offering : And Aaron and his sons [u]laid their hands upon the head of the ram. [19] And he [v]killed it : and Moses sprinkled the blood upon the altar round about. [20] And he [w]cut the ram into its pieces ; and Moses burnt the		a 176 b 24[a] c 45 d 189[b] e 188[b] f 54[b] g 86[c] h 149 i 128 j 143[a] k 25[a] l 120[b]
6 $L_{12} i c$				
e Ex 29[4]				
7-9 13 $L_{12} g$				
f Ex 29[5]				
8 $L_{11} b f$				
g Ex 29[5]				
h Ex 28[30]				
i Ex 29[6]				
j Ex 28[37]				
k Ex 29[6]				
l Ex 39[1]				
10a-12 $L_{11} d c$				
10b $L_{10} b$				
m Ex 29[12] 27[1]				
n Ex 30[18]				
13 $L_{11} g e$				
o Ex 29[8].				
14-17 $L_7 8 i$				
p Ex 29[10]				
q Ex 29[11]				
r Ex 29[12]				
s Ex 29[13]				
t Ex 29[14]				
18-21 $L_7 b p$				
u Ex 29[15]				
v Ex 29[16]				
w Ex 29[17]				

7[37] The colophon concludes this little 'priests' manual.' The words 'and of the consecration' seem to have slipped into the wrong place from the margin, where they may have been a gloss to refer to [28-36] or to 6 [9-23]. The rest defines the original items of the collection, 'burnt offering' 6[9-13], 'meal offering' 6[14-18], 'sin offering' 6[25-30], 'guilt offering' 7[1-10], 'peace offerings' [11-21]. The other paragraphs 6[19-23] 7[22-27] [28-34] [35]. are thus excluded as supplementary.

[38] The reference to 'Mount Sinai' contrasted with 'out of the tent of meeting' 1[1], bears out the suggestion 6[8N] that the materials of this section may have been derived from sources older than P[g]. Cp 25[1] 26[46] P[h]. The treatment has been adjusted to the camp 6[11], but the usages described seem to be those of the Temple priests.

8[1] **M** See Ex 29.—This chapter is usually regarded as an expansion of an earlier and briefer account of the fulfilment of Ex 29, just as Ex 35–40 may be founded on a shorter version of the construction of the Dwelling Ex 25–28 30 31. This passage, however, is earlier than Ex 35–40 as it recognizes only one altar. Its laborious reproduction of Ex 29, with a few slight modifications, e g [3 20. 26 31], shows that it cannot well have formed part of P[g]. The formula 'as Yahweh commanded Moses' serves as a kind of refrain [9 13 17 21 29] (cp [5 34]) Ex 39[1] : on its secondary character cp *Introd* i 155[a].

[8] **M** That is, *the Lights and the Perfections*.

[9] **M** Or, *turban*.

[10] Probably an interpolation, as (1) there is no parallel in Ex 29, and (2) (𝔊) has a rather different order, placing [10b] after [11].

[11] This verse similarly contrasts with Ex 29 which, except for the interpolation in [21], religiously restricts the application of the holy oil to 'Aaron's head.' It is therefore probably another gloss like [30] Ex 28[41] 29[21].

[15] The 'purification,' 'sanctification,' and 'atonement' for the altar seem like the explanations of a writer anxious to leave nothing in his original Ex 29[12] without its interpretation.

JE | P[t] | P[g] | P[s]

x 1[8] ct 9[13] Ex 29[17]
y Ex 29[18]

22-32 *L*7p*n*
z Ex 29[19 22]
a' Ex 29[20]
b' Ex 29[20]
c' Ex 29[22]
26 31. *L*7m*j*
d' Ex 29[23]
e' Ex 29[24]
f' Ex 29[25]
g' Ex 29[26]
30 *L*11f*l*
h' Cp Ex 29[31.]
32 *L*7c*g*
i' Ex 29[34]
j' 12[4] 25[30] Num 6[5 13] ℌ
k' Ex 29[35]
l' Ex 34[34]
1-24 *L*11b*d*
a 8[33]
b Ct 4[3]
c Cp 16[5] P[g] ct 4[14] P[s]
d Ex 29[2]
e Gen 17[1]
f 6[14] ℌ

[x]head, and the pieces, and the [x]fat. [21] And he washed the inwards and the legs with water; and Moses [y]burnt the whole ram upon the altar: it was a burnt offering for a sweet savour: it was an offering made by fire unto Yahweh; [l]as Yahweh commanded Moses. [22] [L]And he presented the [z]other ram, the [N]ram of [m]consecration: and Aaron and his sons laid their hands upon the head of the ram. [23] And he [a']slew it; and Moses took of the blood thereof, and put it upon the tip of Aaron's right ear, and upon the thumb of his right hand, and upon the great toe of his right foot. [24] And he brought Aaron's sons, and Moses put of the blood upon the tip of their right ear, and upon the thumb of their right hand, and upon the great toe of their right foot: and Moses [b']sprinkled the blood upon the altar round about. [25] And he took the fat, and the [c']fat tail, and all the fat that was upon the inwards, and the caul of the liver, and the two kidneys, and their fat, and the right [M]thigh: [26] [L]and out of the [d']basket of unleavened bread, that was before Yahweh, he took one [N]unleavened cake, and one cake of oiled bread, and one wafer, and placed them on the fat, and upon the right thigh: [27] and he [e']put the whole upon the hands of Aaron, and upon the hands of his sons, and waved them for a wave offering before Yahweh. [28] And Moses [f']took them from off their hands, and burnt them on the altar upon the burnt offering: they were a [m]consecration for a sweet savour: it was an offering made by fire unto Yahweh. [29] And Moses [g']took the breast, and waved it for a wave offering before Yahweh: it was Moses' [g']portion of the ram of [m]consecration; [l]as Yahweh commanded Moses. [30] [NL]*And Moses took of the anointing oil, and of the blood which was upon the altar, and* [h]*sprinkled it upon Aaron, upon his garments, and upon his sons, and upon his sons' garments* [a]*with him; and sanctified Aaron, his garments, and his sons, and his sons' garments* [a]*with him.* [31] And Moses said unto Aaron and to his sons, [h']Boil the flesh at the door of the tent of meeting: and there eat it and the bread that is in the basket of [m]consecration, [M]as I commanded, saying, Aaron and his sons shall eat it. [32] [L]And that which [i']remaineth of the flesh and of the bread shall ye burn with fire. [33] And ye shall not go out from the door of the tent of meeting seven days, until the days of your [m]consecration be [j']fulfilled: for he shall [M]consecrate you [k']seven days. [34] As hath been done this day, so Yahweh hath commanded to do, to make [k]atonement for you. [35] And at the door of the tent of meeting shall ye abide day and night seven days, and [n]keep the charge of Yahweh, [o]that ye die not: for so I [l']am commanded. [36] And Aaron and his sons did all the things which Yahweh [p]commanded by the hand of Moses.

9[1] [NL]And it came to pass on the [a]eighth day, that Moses called Aaron and his sons, and the [N]elders of Israel; [2] and he said unto Aaron, Take thee a [b]bull calf for a sin offering, and a ram for a burnt offering, [a]without blemish, and offer them before Yahweh. [3] And unto the children of Israel thou shalt [b]speak, saying, Take ye a [c]he-goat for a sin offering; and a calf and a lamb, both [c]of the first year, without blemish, for a burnt offering; [4] and an ox and a ram for peace offerings, to sacrifice before Yahweh; and a meal offering [d]mingled with oil: for to-day Yahweh [e]appeareth unto you. [5] And they brought that which Moses commanded [f]before the tent of meeting: and all the [d]congregation drew near and stood before Yahweh. [6] And Moses said, [e]This is the thing which Yahweh commanded that ye should do: and the [f]glory of Yahweh shall

m 69[b]
a 123
b 185[b]
c 119[b]
d 45
e 188[b]
f 79
n 39[b]
o 52[a]
p 180[a]

8[22] The amplifying term is introduced earlier here cp Ex 29[26]: the original author can hardly be supposed to have thus annotated his own work.

[25] **M** Or, *shoulder.*

[26] A substitute for the homelier 'loaf of bread' in the original Ex 29[23]. [30] See Ex 28[41] 29[21] and notes.

[31] **M** 𝔊 Onkelos and 𝔖 read, *as I am commanded.* See [35] 10[13].

[33] **M** ℌ *fill your hand.*

9[1a] The main thread of the Priestly Law and History Book is resumed here from Ex 29, and it is not necessary to suppose the elimination of anything more in the interval than some brief account of the construction and erection of the sanctuary and the consecration of the priesthood, such as has been expanded into Ex 35–40 and Lev 8. The terminology of the ritual in this chapter coincides entirely with that of **P**, cp *Aaron and his sons, sin offering, burnt offering, peace offering, meal offering, make atonement, offer the oblation, slay, pour, sprinkle, burn, &c.* That the ritual is that of P[g] is inferred (1) because it implies only one altar [7–10 12–14] &c; (2) the blood is not brought into the inner sanctuary cp 4[3N]; (3) the ritual of the sin offering [8–11 15] is less detailed than that in 8[14–17] cp 4[1–21], and similarly with the burnt offering [12–14] cp 8[18–21].

[1b] Perhaps an indication of later correction (Dillm), ct 'children' [3] where Sam and 𝔊 again introduce 'elders.'

JE | P[t] | P[g] | P[s]

g Ex 16[10]

[g]appear unto you. 7 And Moses said unto Aaron, Draw near unto the altar, and offer thy sin offering, and thy burnt offering, and make atonement for thyself, and [N]*for the people*: and offer the oblation of the people, and make atonement for them; as Yahweh commanded. 8 [L]So Aaron drew near unto the altar, and slew the calf of the sin offering, [N]*which was for himself.* 9 And the sons of Aaron presented the blood unto him: and he [h]dipped his finger in the blood, and put it upon the [i]horns of the altar, and poured out the blood at the base of the altar: 10 but the [j]fat, and the kidneys, and the caul from the liver of the sin offering, he burnt upon the altar; as Yahweh commanded Moses. 11 And the [k]flesh and the skin he burnt with fire without the camp. 12 [L]And he slew the burnt offering; and Aaron's sons [l]delivered unto him the blood, and he [m]sprinkled it upon the altar round about. 13 And they [l]delivered the burnt offering unto him, [n]piece by piece, and the [n]head: and he burnt them upon the altar. 14 And he [n]washed the inwards and the legs, and burnt them upon the burnt offering on the altar. 15 And he presented the people's oblation, and took the [o]goat of the sin offering which was for the people, and slew it, and offered it for sin, as the first. 16 And he presented the burnt offering, and offered it [o]according to the ordinance. 17 And he presented the meal offering, and [p]filled his hand therefrom, and burnt it upon the altar, besides the burnt offering of the morning. 18 [L]He slew also the ox and the ram, the sacrifice of peace offerings, which was for the people: and Aaron's sons [l]delivered unto him the blood, and he [m]sprinkled it upon the altar round about, 19 and the fat of the ox; and of the ram, the fat tail, and that which covereth [the inwards], and the kidneys, and the caul of the liver: 20 and they put the fat upon the breasts, and he burnt the fat upon the altar: 21 and the breasts and the right thigh Aaron [q]waved for a wave offering before Yahweh; [N]as Moses commanded. 22 [L]And Aaron lifted up his hands toward the people, and [r]blessed them; and he came down from offering the sin offering, and the burnt offering, and the peace offerings. 23 And Moses and Aaron went into the tent of meeting, and came out, and blessed the people: and the [f]glory of Yahweh appeared unto all the people. 24 [N]And there [s]came forth fire from before Yahweh, and consumed upon the altar the burnt offering and the fat: and when all the people saw it, they [t]shouted, and [g]fell on their faces.

h 4[6]
i Ex 29[12]
j Ex 29[13]
k Ex 29[14]
12-14 16 *L*7b*n*
l 13 18 ℌ*
m Ex 29[16]
n Cp Ex 29[17] ct 8[20]
o 5[10]
p 2[2] ct P69 ℌ
18-21 *L*7p*k*
q Ex 29[26]
22 *L*11h*j*
r Cp Num 6[23]
s 10[2] Num 16[35]
t Cp Deut 32[43] Hiph*
1-5 *L*7i*a*
a Ex 27[3]
b 9[24]
c ℌ=*consumed* 9[24]
d Ex 14[4]=*get me honour* ℌ
e Ex 6[18 22]
6 *L*11f*k*d*k*

10[1] [NL]And [a]Nadab and Abihu, the sons of Aaron, took each of them his [a]censer, and put fire therein, and laid [b]incense thereon, and [c]offered [d]strange fire before Yahweh, which he had not commanded them. 2 And there [b]came forth fire from before Yahweh, and [c]devoured them, and they died before Yahweh. 3 Then Moses said unto Aaron, [e]This is it that Yahweh spake, saying, I will be [f]sanctified in them that [M]come nigh me, and [g]before all the people I will be [d]glorified. And Aaron held his peace. 4 And Moses called [e]Mishael and Elzaphan, the sons of [e]Uzziel the uncle of Aaron, and said unto them, Draw near, carry your brethren from before the [h]sanctuary [i]out of the camp. 5 So they drew near, and carried them in their coats [i]out of the camp; as Moses had said.

6 [NL]And Moses said unto Aaron, and unto [j]Eleazar and unto Ithamar, his sons, [M]Let

g 67
a 12[d]
b 95[a]
c 118[a]
d 153
e 188[c]
f 86[b]
g 64
h 88[a]
i 120[a]
j 12[bc]

9[7] Read with 𝔊 'for thy house'; the people are named in the next clause. 8 𝔊[AB] omit: 𝔊[L] 'calf of his sin offering.'

21 𝔊[AB] Sam 'as Yahweh commanded Moses' cp 10.

24 Possibly 24[a] is an interpolation, for in 13 and 16 the fat is not mentioned in connexion with the burnt offering ct 8[20], while it is stated that Aaron burnt the pieces that were delivered to him one by one for that very purpose. Moreover 22 records the conclusion of the whole sacrificial process. How then can 'the burnt offering and the fat' be still upon the altar? (Cp De Wette, *Beiträge* ii 302–4 quoted by Kalisch.) It is possible that 𝔊's rendering in 13. 17 20 'offer' and 'put' for 'burn' may be influenced by this consideration, but the same terms are not unfrequently employed elsewhere, e g 1[9 13 15 17] 2[16] 3[5 11].

10[1] The materials of 10 are composite, and the regulations in 6–20 seem to have been somewhat loosely thrown together, though 6. 12–15 and 16–20 are attached to the main incident in 1–5. This appears due to P[g], where it stands as the immediate sequel of 9[24] as an illustration of the danger of unauthorized cultus. For the quotation in 3 see Klostermann's emendation Ex 29[43N].

3 M Or, *are nigh.*

6[a] A secondary supplement as it includes all priests alike in the unction cp Ex 28[41N]. Moreover 7 seems to imply that the consecration was not yet complete: but according to 9[1] it was finished.

6[b] M Some ancient versions render, *Uncover not your heads.*

JE	P^t	P^g	P^s	
	not the *f*hair of your heads*f* go loose, neither *g*rend your clothes; that ye *k*die not, and that he be not *h*wroth with all the *l*congregation: but let your brethren, the whole *i*house of Israel, bewail the *j*burning which Yahweh hath kindled. 7 L And ye shall not go out from the door of the tent of meeting, lest ye die: for the *k*anointing oil of Yahweh is upon you. And they did according to the word of Moses.			k 52a l 46
	8 NL And Yahweh *m*spake unto Aaron, saying, 9 Drink no wine nor strong drink, thou, nor thy sons *n*with thee, when ye go into the tent of meeting, that ye *k*die not: it shall be a *o*statute for ever *p*throughout your generations.			m 185a n 176 o 62c p 76a
	10 NL And *r*ye shall *q*put difference between the *h*holy and the *l*common, and *m*between the *r*unclean and the *s*clean; 11 and *r*ye shall *n*teach the children of Israel all the statutes which Yahweh hath spoken unto them *t*by the hand of Moses.			q 53 r 167b s 43b t 180a
		12 NL And Moses spake unto Aaron, and unto *j*Eleazar and unto Ithamar, his sons that were left, Take the *u*meal offering that remaineth of the *v*offerings of Yahweh made by fire, and eat it without leaven *o*beside the altar: for it is *w*most holy: 13 and ye shall eat it in a *x*holy place, because it is thy due, and thy sons' due, of the offerings of Yahweh made by fire: for so I *p*am commanded. 14 L And *q*the *y*wave breast and the *z*heave thigh shall ye eat in a clean place; thou, and thy sons, and thy daughters *n*with thee: for they are given as thy due, and thy sons' due, out of the sacrifices of the *a'*peace offerings of the children of Israel. 15 The heave thigh and the wave breast shall they bring with the offerings made by fire of the fat, to wave it for a wave offering before Yahweh: and it shall be thine, and thy sons' *n*with thee, as a *o*due for ever; as Yahweh hath commanded.		u 118h v 118i w 90a x 87b y 175 z 85 a' 118j
		16 NL *And Moses diligently sought the* *r*goat of the *b'*sin offering, *and, behold, it was burnt: and he was angry with* *j*Eleazar *and with Ithamar, the sons of Aaron that were left, saying,* 17 *Wherefore have ye not eaten the sin offering in the place of the* *h*sanctuary, *seeing it is* *w*most holy, *and he hath given it you* *M*to *c'*bear the iniquity of the *l*congregation, *to* *c'*make *d'*atonement for them before Yahweh? 18 *Behold, the blood of it was not brought into the sanctuary* *s*within: *ye should certainly have eaten it in the sanctuary,* *t*as *I commanded.* 19 *And Aaron spake unto Moses, Behold, this day* *u*have they *e'*offered their sin offering and their burnt offering before Yahweh; *and there have befallen me such things as these: and if I had eaten the sin offering to-day, would it have been well-pleasing in the sight of Yahweh?* 20 *And when Moses heard* [that], *it was well-pleasing in his sight.*		b' 118j c' 28a d' 25a e' 118k
	11¹ NL *And Yahweh* *a*spake unto Moses and to Aaron, saying unto them, 2 *Speak unto the children of Israel, saying,* Nb These are the living things which ye shall eat among all the			a 185 b 188a

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10⁸ A fragment, marked by a closing formula ⁹ᵇ, but slenderly connected with the text (note the phrase 'that ye die not' ⁹ cp ⁶). Laws directly addressed to Aaron are rare Num 18¹ ⁸ ²⁰*. For the prohibition in ⁹ cp Ezek 44²¹.

10ᵃ Another fragment attached to the preceding without any apparent link. On the lack of grammatical connexion cp Driver and White (*Leviticus* in Haupt's *SBOT* ℌ p 28). The passage shows affinity with P^t in its emphasis on teaching cp *Introd* XIII 9*a* i 152. D also lays stress both on distinctions of clean and unclean Deut 14³⁻²⁰, and on the priestly duty of instruction 24⁸· cp 33¹⁰. ¹⁰ᵇ ¹¹ So M. T *and that ye may.*

¹² This paragraph, also a fragment, is joined to the context by the introductory clause. The rest recalls 6¹⁴⁻¹⁸ ²⁵⁻²⁹ 7⁶ by its provision for eating the holy food 'in a holy place' ¹³, 'in a clean place' ¹⁴. Nowhere else is the peculiar expression 'a holy place' defined, without reference to the Tent of Meeting, as 'beside the altar' ¹². For the substance of the paragraph cp 7³⁰⁻³⁴. Owing to the completeness with which the earlier matter has been assimilated with the later form, the regulation is here ascribed to P^s.

¹⁶ A very late supplement. The anger of Moses is not caused by neglect to bring the blood into the sanctuary, as provided in 4 (P^s); it is assumed that Aaron was aware of that provision, and had sufficient reason for not carrying it out. Aaron is only charged with a less serious omission in not eating a sin offering which had thus become of a lower grade. Cp also 6¹⁶ᴺ.

¹⁷ M Or, *to take away.*

11¹ The subject of sacrifice with which the priesthood is first concerned 1–10 now makes way for the treatment of uncleanness and purification 11–15 under four heads, animals 11, childbirth 12, leprosy 13–14, issues 15. The laws are addressed partly to Moses alone, as in earlier sections 12¹ 14¹, partly to Moses and Aaron together 11¹ 13¹ 15¹. In its present position the series interrupts the sequence of 16¹ on 10¹⁻⁵, and its place is rather due to the compilers of the complex whole of the Priestly Code than to the author of P^g. Its existing form, therefore, may be due to P^s, and this view is supported by occasional signs of acquaintance with regulations of the sacrificial code, as in 12⁶⁻⁸ 14¹³· · ²¹· · 15¹⁴· ²⁹·. But like 1–3 5–6⁷ and 6⁸–7, the legislation in 11–15 seems to contain materials for the most part older than P^g, worked up in a later setting. Occasional resemblances to P^h have led some critics to ascribe them mainly to that source. Thus Driv–Wh assign 11²⁻²³ ⁴¹⁻⁴⁷ to P^h. It seems probable, however, that the whole law is more complex cp ²ᴺ; and it is here placed together with the cognate laws in 12–15 with the group of priestly teaching P^t.

² The contents of the law of the clean and unclean animals are in a high degree complex. Two distinct themes run through it (1) uncleanness as affecting food, and (2) uncleanness as produced by touch. Interpreters differ as to whether the second half of the colophon ⁴⁷ refers to both or only to the first. Those who restrict ⁴⁷ to cases of permitted and prohibited food regard the section on uncleanness by touch ²⁴⁻⁴⁰ as an addition cp ²⁴ᴺ. If, however, ⁴⁷ᵃ is not simply repeated in ⁴⁷ᵇ the colophon recognizes both branches of the main subject. But even the regulations dealing with lawful and unlawful foods are not homogeneous. ²ᵇ⁻⁸ exhibits the distinction of clean and unclean as in Deut 14³⁻⁸. But in ⁹⁻²³ this nomenclature is dropped, and all forbidden creatures are *shéqeç* 'abomination' (cf 'abominable thing' Deut 14³ *to'ēbhah*), the subject being resumed after the section on defilement by touch ²⁴⁻⁴⁰ with another class of 'creeping things' which are also *shéqeç* ⁴¹·. The structure of the whole group may be thus tabled:—

I *Forbidden food:*

(1) Clean and unclean, land animals ²ᵇ⁻⁸,	Colophon:	beast,
(2) Abomination, water-animals ⁹⁻¹²,		bird,
birds ¹³⁻¹⁹,		waters,
winged creeping things ²⁰⁻²³.		creeping things on earth.

JE	P[t]	P[z]	P[s]
	beasts that are on the earth. 3 [N]Whatsoever [a]parteth the hoof, and is [b]clovenfooted, [and] [M]cheweth the [c]cud, among the beasts, that shall ye eat. 4 Nevertheless these shall ye not eat of them that chew the cud, or of them that part the hoof: the camel, because he [M]cheweth the cud but parteth not the hoof, he is [c]unclean unto you. 5 And the [M]coney, because he [M]cheweth the cud but parteth not the hoof, he is unclean unto you. 6 And the [d]hare, because she [M]cheweth the cud but parteth not the hoof, she is unclean unto you. 7 And the [e]swine, because he parteth the hoof, and is clovenfooted, but [M]cheweth not the cud, he is unclean unto you. 8 Of their flesh ye shall not eat, [N]and [L]their carcases ye shall not touch; they are unclean unto you.	
	9 *[f]These shall ye eat of all that are in the waters: whatsoever hath [g]fins and scales in the waters, in the seas, and in the rivers, them shall ye eat.* 10 *And all that have not fins and scales in the seas, and in the rivers, of all [d]that move in the waters, and of all the living creatures that are in the waters, they are an [h]abomination unto you,* 11 *and they shall be an [h]abomination unto you; ye shall not eat of their flesh, and their carcases ye shall [i]have in abomination.* 12 *Whatsoever hath no fins nor scales in the waters, that is an [h]abomination unto you.*	
	13 *And these ye shall [i]have in abomination among the fowls; they shall not be eaten, they are an [h]abomination: [j]the [M]eagle, and the [k]gier eagle, and the [k]ospray;* 14 *and the [l]kite, and the [m]falcon [e]after its kind;* 15 *every raven [e]after its kind;* 16 *and the [n]ostrich, and the [M]night hawk, and the [o]seamew, and the [p]hawk [e]after its kind;* 17 *and the [q]little owl, and the [r]cormorant, and the [s]great owl;* 18 *and the [M]horned owl, and the [t]pelican, and the [r]vulture;* 19 *and the [u]stork, the [M]heron [e]after its kind, and the [v]hoopoe, and the [w]bat.*	
	20 *All winged [d]creeping things that go upon all four are an [h]abomination unto you.* 21 *Yet these may ye eat of all winged [d]creeping things that go upon all four, which have legs above their feet, to [x]leap withal upon the earth;* 22 *even these of them ye may eat; the [M]locust [e]after its kind, and the [M]bald locust after its kind, and the [M]cricket after its kind, and the [M]grasshopper after its kind.* 23 *But all winged [d]creeping things, which have four feet, are an [h]abomination unto you.*	
	24 [NL]And by these ye shall become unclean: whosoever toucheth the carcase of them shall be unclean until the even: 25 and whosoever beareth [aught] of the carcase of	

a 3. · Deut 14[6-*]
b 7 26 Deut 14[6. *]
c 3-7 26 Deut 14 6-8†
d Deut 14[8]†
e Deut 14[7]*
8 L6b*f*
f Deut 14[9]
g 9-12 Deut 14[9.]†
h 7[21]
i 13 43 20[25] Deut 7[26] Ps 22[24]†
j Deut 14[12-18]
k Deut 14[12]†
l ℌ†
m Deut 14[13] Job 28[7]†
n Deut 14[15]*
o Deut 14[15]†
p Deut 14[15] Job 39[26]†
q Deut 14[16] Ps 102[6]†
r Deut 14[17]†
s Deut 14[16]†
t Deut 14[17]*
u Deut 14[18]*
v Deut 14[18]†
w Deut 14[18] Is 2[20]†
x ℌ*
24-38 L6b*g*

II *Forbidden touch:*
Clean and unclean, land animals 24-28,
creeping things on earth 29-31,
effects of contact 32-38,
carcases of beasts 39-40.

I *Forbidden Food:*
(2) Abomination, creeping things on earth 41-42.

Here it is clear that the section on contamination by touch II interrupts the list of edible creatures which are *shéqeç* I (2). But why should the list of prohibited animals fall into two unequal divisions marked by different terminology, while the entire list in Deut 14[4-20] is on the basis of clean and unclean? And why, in the second group concerning touch should only two classes be mentioned out of five recognized in the first? The difficulties do not end here. Some of the *abomination* passages seem to contain doublets. In [9] 'waters' is followed, as though analytically, by 'seas' and 'rivers'; but [10] begins 'And whatsoever hath no fins and scales in the seas and in the rivers,' while [12] runs 'Whatsoever hath no fins nor scales in the waters'; are these from the same hand? So [10b] exhibits parallel clauses, and [23] ℌ really repeats [20]. This duplication is particularly clear in 43-45, where [44a] forms a close to [43] (following on [41.]), and [44b] repeats with variations the commands of [43] (ct especially 'creeping thing that creepeth' and 'creeping thing that moveth'). The whole law, therefore, seems to be compiled from at least two sources, (1) concerning clean and unclean, whether in food or contact, (2) concerning 'abomination' in eating, a group already showing traces of composite character. To (1) may be assigned, roughly, [2b-8 39.] with later supplements in 24-38, these extracts being only portions of a larger original. (2) [9-23 41-44a] (with perhaps [45]) are derived from a similar series of food-laws, based on the conception of 'abomination,' and showing marked affinity with P[h], note the parallel 'ye shall not make your souls abominable' [43] and 20[25], with the phrases 'I am Yahweh your God' **203**[b], 'be ye holy' **202**[a], and 'I am holy' **203**[c]. This second group is not without resemblance to J, e g 'sanctify yourselves' [44] cp 20[7] Ex 19[22] Num 11[18] Josh 3[5] 7[13*], 'goeth on the belly' [42] cp Gen 3[14], 'bring up' [45] cp [JE]136. It is possible that these series are founded on earlier ordinances once comprised in P[h] 20[25] and now expanded, the characteristic conclusions having been retained.

11[3a] The list of animals in 3-23 is closely parallel to that in Deut 14[3-20], but there is no general agreement on the precise relation of one to the other; Dillm, for example, maintaining the priority of Lev as of P in general, and Driver, *Deut* 165, regarding the Deuteronomic law as the earlier. See Deut 14[3N].

[3b-7] **M** ℌ *bringeth up.*

[5a] **M** ℌ *shaphan*, the *Hyrax Syriacus* or *rock-badger*.—Deut 14[7] Ps 104[18] Prov 30[26]†.

[8] Some critics regard this as an editorial addition harmonizing with [24.·], but cp Deut 14[8].

[13] **M** Or, *great vulture.*

[16] **M** ℌ *tahmas*, of uncertain meaning.

[18] **M** Or, *swan.* [19] **M** Or, *ibis.*

[22] **M** Four kinds of locusts or grasshoppers, which are not certainly known.

[24] It is possible that 24-31 is distinct from [2b-8], as it looks like an elaboration of the prohibition in [8], which would hardly have appeared there if a continuation of the same law had contained these fuller directions. The language of [26.] is not entirely parallel with that of [3.], and does not cover the cases of the camel, coney, or hare. An additional class, the 'creeping things,' is also mentioned with a list of names found nowhere else. The law further prescribes means of cleansing, whereas no mode is specified for removing the defilement contracted by eating forbidden food. Further, it has been argued that [47a] does not refer to uncleanness by touch. Driv-Wh observe that no reference is made to [24-40] in the subscription [46].

JE | P[t] | P[g] | P[s]

them shall [f]wash his clothes, and be unclean until the even. 26 Every beast which [a]parteth the hoof, and is not clovenfooted, nor cheweth the cud, is unclean unto you: every one that toucheth them shall be unclean. 27 And whatsoever goeth upon its paws, among all beasts that go on all four, they are unclean unto you: whoso toucheth their carcase shall be unclean until the even. 28 And he that beareth the carcase of them shall [f]wash his clothes, and be unclean until the even: they are unclean unto you.

29 And [g]these are they which are unclean unto you among the [d]creeping things that [h]creep upon the earth; the [y]weasel, and the [z]mouse, and the [y]great lizard [e]after its kind, 30 and the [M]gecko, and the [M]land-crocodile, and the [M]lizard, and the [M]sand-lizard, and the [a']chameleon. 31 [g]These are they which are unclean to you among all [d]that creep: whosoever doth touch them, when they are dead, shall be unclean until the even.

32 *And upon whatsoever any of them, when they are dead, doth fall, it shall be unclean; whether it be any vessel of wood, or raiment, or skin, or sack, whatsoever vessel it be, wherewith any* [i]*work is done, it must be put into water, and it shall be unclean until the even; then shall it be* [j]*clean.* 33 *And every* [b']*earthen vessel, whereinto any of them falleth, whatsoever is in it shall be unclean, and it ye shall break.* 34 *All food* [therein] *which may be eaten, that on which water cometh, shall be unclean: and all drink that may be drunk in every* [such] *vessel shall be unclean.* 35 *And every thing whereupon* [any part] *of their carcase falleth shall be unclean; whether oven, or* [M]*range for pots, it shall be broken in pieces: they are unclean, and shall be unclean unto you.* 36 *Nevertheless a* [c']*fountain or a* [M]*pit wherein is a* [k]*gathering of water shall be clean: but* [M]*that which toucheth their carcase shall be unclean.* 37 *And if* [aught] *of their carcase fall upon any* [d']*sowing seed which is to be sown, it is clean.* 38 *But if water be put upon the seed, and* [aught] *of their carcase fall thereon, it is unclean unto you.*

39 [L]And if any beast, of which ye may [l]eat, die; he that toucheth the carcase thereof shall be unclean until the even. 40 And he that eateth of the carcase of it shall [f]wash his clothes, and be unclean until the even: he also that beareth the carcase of it shall wash his clothes, and be unclean until the even.

41 [L]*And every* [d]*creeping thing that* [h]*creepeth upon the earth is an* [h]*abomination; it shall not be eaten.* 42 *Whatsoever goeth upon the belly, and whatsoever goeth upon all four, or whatsoever hath many feet, even all creeping things that creep upon the earth, them ye shall not eat; for they are an* [h]*abomination.* 43 *Ye shall not make* [e']*yourselves abominable with any creeping thing that creepeth, neither shall ye make yourselves unclean with them, that ye should be defiled thereby.* 44a *For* [m]*I am Yahweh your God: sanctify yourselves therefore, and* [n]*be ye holy; for* [f']*I am holy.*

44b [TL]And ye shall not defile [g']yourselves with any manner of creeping thing that [p]moveth upon the earth. 45 For I am Yahweh that brought you [h']up out of the land of Egypt, to [q]be your God: ye shall therefore [o]be holy, for [f']I am holy.

46 [NL]This is the law of the beast, and of the fowl, and of every living creature that [p]moveth in the waters, and of every creature that [h]creepeth upon the earth: 47 to [r]make a difference between the unclean and the clean, and between the living thing that may be eaten and the living thing that may not be eaten.

12[1] [NL]*And Yahweh* [a]*spake unto Moses, saying,* 2 *Speak unto the children of Israel, saying,* If a woman [a]conceive seed, and bear a man child, then she shall [b]be unclean seven days; [b]as in the days of the [Mc]impurity of her [c]sickness shall she be unclean. 3 [L]And in the eighth day the flesh of his foreskin shall be [d]circumcised. 4 And she shall continue in the blood of [her] [e]purifying three and thirty days; she shall touch no [f]hallowed thing, nor come into the [g]sanctuary, until the days of her purifying be [d]fulfilled. 5 But if she bear a [h]maid child, then she shall be unclean two weeks, as in her [M]impurity: and she shall continue in the blood of [her] purifying threescore and six days. 6 And when the days of her purifying are [d]fulfilled, for a son, or for a daughter, she shall bring a lamb [i]of the first year for a [e]burnt offering, and a [f]young pigeon, or a turtledove, for a sin offering, [N]*unto the door of the tent of meeting,*

y ℌ†
z 1 Sam 6[4]‥ Is 66[17]†
a' ℌ cp 18 *horned owl*
b' 6[28]
c' Gen 7[11]
d' Is 61[11]†
39 L6c*f*
41-44a L6a*f*
e' Ct 11 13 ℌ *your souls*
f' 19[2]
44b-45 L6b*h*
g' ℌ *your souls* Ezek 4[14] ct 43[3b]
h' Cp JE136
46 L6a*j*
1-8 L6*f*
a Cp Gen 1[11] ℌ
b 15[19]‥
c ℌ† cp 15[33] 20[18]
3 L6m*b*
d 8[33]
e 1[10]
f Cp 5[7]

11[30] **M** Words of uncertain meaning, but probably denoting four kinds of lizards.

35 **M** Or, *stewpan.*

36b **M** Or, *he who.*

36a **M** Or, *cistern.*

44b **T** *neither shall ye.*

46 In 11–15 the use of this opening phrase is restricted to the colophon (cp 18[8b]) see 12[7] 13[59] 14[32 54 57] (cp Num 5[29]), save in 14[2] where it appears in the title, as in 6[8–7], a section in many ways analogous to this.

12[1] This chapter is later than 15[19] to which it apparently refers in [2b]; but it presents the same general features, and seems best considered along with it (see 15[1N]).

2 5 **M** Or, *separation.*

6 The only trace of adaptation to the 'Camp' form of legislation first introduced by P[g].

JE | P[t] | P[g] | P[s]

unto the priest: 7 and he shall [g]offer it before Yahweh, and [h]make atonement for her; and she shall [j]be cleansed from the [i]fountain of her blood. [k]This is the law for her that beareth, whether a [l]male or a female. 8 [N]*And if her means [m]suffice not for a lamb, then she shall take two turtledoves, or two young pigeons; the one for a burnt offering, and the other for a sin offering: and the priest shall make atonement for her, and she shall be clean.*

13[1] [NL]*And Yahweh [a]spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, saying,* 2 [Nb]When a man shall have in the skin of his flesh a [a]rising, or a [b]scab, or a [c]bright spot, and it become in the skin of his flesh the plague of leprosy, then he shall be brought unto [c]*Aaron* the priest, *or unto one of his sons the priests*: 3 and the priest shall look on the plague in the skin of the flesh: and if the hair in the plague be turned white, and the appearance of the plague be [d]deeper than the skin of his flesh, it is the plague of [e]leprosy: and the priest shall look on him, and [d]pronounce him unclean. 4 And if the bright spot be white in the skin of his flesh, and the appearance thereof be not deeper than the skin, and the hair thereof be not turned white, then the priest shall shut up [him that hath] the plague seven days: 5 and the priest shall look on him the seventh day: and, behold, if in his eyes the plague be at a stay, and the plague be not [f]spread in the skin, then the priest shall shut him up seven days more: 6 and the priest shall look on him again the seventh day: and, behold, if the plague be [g]dim, and the plague be not spread in the skin, then the priest shall pronounce him clean: it is a [h]scab: and he shall [e]wash his clothes, and be clean. 7 But if the scab spread abroad in the skin, after that he hath shewn himself to the priest for his [f]cleansing, he shall shew himself to the priest again: 8 and the priest shall look, and, behold, if the scab be spread in the skin, then the priest shall pronounce him unclean: it is leprosy.

9 [i]When the plague of leprosy is in a man, then he shall be brought unto the priest; 10 and the priest shall look, and, behold, if there be a white rising in the skin, and it have turned the hair white, and there be [j]quick raw flesh in the rising, 11 it is an [k]old leprosy in the skin of his flesh, and the priest shall pronounce him unclean: he shall not shut him up; for he is unclean. 12 And if the leprosy [l]break out abroad in the skin, and the leprosy cover all the skin of [him that hath] the plague from his head even to his feet, as far as appeareth to the priest; 13 then the priest shall look: and, behold, if the leprosy have covered all his flesh, he shall pronounce [him] clean [that hath] the plague: it is all turned white: he is clean. 14 But whensoever raw flesh appeareth in him, he shall be unclean. 15 And the priest shall look on the raw flesh, and pronounce him unclean: the raw flesh is unclean, it is leprosy. 16 Or if the raw flesh turn again, and be changed unto white, then he shall come unto the priest, 17 and the priest shall look on him: and, behold, if the plague be turned into white, then the priest shall pronounce [him] clean [that hath] the plague: he is clean.

18 And [i]when the flesh hath in the skin thereof a [m]boil, 19 and it is healed,

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12[8] Supplementary, because (1) it comes after the colophon 7[b], and (2) the provision for cases of poverty elsewhere (5[7] 14[21] cp 1[14]) appears to have been added later.

13[1] The laws dealing with leprosy 13–14 are obviously incorporated in the general Priestly Code cp 13[1]. &c, but they are by no means homogeneous, and the extreme elaboration of treatment prescribed throughout, suggests that the practice in these matters was not codified early. Deut 24[8] shows that there was a recognized procedure laid down by the priests, but the omission of any detail (ct 14[3–20] on clean and unclean) may perhaps indicate that it was yet unwritten. On the successive additions to the original leprosy code see the notes, and in particular 14[54 57N]. The vocabulary naturally shows a considerable number of peculiar terms. Where these terms only occur in 13 14, the number of occurrences is marked in brackets without further detail, or additional instances elsewhere are separately enumerated; thus 2 'plague' (61) Gen 12[7] Ex 11[1] Deut 17[8] 21[5] 24[8]*. The general phraseological affinities with P, apart from the ideas of 'clean' and 'unclean,' are noted in the usual way. Phrases appearing only in these chapters, such as 'shut up seven days' 13[4. 21 26 31 50 54], belong to the general manner of P, but need no special attention.

2 The first section comprises 2–46, and treats in 2–28 of 'a rising or a scab or a bright spot,' and in 29–44 of a 'scall' 'upon the head or upon the beard.' The whole stress is laid upon the detection and discrimination of leprosy. If the sufferer be a leper, then 45. regulates his conduct. If 'the plague' be not leprosy, then the priest is to 'pronounce him clean' 6 13 17 23 28 34 37, and 'he is clean' 13 17 37, or 'and he shall wash his clothes and be clean' 6 34. No hint is given that anything more is needed, and the reference to the washing of the clothes almost seems to exclude the ritual of 14 in whole or in part (see further 14[1N]). The slight traces of the influence of P[g] are indicated in 2[b] and 46[b], where the Aaronic priesthood and the camp are unexpectedly introduced: with 2 cp 14[2].

JE | P[t] | P[g] | P[s]

and in the place of the boil there is a white rising, or a bright spot, [n]reddish-white, then it shall be shewed to the priest; [20] and the priest shall look, and, behold, if the appearance thereof be [o]lower than the skin, and the hair thereof be turned white, then the priest shall pronounce him unclean: it is the plague of leprosy, it hath broken out in the boil. [21] But if the priest look on it, and, behold, there be no white hairs therein, and it be not lower than the skin, but be dim, then the priest shall shut him up seven days: [22] and if it spread abroad in the skin, then the priest shall pronounce him unclean: it is a plague. [23] But if the bright spot stay in its place, and be not spread, it is the [p]scar of the boil; and the priest shall pronounce him clean.

[24] Or [q]when the flesh hath in the skin thereof a [r]burning by fire, and the [s]quick [flesh] of the burning become a bright spot, reddish-white, or white; [25] then the priest shall look upon it: and, behold, if the hair in the bright spot be turned white, and the appearance thereof be deeper than the skin; it is leprosy, it hath broken out in the burning: and the priest shall pronounce him unclean: it is the plague of leprosy. [26] But if the priest look on it, and, behold, there be no white hair in the bright spot, and it be no lower than the skin, but be dim; then the priest shall shut him up seven days: [27] and the priest shall look upon him the seventh day: if it spread abroad in the skin, then the priest shall pronounce him unclean: it is the plague of leprosy. [28] And if the bright spot stay in its place, and be not spread in the skin, but be dim; it is the rising of the burning, and the priest shall pronounce him clean: for it is the scar of the burning.

[29] And [t]when a man or woman hath a plague upon the head or upon the [u]beard, [30] then the priest shall look on the plague: and, behold, if the appearance thereof be deeper than the skin, and there be in it [v]yellow thin hair, then the priest shall pronounce him unclean: it is a [w]scall, it is leprosy of the head or of the beard. [31] And if the priest look on the plague of the scall, and, behold, the appearance thereof be not deeper than the skin, and there be no [x]black hair in it, then the priest shall shut up [him that hath] the plague of the scall seven days: [32] and in the seventh day the priest shall look on the plague: and, behold, if the scall be not spread, and there be in it no yellow hair, and the appearance of the scall be not deeper than the skin, [33] then he shall be [y]shaven, but the scall shall he not shave; and the priest shall shut up [him that hath] the scall seven days more: [34] and in the seventh day the priest shall look on the scall: and, behold, if the scall be not spread in the skin, and the appearance thereof be not deeper than the skin; then the priest shall pronounce him clean: and he shall [z]wash his clothes, and be clean. [35] But if the scall spread abroad in the skin after his [a]cleansing; [36] then the priest shall look on him: and, behold, if the scall be spread in the skin, the priest shall not seek for the yellow hair; he is unclean. [37] But if in his eyes the scall be at a stay, and black hair be grown up therein; the scall is healed, he is clean: and the priest shall pronounce him clean.

[38] And [b]when a man or a woman hath in the skin of their flesh bright spots, even white bright spots; [39] then the priest shall look: and, behold, if the bright spots in the skin of their flesh be of a dull white; it is a [c]tetter, it hath broken out in the skin; he is clean.

[40] And [d]if a man's [e]hair be fallen off[e] his head, he is [f]bald; [yet] is he clean. [41] And if his hair be fallen off from the front part of his head, he is [g]forehead bald; [yet] is he clean. [42] But if there be in the [h]bald head, or the [i]bald forehead, a reddish-white plague; it is leprosy breaking out in his bald head, or his bald forehead. [43] Then the priest shall look upon him: and, behold, if the rising of the plague be reddish-white in his bald head, or in his bald forehead, as the appearance of leprosy in the skin of the flesh; [44] he is a [j]leprous man, he is unclean: the priest shall surely pronounce him unclean; his plague is in his head.

n 24 42. 49 14[37]†
o 21 26 14[37]*
p 28 Prov 16[27]†
q 25 28†
r 30 14[9] 19[27] 21[5]*
s 32 36†
t 30-37 14[54]†
u 37†
v 14[8]. 21[5] Num 6[9] 18.
w ℌ†
x 41[t]
y 2 Kings 2[23]†
z 42. 55†

g 108[1]
h 103

JE | P[t] | P[g] | P[s]

[45] And the [h]leper in whom the plague is, his clothes shall be [a']rent, and [M]the hair of his head shall go loose, and he shall [b']cover his upper lip, and shall cry, Unclean, unclean. [46] All the days wherein the plague is in him he shall be unclean; he is unclean: he shall dwell [N]alone; [i]*without the camp shall his* [j]*dwelling be* i 120[b] j 55[b]

[47] [NLi]*The garment also that the plague of leprosy is in, whether it be a* [c']*woollen garment, or a linen garment;* [48] *whether it be in* [M]*warp, or* [d']*woof; of linen, or of woollen; whether in a skin, or in any* [k]*thing made of skin;* [49] *if the plague be* [e']*greenish or reddish in the garment, or in the skin, or in the warp, or in the woof, or in any thing of skin; it is the plague of leprosy, and shall be shewed unto the priest:* [50] *and the priest shall look upon the plague, and shut up [that which hath] the plague seven days:* [51] *and he shall look on the plague on the seventh day: if the plague be spread in the garment, either in the warp, or in the woof, or in the skin, whatever* [k]*service skin is used for; the plague is a* [f']*fretting leprosy; it is unclean.* [52] *And he shall burn the garment, whether the warp or the woof, in woollen or in linen, or any thing of skin, wherein the plague is: for it is a fretting leprosy; it shall be burnt in the fire.* [53] *And if the priest shall look, and, behold, the plague be not spread in the garment, either in the warp, or in the woof, or in any thing of skin;* [54] *then the priest shall command that they wash the thing wherein the plague is, and he shall shut it up seven days more:* [55] *and the priest shall look, after that the plague is washed: and, behold, if the plague have not changed its colour, and the plague be not spread, it is unclean; thou shalt burn it in the fire: it is a* [w]*fret,* [M]*whether the bareness be within or without.* [56] *And if the priest look, and, behold, the plague be dim after the washing thereof, then he shall rend it out of the garment, or out of the skin, or out of the warp, or out of the woof:* [57] *and if it appear still in the garment, either in the warp, or in the woof, or in any thing of skin, it is breaking out: thou shalt burn that wherein the plague is with fire.* [58] *And the garment, either the warp, or the woof, or whatsoever thing of skin it be, which thou shalt wash, if the plague be departed from them, then it shall be washed the second time, and shall be clean.* [59] [l]*This is the law of the plague of leprosy in a garment of woollen or linen, either in the warp, or the woof, or any thing of skin, to pronounce it clean, or to pronounce it unclean.* l 188[b]

14[1] [NL]*And Yahweh* [a]*spake unto Moses, saying,* [2] [Nb]This shall be the law of the [a]leper in the day of his [c]cleansing: he shall be brought unto the priest: [3] *and the priest shall go forth* [c']*out of the camp*; and the priest shall look, and, behold, if the plague of leprosy be healed in the [e]leper; [4] [L]then shall the priest command to take for him that is to be cleansed two living clean birds, and [b]cedar wood, and [c]scarlet, and [d]hyssop[b]: [5] and the priest shall command to kill one of the birds in an [e]earthen vessel over [M]running water: [6] as for the living bird, he shall take it, and the cedar wood, and the scarlet, and the hyssop, and shall [f]dip them and the living bird in the blood of a 185[a] b 188 c 42[c] d 120 e 103

13[45] **M** See 10[6].

[46] Cp [4] where the sufferer is to be 'shut up' i e probably confined to leper's quarters near the village or town. The following clause is an editorial adaptation.

[47] This section, on leprosy in a garment, seems to proceed from the same cycle of priestly *toroth* as [2–46]. But it has apparently been extracted separately and attached by another hand to the preceding section, for it has a colophon of its own [59], and the reference to it in the colophon 14[55] which includes [2–46] is plainly a gloss.

[48] **M** Or, *woven or knitted stuff* (and in [49. ·]).

[55] **M** ℌ whether *it* be *bald in the head thereof, or in the forehead thereof.*

14[1] This second division of the 'law of leprosy' seems neither to fit any part of the preceding context, nor to be itself homogeneous. (1) The first portion is occupied [1–32] with the ritual of cleansing a leper who is 'healed' [3], but who is not 'pronounced clean' [7] till the ceremonies of [4–7a] have been performed, and further personal purifications are then needed, washing of clothes, bathing, and shaving the hair [8a], before it is said that 'he shall be clean.' Yet 13 requires only the priestly verdict and the washing of clothes e g 13[6]. But (2) after seven days a second and sacrificial ceremony is needed before it can be said [20] that 'he shall be clean.' These sections are thus separate in source from 13, and disclose distinct elements within themselves.

[2] The opening section [2–8a] is complete in itself, and bears every appearance of recording ancient practice. It might be conjectured that the compiler of 13 thought the ceremonial superstitious and unnecessary, and so refrained from enjoining it. The antiquity of the ritual may be upheld on various grounds: (1) for an Arabic parallel cp Wellhausen, *Skizzen* iii 156, W Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites* 402: (2) the alternate vagueness and precision of the directions is unlike the style of other enactments; the priest 'shall command to take' [4], but the person to whom the command is addressed is unnamed cp [5]; 'two living clean birds,' a unique phrase; 'cedar wood' &c, only in Num 19[6]; the slaughter of one of the birds 'in an earthen vessel over living water,' two unique conditions: (3) the rite is regarded as so incomplete that it needs an elaborate supplement cp [8bN]. The title [2a] belongs to the section cp and ct 11[46·]. The use of the phrase 'this is the law . . .' in a title and not in a colophon supplies another indication of the distinct origin of 14[2–8a] (cp 11[46N]).

[5] **M** ℌ *living.*—Cp [50–52] 15[13] Num 19[17]*.

JE | P[t] | P[g] | P[s]

the bird that was [f]killed over the [M]running water: 7 and he shall [g]sprinkle upon him that is to be cleansed from the leprosy seven times, and shall pronounce him clean, and shall let go the living bird into the [g]open field. 8 And he that is to be cleansed shall [h]wash his clothes, and shave off all his hair, and [i]bathe himself in water, and he shall be clean: [NL]*and after that he shall come into the [h]camp, but shall dwell [d]outside his tent seven days.*

9 *And it shall be on the seventh day, that he shall shave all his hair off his head and his [i]beard and his [j]eyebrows, even all his hair he shall shave off: and he shall [h]wash his clothes, and he shall [i]bathe his flesh in water, and he shall be clean.* 10 *And on the eighth day he shall take two he-lambs [j]without blemish, and one ewe-lamb [k]of the first year without blemish, and three [l]tenth parts* [of an ephah] *of fine flour for a meal offering, [k]mingled with oil, and one [l]log of oil.* 11 *And the priest that cleanseth him shall [m]set the man that is to be cleansed, and those things, before Yahweh, at the door of the tent of meeting:* 12 *and the priest shall take one of the he-lambs, and offer him for a guilt offering, and the log of oil, and wave them for a wave offering before Yahweh:* 13 *and he shall [f]kill the he-lamb in the place [m]where they kill the sin offering and the burnt offering, in the place of the [n]sanctuary: for as the sin offering is the priest's, so is the guilt offering: it is [o]most holy:* 14 *and the priest shall take of the blood of the guilt offering, and the priest shall put it upon the [n]tip of the right ear of him that is to be cleansed, and upon the thumb of his right hand, and upon the great toe of his right foot:* 15 *and the priest shall take of the log of oil, and [p]pour it into the palm of his own [o]left hand:* 16 *and the priest shall [f]dip his right finger in the oil that is in his left hand, and shall [g]sprinkle of the oil with his finger [p]seven times before Yahweh:* 17 *and of the rest of the oil that is in his hand shall the priest put upon the tip of the right ear of him that is to be cleansed, and upon the thumb of his right hand, and upon the great toe of his right foot, upon the blood of the guilt offering:* 18 *and the rest [q]of the oil that is in the priest's hand he shall put upon the head of him that is to be cleansed: and the priest shall [r]make atonement for him before Yahweh.* 19 *And the priest shall [q]offer the sin offering, and make atonement for him that is to be cleansed because of his uncleanness; and afterward he shall kill the burnt offering:* 20 *and the priest shall [N]offer the burnt offering and the meal offering upon the altar: and the priest shall make atonement for him, and he shall be clean.*

21 [NL]And if he be poor, and cannot [r]get so much, then he shall take one he-lamb for a guilt offering to be waved, to make atonement for him, and one [l]tenth part [of an ephah] of fine flour mingled with oil for a meal offering, and a log of oil; 22 and two turtledoves, or two young pigeons, such as he is [q]able to get; and the one shall be a sin offering, and the other a burnt offering. 23 And on the eighth day he shall bring them for his [c]cleansing unto the priest, *unto the door of the tent of meeting*, before Yahweh. 24 And the priest shall take the lamb of the guilt offering, and the log of oil, and the priest shall wave them for a wave offering before Yahweh: 25 and he shall kill the lamb of the guilt offering, and the priest shall take of the blood of the guilt offering, and put it upon the [n]tip of the right ear of him that is to be cleansed, and upon the thumb of his right hand, and upon the great toe of his right foot: 26 and the priest shall pour of the oil into the palm of his own left hand: 27 and the priest shall sprinkle with his right finger some of the oil that is in his left hand seven times before Yahweh: 28 and the priest shall put of the oil that is in his hand upon the tip of the right ear of him that is to be cleansed, and upon the thumb of his right hand, and upon the great toe of his right foot, upon the place of the blood of the guilt offering: 29 and the rest [s]of the oil that is in the priest's hand he shall put upon the head of him that is to be cleansed, to make atonement for him before Yahweh. 30 And he shall

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14[6] **M** ℌ *living.*—Cp 50–52 15[13] Num 19[17]*.

8 Probably an editorial clause linking 2–8a with 9–20 in which the camp is nowhere mentioned. The 'seven days' then supply the antecedent to 9. But this can hardly have been the original arrangement. The recovered leper has already shaved off all his hair 8a, but in 9 he repeats the process. Further in 7 he is already pronounced clean by the priest, and after the final lustrations 8a he is clean (the rendering of the Hithpa ptcp 'he that is to be cleansed' conveys an erroneous impression that the purgation is still in the future: it should rather be 'he that is cleansing or purging himself,' in reference to the whole process). But in 9–20 an atonement sacrifice is further required. The ritual terminology, *meal offering, offer, guilt offering, wave, sin offering, most holy, burnt offering, atonement,* belongs to the general manual 1–7, the rite in 14.. corresponding to that of Ex 29; one peculiar term, however, a 'log of oil' 10, occurs in no other law. It appears probable, therefore, that later usage developed a different ceremony of purgation, and the compiler has combined the two. 20 ℌ rare in **P** cp [JE]10.

21 The analogy of similar cases elsewhere cp 1[14] 5[7] suggests that 21–32 is a supplement, see 12[8N]. This conclusion is confirmed by the independent colophon in 32.

JE | P[t] | P[g] | P[s]

offer one of the turtledoves, or of the young pigeons, such as he is [r]able to get; [31] [N]*even such as he is [r]able to get,* the one for a sin offering, and the other for a burnt offering, with the meal offering: and the priest shall make atonement for him that is to be cleansed before Yahweh. [32] [b]This is the law of him in whom is the plague of leprosy, who is not [r]able to get [that which pertaineth] to his [c]cleansing.

33-53 *16j*

t 23^{10} 25^{2} Num 13^{2} 15^{2} ct [P]69

u Cp Gen 24^{31} ℌ

v ℌ†

w 13^{49}

x 13^{19}

y 43 ℌ Pi*

z Cp Ezek 46^{22} ℌ†

a' 43 ℌ*

b' 43 48 ℌ* Ezek 13^{10}..

c' 13^{51}

[33] [NL]*And Yahweh* [a]*spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, saying,* [34] [N]*When ye* [s]*be come into the* [t]*land of Canaan,* [t]*which* [u]*I give to you for a* [v]*possession, and I put the plague of leprosy in a house of the land of your* [v]*possession;* [35] *then he that owneth the house shall come and tell the priest, saying, There seemeth to me to be as it were a plague in the house:* [36] *and the priest shall command that they* [u]*empty the house, before the priest go in to see the plague, that all that is in the house be not made unclean: and afterward the priest shall go in to see the house:* [37] *and he shall look on the plague, and, behold, if the plague be in the walls of the house with* [v]*hollow strakes,* [w]*greenish or* [x]*reddish, and the appearance thereof be lower than the wall;* [38] *then the priest shall go out of the house to the door of the house, and shut up the house seven days:* [39] *and the priest shall come again the seventh day, and shall look: and, behold, if the plague be spread in the walls of the house;* [40] *then the priest shall command that they* [y]*take out the stones in which the plague is, and cast them into an unclean place* [w]*without the city:* [41] *and he shall cause the house to be* [z]*scraped within round about, and they shall pour out the mortar that they* [a']*scrape off* [w]*without the city into an unclean place:* [42] *and they shall take other stones, and put them in the place of those stones; and he shall take other mortar, and shall* [b']*plaister the house.* [43] *And if the plague come again, and break out in the house, after that he hath* [y]*taken out the stones, and after he hath* [a']*scraped the house, and after it is plaistered;* [44] *then the priest shall come in and look, and, behold, if the plague be spread in the house, it is a* [c']*fretting leprosy in the house: it is unclean.* [45] *And he shall break down the house, the stones of it, and the timber thereof, and all the mortar of the house; and he shall carry them forth* [w]*out of the city into an unclean place.* [46] *Moreover he that goeth into the house all the while that it is shut up shall be unclean until the even.* [47] *And he that lieth in the house shall* [b]*wash his clothes; and he that eateth in the house shall wash his clothes.* [48] *And if the priest shall come in, and look, and, behold, the plague hath not spread in the house, after the house was plaistered; then the priest shall pronounce the house clean, because the plague is healed.*

s 191
t 4[a]
u 94[a]
v 127[b]
w 120[a]

49-53 *17ld*

[49] [L]*And he shall take to cleanse the house two birds, and* [b]*cedar wood, and scarlet, and hyssop:* [50] *and he shall kill one of the birds in an earthen vessel over* [M]*running water:* [51] *and he shall take the cedar wood, and the hyssop, and the scarlet, and the living bird, and dip them in the blood of the slain bird, and in the* [M]*running water, and sprinkle the house seven times:* [52] [N]*and he shall cleanse the house with the blood of the bird, and with the* [M]*running water, and with the living bird, and with the cedar wood, and with the hyssop, and with the scarlet:* [53] *but he shall let go the living bird* [w]*out of the city into the open field: so shall he make atonement for the house: and it shall be clean.*

54-57 *16he*

d' 10[11]

[54] [NLX]This is the law for all manner of plague of leprosy, and for a scall; [55] *and for the leprosy of a garment, and for a house;* [56] and for a rising, and for a scab, and for a bright spot: [57] [N]to [d']teach when it is unclean, and when it is clean: [x]this is the law of leprosy.

x 188[b]

1-33 *16gd bi*

a (14) 22^{4} Num 5^{2}*

b (13)†

c ℌ†

d ℌ Hiph†

15[1] [NL]*And Yahweh* [a]*spake unto Moses and to Aaron, saying,* [2] *Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them,* When [b]any man [a]hath an issue out of his flesh, because of his [b]issue he is [c]unclean. [3] And this shall be his uncleanness in his issue: whether his flesh [c]run with his issue, or his flesh be [d]stopped from his issue, it is his uncleanness. [4] Every bed whereon he that hath the issue lieth

a 185[a]
b 190[d]
c 167[b]

14[31] This clause is absent from 𝔊 𝔖, and is generally recognized as an intrusion, cp Dillm-Ryss and Driv-Wh.

33 This section is often connected with that on the leprosy of a garment 13^{47-59}, as it contains some common terms cp [37] [44]. But its independence may be inferred from the circumstances (1) that it has a new introductory formula [33]. ct 13^{47N}, (2) that it adopts [49].. the mode of cleansing described in 14^{2-8a}, (3) that it has no colophon ct 13^{59}. From (1) it may also be concluded that [34-53] is later than [9-32]; just as the mention of atonement in [53] implies a later source than [2-8a] where no atonement is needed.

34 The elaborate regulations for the treatment of leprosy in a house conclude with a remarkable piece of ancient ritual [49-53], and are here considered as based upon long established usage. But the prolixity of detail implies later handling. The customary opening formula required fuller expansion to accommodate so obvious a provision for settled life in the legislation of the wilderness. Parallels will be found in other sections embodying early material, e g 19^{23} 23^{10} 25^{2}. Similarly, Deut 17^{14} 18^{9} 26^{1}, though with characteristic differences in subsequent expression.

50-52b **M** ℌ *living.*

52a A new feature is here introduced in 'cleansing with the living water' which in [5]. is only connected with the killing of the bird. In other respects also the description of the procedure is rather vague and confused.

54 The colophon reflects the composite elements of 13–14 like a mirror. At first it probably consisted only of [57b] 'this is the law of leprosy,' which follows the regular usage, cp 188[b] (15), whereas [54] has an unusual variant, 'the law *for.*' The first addition would then be [54] (its two clauses answering to 13^{2-28} and [29-44] respectively) and [57a]. [56], taken from 13^{2} verbally and referring only to 13^{2-28}, looks like a gloss which should have been inserted before 'and for a scall' (13^{29-44}). The clause in [55a] 'and for the leprosy of a garment' must also be an addition, referring to 13^{47-59} which has already its own colophon. The next words 'and for a house' will be the last addition. They can hardly have belonged to the previous clause, for the matter they refer to is separated from the section on the garment by 14^{1-32}, and the idiom in ℌ would require 'and for the leprosy of an house.'

57 The whole stress is here laid on the discrimination of leprosy, and no allusion is made to the ritual of cleansing. Thus it would seem that originally [54] [57] followed 13^{46a} and that five distinct supplements have been successively incorporated 13^{47-59} 14^{2-8a} 14^{8b-20} 14^{21-32} 14^{33-53}, the last three being, in substance at all events, much the most recent.

15[1] This chapter has been regarded as supplementary, or as largely modified by an editor. The tedious repetitions of leading phrases perhaps give rise to this impression. The only distinctive traces of P[g], however, lie in the allusions to the 'door of the Tent of Meeting' [14 29], and these may easily have been added here as elsewhere. The sacrificial ritual [14. 29.] seems parallel with that of the sin offering in 5. In the case of normal or recurrent secretions, where it would have been unnatural, it is omitted.

JE | P[t] | P[g] | P[s]

shall be unclean: and every thing whereon he sitteth shall be unclean.
e 14[8] [5] And whosoever toucheth his bed shall [d]wash his clothes, and [e]bathe himself in water, and be unclean until the even. [6] And he that sitteth on any thing whereon he that hath the issue sat shall wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and be unclean until the even. [7] And he that toucheth the flesh of him that hath the issue shall wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and be unclean until the even. [8] And if he that hath the issue [c]spit upon him that is clean; then he shall wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and be unclean until the even. [9] And what [M]saddle soever he that hath the issue rideth upon shall be unclean. [10] And whosoever toucheth any thing that was under him shall be unclean until the even: and he that beareth those things shall wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and be unclean until the even. [11] And whomsoever he that hath the issue toucheth, without having [f]rinsed his hands in water, he shall wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and be unclean until the even. [12] And the [f]earthen vessel, which he that hath the issue toucheth, shall be broken: and every vessel of wood shall be [f]rinsed in water. [13] And when he that hath an issue is cleansed of his issue, then he shall number to himself seven days for his [e]cleansing, and wash his clothes; and he shall bathe his flesh in [M]running water, and shall be clean. [14] And
g 29 cp 1[14] 5[7] on the eighth day he shall take to him [g]two turtledoves, or two young pigeons, and come before Yahweh *unto the door of the tent of meeting*, and give them unto the priest: [15] and the priest shall [f]offer them, the one for a sin offering, and the other for a burnt offering; and the priest shall make atonement for him before Yahweh for his issue.

h 17. 32 19[20] 22[4] Num 5[13]† [16] And [g]if any man's seed of [h]copulation go out from him, then he shall bathe all his flesh in water, and be unclean until the even. [17] And every garment, and every skin, whereon is the seed of copulation, shall be washed with water, and be unclean until the even. [18] The woman also with whom a man shall lie with seed of copulation, they shall both bathe themselves in water, and be unclean until the even.

[19] And [g]if a woman have an issue, [and] her issue in her flesh be blood, she shall be in her [M]impurity seven days: and whosoever toucheth her shall be unclean until the even. [20] And every thing that she lieth upon in her [M]impurity shall be unclean: every thing also that she sitteth upon shall be unclean. [21] And whosoever toucheth her bed shall wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and be unclean until the even. [22] And whosoever toucheth any thing that she sitteth upon shall wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and be unclean until the even. [23] And if it be on the bed, or on any thing whereon she sitteth, when he toucheth it, he shall be unclean until the even. [24] And if any man lie with her, and her impurity be upon him, he shall be unclean seven days; and every bed whereon he lieth shall be unclean.

[25] And if a woman have an issue of her blood many days not in the time of her impurity, or if she have an issue beyond the time of her impurity; all the days of the issue of her uncleanness she shall be as in the days of her impurity: she is unclean. [26] Every bed whereon she lieth all the days of her issue shall be unto her as the bed of her impurity: and every thing whereon she sitteth shall be unclean, as the uncleanness of her impurity. [27] And whosoever toucheth those things shall be unclean, and shall wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and be unclean until the even. [28] But if she be cleansed of her issue, then she shall number to herself seven days, and after that she shall be clean. [29] And on the eighth day she shall take unto her [g]two turtledoves, or two young pigeons, and bring them unto the priest, *to the door of the tent of meeting.* [30] And the priest shall offer the one for a sin offering, and the other for a burnt offering; and the

d 17[3]
e 42[c]
f 11[7]
g 19[0c]

15[9] **M** Or, *carriage.*—1 Kings 5[6] Cant 3[10]† et Gen 41[43] Ex 14[25]. 13 **M** ℌ *living.* 19 20 **M** Or, *separation.*—P139.

priest shall make atonement for her before Yahweh for the issue of her uncleanness.

31 Thus shall ye [N]separate the children of Israel from their uncleanness; [h]that they die not in their uncleanness, when they [i]defile my [T]Dwelling that is in the midst of them.

32 [N]This is the law of him that hath an issue, and of him whose seed of copulation goeth from him, so that he is unclean thereby; 33 and of her that is [j]sick with her impurity, *and of him that hath an issue, of the* [l]*man, and of the woman, and of him that lieth with her that is unclean.*

16[1] [NL]*And Yahweh spake unto Moses, after the death of the two sons of Aaron,* [a]*when they drew near before Yahweh, and died;* 2 [L]and Yahweh said unto Moses, Speak unto Aaron thy brother, that he come not at all times into the [a]holy place within the [b]veil, [b]before the [c]covering which is upon the ark; that he [d]die not: for I will [c]appear in the cloud upon the covering. 3 [N]*Herewith shall Aaron come into the holy place: with a young bullock for a* [d]*sin offering, and a ram for a burnt offering.* 4 [L]He shall put on the holy linen coat, and he shall have the linen breeches upon his flesh, and shall be girded with the linen girdle, and with the linen [M]mitre shall he be attired: they are the [e]holy garments; and he shall [e]bathe his flesh in water, and put them on. 5 And he shall take of the [f]congregation of the children of Israel two [f]he-goats for a sin offering, and one ram for a burnt offering. 6 *And Aaron shall present the bullock of the sin offering, which is for himself, and make atonement for himself, and for his house.* 7 And he shall take the two goats, and [g]set them before Yahweh at the [h]door of the tent of meeting. 8 And Aaron shall cast [i]lots upon the two goats; one lot for Yahweh, and the other lot for [M]Azazel. 9 And Aaron shall present the goat upon which the lot [g]fell for Yahweh, and [h]offer him for a sin offering. 10 But the goat, on which the lot fell for Azazel, shall be [g]set alive before Yahweh, to make atonement [M]for him, to send him away for Azazel into the wilderness. 11 *And Aaron shall present the bullock of the sin offering, which is for himself, and shall make atonement for himself, and for his house, and shall kill the bullock of the sin offering which is for himself:* 12 [L]and he shall take a [i]censer full of coals of fire from off the altar before Yahweh, and his [j]hands full of [k]sweet incense beaten small, and bring it within the veil: 13 and he shall put the incense upon the fire before Yahweh, that the cloud of the incense may cover the covering that is upon the [j]testimony, that he [d]die not:

15[31a] Cp Num 6[2]·· Hiph Lev 22[2] Niph* cp Ezek 14[5 7]. But Sam reads והזהרתם, which seems also to lie behind Θ ἐὐλαβεῖς ποιήσετε, and Ⅱ *docebitis*, cp Ex 18[20]. This reading on the whole supports those who find an ancient flavour in this verse.

31b **T** *tabernacle* cp 54[b]. In what sense is the Dwelling to be understood? It has been often interpreted of the fabric of the sanctuary described in Ex 25–30. But it seems rather to denote the gracious inhabitation of the land by its divine Lord cp 26[11] Num 5[3] 35[34] (cp *Introd* XIII 3δ i 129). In that case the passage would belong to a stage when the outward structure had not yet been invested with the dignity belonging to it in P[g].

32 The colophon by its conformity to type cp 11[46N] confirms the ascription of the chapter to a cycle of *toroth* anterior to P[g]. But the wording seems redundant, and 33b perhaps betrays irregular additions. In 32 33a the references are clear to 2–15 16–18 19–24. But 33b includes 2–15 afresh as well as 25–30 while there seems no special reason for the allusion to 24 in the last words. The change of construction in the final clause deserves notice; is לאיש parallel to לו in 14[54], or is it attracted by ליובר?

16[1] This important chapter has been much discussed (cp Benzinger, *ZATW* 1889 65–89, Cheyne, *ZATW* 1895 153; cp Addis, *Hex* ii 330, and Driv-Wh, *Lev* 79). For its historical relations see *Introd* XIII 11β i 156. The more drastic suggestions for its disintegration have failed to carry general conviction, but it is hard to believe it homogeneous. The following is offered as a probable account of its literary history. (1) The kernel is found in the directions for the cleansing of the inner sanctuary, the Tent of Meeting, and the altar cp 20, and for an atonement for the people cp 21 on the occasion (left undefined) of Aaron's entering within the veil. This is assigned to P[g], because (*a*) the term 'the altar' 12 18 20 25 is used throughout as though it were the only one: (*b*) the censer is employed 12. so as to exclude the presence of the golden altar, only the great altar of burnt offering having fire always upon it 6[2]·· (cp Dillm); 'before Yahweh' 12 as in 1[5 13] cp 4[6]; (*c*) the ritual in no degree transcends Ex 29 or Lev 9, where it is parallel with them. The ritual terminology includes the usual words *burnt offering, sin offering, make atonement, present, cleanse, uncleanness, hallow,* &c. (2) An introductory verse has been prefixed, connecting the need for atonement with the death of Aaron's sons, and by a series of systematic alterations and additions 3 6 11 14 17b &c, a special element of atonement for Aaron and his house has been introduced throughout the course of the ritual. As this is not mentioned in 16 and 20, this personal element would seem not to be original, and this impression is confirmed by the awkwardness of the allusions in 3 and 6. The words and clauses suspected as additions are, as far as possible, printed in small type. But the assimilation is very thorough, and may be very early. On the other hand, the sevenfold aspersion 14 19 usually belongs elsewhere to P[s] (4[6 17] 8[11N] 14[7 16 27 51] Num 19[4]†); and the increase in the personal dignity and importance of the high priest points in the same direction. (3) The ceremonial is to be repeated at the consecration of every high priest 32N. (4) It is made an annual fast day 29N.

3 The introduction of Aaron's sin offering and burnt offering seems somewhat premature here, before he is robed 4. Subsequently 6 is repeated in 11, so that the place of Aaron's own sacrifice in the ceremony is doubtful. The passages seem best explained as later additions to the text.

4 **M** Or, *turban.* 8 **M** Or, *dismissal.* 10 **M** Or, *over.*

JE | P^h | P^g | P^s

[14] *and he shall take of the blood of the bullock, and sprinkle it with his finger upon the covering*
l 4[6] 17 8[11]N 14[7] 16 27 51 Num 19[4]† *on the east; and* [k]*before the covering shall he sprinkle of the blood with his finger* [l]*seven times.* [15] Then shall he kill the goat of the sin offering, that is for the people, and bring his blood within the veil, *and do with his blood as he did with the blood of the bullock*, and sprinkle it upon the covering, and before the covering: [16] and he shall make atonement for the holy place, because of the uncleanness of the children of Israel, and because of their transgressions, [l]even all their sins: and so shall he do for the tent
m Josh 22[19] of meeting, [m]that [m]dwelleth with them in the midst of their uncleanness. [17] And there shall be no man in the tent of meeting when he goeth in to make atonement in the holy place, until he come out, *and have made atonement for himself, and for his household, and for all the* [N]*assembly of Israel.* [18] And he shall go out unto the altar that is before Yahweh, and make atonement for it; and shall take of the blood *of the bullock, and of the blood* of the goat, and put it upon the horns of the altar round about. [19] And he shall sprinkle of the blood upon it *with his finger seven times*, and cleanse it, and [n]hallow it from the uncleanness of the children of Israel. [20] And when he hath made an end of atoning for the holy place, and the tent of meeting, and the altar, he shall present the live goat: [21] and Aaron shall [o]lay both his hands upon the head of the live goat, and [p]confess over him all the iniquities of the children of Israel, and all their transgressions, [l]even all their sins; and he shall put them upon the head of the goat, and shall send him away by the hand of a man [M]that
n Cp 27[a] *o* ℌ† is in readiness into the wilderness: [22] and the goat shall [n]bear upon him all their iniquities unto a [o]solitary land: and he shall let go the goat
23 *L*IIC*c* in the wilderness. [23] [L]And Aaron shall come into the tent of meeting,
p 6[11] and shall [p]put off the linen garments, which he put on when he went into the holy place, and shall leave them there: [24] and he shall [e]bathe his flesh in water in a holy place, and put on his garments, and come forth, and offer *his burnt offering and* the burnt offering of the people, and make
q 4[8-10 19] atonement *for himself and* for the people. [25] And the [q]fat of the sin offering shall he [q]burn upon the altar. [26] And he that letteth go the goat for Azazel shall [r]wash his clothes, and bathe his flesh in water, and afterward he shall come into the camp. [27] *And the bullock of the sin offering,* and the goat of the sin offering, whose blood was brought in to make atonement in the holy place, shall be carried forth [s]without the camp:
r 4[11]. and they shall [t]burn in the fire *their* [t]skins, and *their* flesh, and *their* dung. [28] And he that burneth them shall wash his clothes, and bathe his flesh in water, and afterward he shall come into the camp.

[29] [N]*And it shall* [u]*be a* [v]*statute for ever unto you: in the* [w]*seventh month, on*
s 23[27] 16*o*[c] *the* [e]*tenth day of the month, ye shall* [x]*afflict your souls, and shall do no manner*
t Ex 12[49] *of* [y]*work, the* [z]*homeborn, or the stranger that sojourneth among you:* [30] *for on this day shall atonement be made for you, to cleanse you; from all your sins shall ye be clean before Yahweh.* [31] *It is a sabbath of* [a']*solemn rest unto you, and ye shall* [x]*afflict your souls; it is a* [v]*statute for ever.*

32. *L*II*e*[a] [32] [NL]And the priest, who shall be [b']anointed and who shall be [c']consecrated to [d']be priest in his father's stead, shall make the atonement, and shall put
u Cp 4 on the linen garments, even the [u]holy garments: [33] and he shall make atonement for the holy [e']sanctuary, and he shall make atonement for the tent of meeting and for the altar; and he shall make atonement for the priests and for all the people of the assembly.

k 64 | l 21[a] | m 54[a] | n 86[c] | o 102 | p 45 | q 37 | r 173 | s 120[a] | t 38 | u 27 | v 62[c] | w 183 | x 20 | y 177[a] | z 34 | a' 137[c] | b' 23 | c' 69[a] | d' 129[a] | e' 91

16[17] Not a P^g phrase, cp Josh 8[35]*. [21] **M** Or, *appointed.*—ℌ†.

[29] In 29–31 [34] a yearly fast day is enjoined. The character of the ceremony seems here to have altered. All reference to the cleansing of the holy place, the tent of meeting, and the altar is omitted. The atonement for the children of Israel because of all their sins [34] is the great transaction to be repeated once in the year. These verses are hardly from the hand of the first author of the ritual.

[32] This paragraph is clearly inserted to provide that Aaron's successors should do as he had done. But the generality of the terms and the absence of any Aaron phrases indicate that it is not original. The terminology also has changed: 'the holy place' [16], [20] has become the 'holy sanctuary'; 'the priests' [33] take the place of 'himself and his house' [11 17b]. The regulations are here viewed as an earlier insertion than [29]··, and as applying to the day of consecration: but they might have been added later to provide the omitted reference to other acts of atonement, and to declare explicitly the continuous right and duty of the high-priest.

	JE	P^h	P^g	P^s
		[34a] N *And this shall* [u]*be an* [v]*everlasting statute unto you, to make atonement for the children of Israel* [v]*because of all their sins once in the year.*		
v Cp 4[26] ℌ		[34b] N And he [f]did as Yahweh commanded Moses.		f′ 189[c]
1-7 *L* 7a P*s* 10a*nv*		17[1] NL *And Yahweh* [a]*spake unto Moses, saying,* [2] *Speak unto* [b]*Aaron, and unto his sons, and unto all the children of Israel, and say unto them;* [c]*This is the thing which Yahweh hath commanded, saying,* [3] Nd What [a]man soever there be of the [b]house of Israel[a], that		a 185[a] b 12[f] c 188[b]
a 8 10 22[18] Ezek 14[4 7]† *b* Ex 16[31] 11[b]		[c]killeth an ox, or lamb, or goat, *in the camp, or that killeth it* [f]*without the camp,* [4] and hath not brought it *unto the* [g]*door of the tent of meeting,* to [h]offer it as an [i]oblation unto Yahweh *before the* [T]*Dwelling of Yahweh:* blood shall be [c]imputed unto that man; he hath [d]shed blood; and that man shall be [j]cut off from among his people: [5] to the end that the children of Israel may bring their sacrifices, which they sacrifice in the [e]open field, even that they may bring them unto Yahweh, *unto the* [g]*door of the tent of meeting,* unto [k]the priest, and sacrifice them for [l]sacrifices of peace offerings unto Yahweh. [6] N And [k]the priest shall [m]sprinkle the [f]blood upon the [g]altar of Yahweh *at the* [g]*door of the tent of meeting,* and [n]burn the [h]fat for a [o]sweet savour unto Yahweh. [7] And they shall no more sacrifice their sacrifices unto the [M]he-goats, after whom they [i]go a whoring. *This shall be a* [p]*statute for ever unto them* [q]*throughout their generations.*		d 218 e 100 f 120[b] g 111[b] h 118[a] i 118[b] j 197[b] k 209 l 118[i] m 148 n 37 o 158 p 62[c] q 76[b]
c 7[18] cp Num 18[27 30] *d* Gen 9[6] *e* 14[7 53] Num 19[16] *f* 3[2] *g* Cp D16 *h* 3[3 5] *i* 19[29] 20[5]. Num 15[39] Ex 34[15]. Deut 31[16] Ezek 20[30]		[8] NL And thou shalt say unto them, [a]Whatsoever man there be of the house of Israel, or of the [r]strangers that sojourn among them, that [j]offereth a [l]burnt offering or sacrifice, [9] and bringeth it not *unto the* [g]*door of the tent of meeting,* to sacrifice it unto Yahweh; even that man shall be [j]cut off from his [s]people.		r 145[b] s 50[b]
8-16 *L* 2a′ 8. *L* 7a*m* P*s* 10a*nv* *j* ℌ 14[20] cp JE11o *k* Cp Ex 20[24] Lev 22[18 21] 10-14 *L* 6e*d* *l* Gen 9[4] Deut 12[23] *m* 14 Num 18[24]*k*		[10] L And [a]whatsoever man there be of the house of Israel, or of the [r]strangers that sojourn among them, that eateth any manner of blood; I will [t]set my face against that [u]soul that eateth blood, and will [v]cut him off from among his people. [11] [l]For the [M]life of the flesh is in the blood: and [w]I have given it to you upon the altar to make [x]atonement for your [u]souls: for it is the blood that maketh atonement by reason of the [M]life. [12] [m]Therefore I said unto the children of Israel, No [u]soul of you shall eat blood, neither shall any stranger that sojourneth among you eat blood.		t 212 u 146[a] v 197[a] w 94[a] x 25[a]
n JE17*2* *o* Cp Deut 12[16 24] Ezek 24[7] *p* Cp Ex 31[14] ℌ		[13] And [a]whatsoever man there be of the [N]children of Israel, or of the [r]strangers that sojourn among them, which [n]taketh in hunting any beast or fowl that may be eaten; he shall [o]pour out the blood thereof, and cover it with dust. [14] For as to the life of [y]all flesh, the blood thereof is [all one] with the life thereof: [m]therefore I said unto the children of Israel, Ye shall eat the blood of no manner of flesh: for the life of all flesh is the blood thereof: [p]whosoever eateth it shall be [j]cut off.		y 21[b]

16[34a] This clause may have stood originally between [30] and [31].

[34b] This statement must have belonged to the earlier injunctions, where a single ceremony was imposed upon Aaron, without mention of any repetition.

17[1] At this point the so-called 'Holiness Code' 17–26 begins. It is here designated P^h. On its name and general characteristics see *Introd* XIII 8 i 143. The variety of its contents, and its frequent repetitions, show that it has been compiled from various sources, not always in complete agreement with each other. It has been the task of R^p to harmonize as far as possible any conflicting data; thus in 17 the opening words bear the plainest marks of P^g, and must, as elsewhere, be assigned to the editor who combined P^h with P^g. The association of priesthood and laity in legislative address is exceedingly rare in P cp 22[18]†.

[3] Like D Deut 12[1..], P^h opens with a ritual law [3–9]. This is itself in two parts [3–7] and [8.], which have a common aim. [3–7] in its present form lays down three rules: (1) no slaughter of domestic animals may take place without sacrifice; (2) sacrifice may be offered only to Yahweh; (3) and only at the central sanctuary. [8.] repeats (2) and (3). The whole has been adapted to the camp-scheme of legislation by R^p, to whom the enunciation of the third principle seems due. P^h does not elsewhere speak of the Dwelling in its technical sense, or refer to the 'entrance of the tent of meeting.' The recurrence of this phrase in both laws [5] and [9] shows it to be editorial. For comparison with other codes see *Laws* as noted in the margin. On the general implications of this enactment and its relative antiquity compared with the fundamental conception of D see *Introd* i 146, and cp Driv-Wh, *Lev* 85 (only available when the *Introd* and notes had been completed): the slight difference in the view of the stages of the text turns on the use of the 'Dwelling.'

[4] T *tabernacle*, cp 54[c]. The parallel with the 'tent of meeting' seems to make it clear that this term is here used in the sense of the Levitical sanctuary, and not in its ideal meaning cp 15[31]. In that case the clause is an editorial addition founded on Ex 25..: P^h only knows of the sanctuary 21[12].

[6] The whole of this verse may be secondary, cp the ritual in 1[5]. On the other hand the ceremony was no doubt ancient, though its specification is hardly after the manner of P^h.

[7] M Or, *satyrs*.—Is 13[21] 34[14]†.

[8] The peculiar opening of this verse 'and to them thou shalt say,' addressed to the laity cp 20[2], suggests that the following passage has lost some of its original context. In [8] there seems clearly a doublet of [2b–7]: the instructions are rather more developed; the law applies to non-Israelites as well as to the house of Israel; the altar gifts include burnt offering as well as peace offering [5]. In [10–16] it must be doubtful whether the prohibition of eating with blood cp 19[26] is continuous with [3–7] or with [8.]. The reference to the strangers in [10 13] points to the same source as in [8.]; in any case, the editorial work in [10–16] is better assimilated than in [3–7], and cannot be isolated with certainty.

[11ab] M ℌ *soul.*

[13] Some ℌ MSS and Sam read 'house.' On the other hand 𝔊 has 'children' (sons) in [3 8 10] as well as in this passage.

JE | P[h] | P[g] | P[s]

15 L 6o*c*
q 7[24] 22[8] Ex 22[31]
r 11[25]

15 NL And every [q]soul that eateth [M]that which dieth of itself, or that which is [q]torn of beasts, [z]whether he be [a']homeborn or a stranger, he shall [b']wash his clothes, and [c']bathe himself in water, and be [d']unclean [r]until the even: then shall he [e']be clean. 16 But if he wash them not, nor bathe his flesh, then he shall [f']bear his iniquity.

z 35
a′ 34
b′ 173
c′ 174
d′ 167[a]
e′ 42[a]
f′ 193

1-5 L 5d*g*

18[1] L *And Yahweh* [s]*spake unto Moses, saying,* 2 *Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them,* [b]I am Yahweh your God. 3 N After the doings of the land of Egypt, wherein ye dwelt, shall ye not do: and after the doings of the [c]land of Canaan, whither [d]I bring you, shall ye not do: neither shall ye [e]walk in their statutes. 4 My judgements shall ye [f]do, and my statutes shall ye [f]keep, to walk therein: [b]I am Yahweh your God. 5 Ye shall therefore [f]keep my statutes, and my judgements: which if a man do, he shall live [M]in them: [g]I am Yahweh.

a 185[a]
b 203[b]
c 4[a]
d 94[a]
e 217
f 199
g 203[a]

6-18 L 18*e i*

6 Lh None of you shall approach to any that is near of [i]kin to him, to [j]uncover [their] nakedness: [g]I am Yahweh. 7 N The nakedness of thy father, even the nakedness of thy mother, shalt thou not uncover: she is thy mother; thou shalt not uncover her nakedness. 8 The nakedness of thy father's wife shalt thou not uncover: it is thy father's nakedness. 9 The nakedness of thy sister, the daughter of thy father, or the daughter of thy mother, whether [o]born at home, or [o]born abroad, even their nakedness thou shalt not uncover. 10 The nakedness of thy son's daughter, or of thy daughter's daughter, even their nakedness thou shalt not uncover: for theirs is thine own nakedness. 11 The nakedness of thy father's wife's daughter, [o]begotten of thy father, she is thy sister, thou shalt not uncover her nakedness. 12 Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy father's sister: she is thy father's [i]near kinswoman. 13 Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy mother's sister: for she is thy mother's [i]near kinswoman. 14 Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy father's brother, thou shalt not approach to his wife: she is thine [b]aunt. 15 Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy daughter in law: she is thy son's wife; thou shalt not uncover her nakedness. 16 Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy brother's wife: it is thy brother's nakedness. 17 Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of a woman and her daughter; thou shalt not take her son's daughter, or her daughter's daughter, to uncover her nakedness; they are [i]near kinswomen: it is [Mk]wickedness. 18 And thou shalt not take a woman to her sister, to be a [c]rival [to her], to uncover her nakedness, beside the other in her life time. 19 L And thou shalt not approach unto a woman to uncover her nakedness, as long as she is [Ml]impure by her [m]uncleanness. 20 L And thou shalt not [d]lie carnally with thy [n]neighbour's wife, to [o]defile thyself with her. 21 L And thou shalt not give any of thy seed [M]to make them pass through [the fire] to Molech, L neither shalt thou [p]profane the name of thy God: [g]I am Yahweh. 22 L Thou shalt not lie with mankind, [e]as with womankind: it is [q]abomination. 23 And thou shalt not [d]lie with any [f]beast to [o]defile thyself therewith: neither shall any woman stand before a beast, to [r]lie down thereto: it is [g]confusion.

a Cp 11 Ezk†
b 20[20] Ex 6[20]†
c Cp 1 Sam 1[6]
19 L 11*d*
20 L 11*h*
d 23 20[15] Num 5[20]†
21a L 5*i b*
21b L 5*c i*
22 L 11*e*
e 20[13]
f 20[15] Ex 22[19]
g 20[12]†
24-30 L 5d*h* 11*p*
h 20[23]
25. L 2a*m*
i Ex 20[5] 32[34] 34[7]
k 220
l 139
m 167[c]
n 206
o 167[d]
p 210
q 192
r 205
s 167[a]

24-30 NLs Defile not ye yourselves in any of these things: for in all these the nations are defiled which [d]I [h]cast out from before you: 25 L and the land is defiled: therefore I do [i]visit the iniquity thereof upon it, and the

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17[15a] An appendix, which is probably from the compiler's hand. The law is more rigorous than that of Deut 14[21]. The 'stranger' who may there buy the food which would pollute an Israelite, here incurs the same uncleanness, and needs the same purification cp 19[34] 24[22].

15b **M** Ⓚ *a carcase.*—Cp 11[39]. 22[8].

18[3] The hortatory introduction in 2b–5 has several parallels in P[h], especially in the form of closing admonitions cp 24–30 19[37] 20[22–26] 22[31–33] 25[18 38], and on a more extended scale 26[3–45].

5 **M** Or, *by.*—Cp Ezek 20[11 13 21].

7 The laws in 6–19 find a curious parallel within P[h] in 20[11–21]; on the relation between the two groups see 20[8N]. It is possible that the general introduction in 6, with its plural address, may be due to the writer of 2b–5 (Baentsch).

17 **M** Or, *enormity.*

19 **M** Or, *separated for.*

21 **M** Or, *to set them apart to Molech.*—Cp 20[2] Ex 13[12] Deut 18[10] Jer 32[35] Ezek 20[31] 23[37] 2 Kings 16[3] 17[17] 21[6]. This verse so clearly interrupts the context 20 22. that it can hardly be in its original place. The link of association which has led to its insertion here is probably founded on the figure of harlotry applied to the Molech cult 20[5]. The refrain 'I am Yahweh' would more naturally point to the series in 19 cp 19[12]..

24 For this concluding exhortation cp 3N. The whole passage implies considerable expansion, in the adaptation of earlier materials. Thus the verbs in 25 are really all in the past tense, 'and the land was defiled . . . and I visited . . . and the land vomited' . . . as though a passage of retrospect had been converted into prophecy cp 20[23]. Perhaps 24 and 30 are nearest to their original form. In 29 the editor drops the conception of national punishment for individual doom cp 17[9]....

JE | P[h] | P[g] | P[s]

land [t]vomiteth out her inhabitants. [26] [J]Ye therefore shall [f]keep my [u]statutes and my judgements, and shall not do any of these [q]abominations; neither the [v]homeborn, nor the [w]stranger that sojourneth among you: [27] (for all these [q]abominations have the men of the land done, which were before you, and the land is defiled;) [28] that the land [t]vomit not you out also, when ye defile it, as it vomited out the nation that was before you. [29] For whosoever shall do any of these [q]abominations, even the [x]souls that do them shall be [y]cut off from among their people. [30] Therefore shall ye [z]keep my charge, that ye do [k]not any of these [q]abominable [u]statutes, which were done before you, and that ye defile not yourselves therein: [b]I am Yahweh your God.

19[1] *And Yahweh* [a]*spake unto Moses, saying,* [2] *Speak unto all the* [b]*congregation of the children of Israel, and say unto them,* [NL]Ye shall [c]be holy: for [d]I Yahweh your God am holy. [3] [L]Ye shall [a]fear every man his mother, and his father, [L]and ye shall [b]keep my [e]sabbaths: [f]I am Yahweh your God. [4] [Lg]Turn ye not unto [m]idols, nor make to yourselves [c]molten gods: [f]I am Yahweh your God. [5] [L]And when ye [d]offer a [h]sacrifice of peace offerings unto Yahweh, ye shall [d]offer it that ye may be [i]accepted. [6] It shall be eaten the same day ye offer it, and on the [e]morrow: and if aught remain until the third day, it shall be [j]burnt with fire. [7] And if it be eaten at all on the third day, it is an [f]abomination; it shall not be [k]accepted: [8] but every one that eateth it shall [l]bear his iniquity, because he hath [m]profaned the holy thing of Yahweh: [N]*and that* [n]*soul shall be cut off from his people.*

[9] [L]And [g]when ye reap the harvest of your land, thou shalt not wholly reap the corners of thy field, neither shalt thou [h]gather the [i]gleaning of thy harvest. [10] And thou shalt not [j]glean thy vineyard, neither shalt thou [h]gather the [k]fallen fruit of thy vineyard; thou shalt [g]leave them for the poor and for the stranger: [f]I am Yahweh your God. [11] [L]Ye shall not [l]steal; [L]neither shall ye [m]deal falsely, nor [n]lie one to [o]another. [12] [L]And ye shall not swear by my name [o]falsely, so that thou [p]profane the name of thy God: [q]I am Yahweh. [13] [L]Thou shalt not [p]oppress thy neighbour, nor [q]rob him: [L]the [r]wages of a [s]hired servant shall not abide with thee all night until the morning. [14] [L]Thou shalt not curse the deaf, nor put a stumbling-block before the [t]blind, but thou shalt [r]fear thy God: [q]I am Yahweh. [15] [L]Ye shall do no [u]unrighteousness in judgement: thou shalt not [v]respect the person of the poor, nor [w]honour the person of the mighty: but in righteousness shalt thou judge thy [o]neighbour. [16] [L]Thou shalt not go up and down as a [x]talebearer among thy [s]people: neither shalt thou stand against the [y]blood of thy neighbour: [q]I am Yahweh. [17] [L]Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thine [t]heart: thou shalt surely rebuke thy [o]neighbour, and not [l]bear sin because of him. [18] Thou shalt not take [z]vengeance, nor [a']bear any grudge against the children of thy people, but thou shalt [b']love thy neighbour as thyself: [q]I am Yahweh. [19] Ye shall [u]keep my statutes. [L]Thou shalt not let thy cattle [v]gender with a [c']diverse kind: thou shalt not sow thy field with [c']two kinds of seed: neither shall there come upon thee a garment of [c']two kinds of [d']stuff mingled together.

j Cp 20[22]. ·

k 20[4] 26[15] JE61
2b L111*j*
3a L1a*d*
a Ct Ex 20[12] cp P200
3b L9b*e*
b [30] 26[2] Ex 31[13] ct Ex 20[8]
4 L5b*j*
c Ex 34[17]
5–8 L7c*d*
d ℌ=*sacrifice* 22[29]
e Ct 7[15–18]
f 7[18] Ezek 4[14] Is 65[4]† ct 18[22] ℌ
9 L3i*c*
g 23[22] Deut 24[19]
h 23[22] Gen 47[14]
i 23[22]†
j Deut 24[21] Poel*
k ℌ†
11a L3a*d*
l Ex 20[15]
11b L4f*f*
m 6[2]
n 6[3]
12 L5c*e*
o Cp Ex 20[7 16]
13a L3a*e*
p 6[2 4] Deut 24[14] 28[29 33]*
q 6[2 4] Ezek 18[7 12 16]
13b L4g 2c*b*
r ℌ*
s Deut 24[14].
14 L2k*b*
t Cp Deut 27[18]
15 L4c*g*
u [35] Deut 25[16] 32[4]* Jer 2[5] Ezek 18[8] 33[15] (10)
v Ex 23[3]
w [32] Ex 23[3]*
16 L4f*g*
x ℌ* Jer 9[4] Ezek 22[9]
y Cp Ex 23[7]
17 L2b*e*
z Gen 4[15]
a' ℌ* cp Jer 3[5] 12 Ps 103[9]
b' Cp 34.
19 L3l*b*
c' Deut 22[9]†
d' Deut 22[11]†

t 216
u 213
v 34
w 145[b]
x 146[a]
y 197[b]
z 39[b]
a 185[a]
b 45
c 202
d 203[c]
e 211
f 203[b]
g 214
h 118[i]
i 17[b]
j 38
k 17[a]
l 193
m 210
n 50[a]
o 206
p 210[a]
q 203[a]
r 200[a]
s 208
t 201
u 199
v 205

18[30] So ℌ as in [3]. **T** *customs.* Cp 20[23].

19[2] The collection of laws in 19 is introduced and closed by brief exhortations showing affinities with 18[3–5] and [24–30]. But the contents are not confined to a single topic, and their variety clearly points to diversity of source. Thus (1) some precepts are repeated [3b] and [30a], [14b] and [32b], [15a] and [35a]; (2) the peculiar term עמית 'neighbour' [11 15 17] alternates curiously with the common רע [13 16 18]; (3) the ritual passage [5–8] does not seem to belong by subject to the rest of the religious moral and social legislation of the context; its incongruity with 7[15–18] makes it indeed improbable that it is an editorial insertion of the type of [21], but it may rather be taken as belonging to a group of cultus laws of which traces remain in 21–22 retouched by a later hand; (4) the alternate predominance of the singular 'thou' [13–19] and the plural 'ye' [2–12] and [23–37] seems partly due to difference of origin. The materials may be to some extent of ancient date, as they have analogies with regulations in several codes where the same subjects have been treated; thus (1) with the Ten Words [3. 11.]; (2) with the Book of Judgements (Ex 21–23) [15. 33.]; further points of contact exist (3) with **J** [4 9 20 29], and (4) with **D** [9 10 13 15 19 26 28 31 33 35]: while the phraseology often resembles that of Jer and Ezek (besides **P**[h] words) [7 13 15. 18 20 35]. The signs of arrangement into groups are discussed by Briggs, *Higher Crit*[2] 245 ff, and more fully by Paton, *Orig Form of Lev* 17–19; analogy has been found in [3–8] to the laws of the first table of the Decalogue; and in [9–20] to those of the second.

[4] **M** ℌ *things of nought.* See Jer 14[14].—Cp Is 2[8 18 20] 10[10]. 19[1 3] 31[7] Ezek 30[13] *al.*

[8] The formula seems an editorial addition cp 50[a]: ct 17[4 9]. 22[3], where the phraseology is different.

JE | P^h | P^g | P^s

20 L rjd 2db
e′ 15¹⁶ 22⁴ Num 5¹³†
f′ JE 41
g′ 𝔊†
h′ Cp Ex 21⁸
i′ 𝔊†
21 L rje 7gf
j′ Cp 6⁶.
k′ 𝔊=as touching 4³⁵ 23-25 L6n
l′ Cp Gen 2⁹ 3⁶
m′ Judg 9²⁷†
n′ Ex 23¹⁰
26a L6e
o′ Cp 17¹⁰
26b L5jd
p′ Gen 30²⁷ 44⁵ 15 Deut 18¹⁰*
q′ Deut 18¹⁰ 14* Is 2⁶
27. L5kb
r′ Ct Josh 6³ 11*
s′ 𝔊† cp 21⁵ Deut 14²
t′ 𝔊†
29 L1mc
u′ 18²⁵
v′ 17⁷
30a L9bf
30b L10a,o
31 L5je
w′ 20⁶ 27 Deut 18¹¹*
32 L1ae
x′ Cp Job 29⁸
33. L2a,n
y′ 25¹⁴ ¹⁷ Ex 22²¹ Deut 23¹⁶*
z′ Ex 22²¹ 23⁹
35. L4c,h,d,b
a″ 𝔊=measure cp Ex 26² ⁸ Josh 3⁴
b″ 26²⁶
c″ Ezek 4¹¹ ¹⁶ 1 Chron 23²⁹†
d″ 𝔊* Ezek 45¹⁰
e″ Deut 25¹⁵
f″ Deut 25¹⁴. Ezek 45¹⁰
g″ Ex 29⁴⁰
h″ 22³³ 25³⁸ 26¹³ Num 15⁴¹ cp Ex 20²
1-5 L5ic 2a,o
a Cp 17⁸ ¹⁰ ¹³
b 18²¹ ct Ex 22²⁹
c Cp 2bN
d 𝔊* Ezek 22²⁶
e 18³⁰
f 17⁷
6 L5jf
g 27 19³¹

20 L And W whosoever lieth e′carnally with a woman, that is a f′bondmaid, g′betrothed to an husband, and not at all h′redeemed, nor i′freedom given her; M they shall be punished; they shall not be put to death, because she was not i′free. 21 NL *And he shall bring his j′guilt offering unto Yahweh, unto the door of the tent of meeting, even a ram for a guilt offering.* 22 *And the priest shall make atonement for him with the ram of the guilt offering before Yahweh for his sin which he hath sinned: and he shall be forgiven k′for his sin which he hath sinned.* 23 L And X when ye shall come into the land, and shall have planted all manner of l′trees for food, then ye shall count the fruit thereof as their r uncircumcision: three years shall they be as uncircumcised unto you; it shall not be eaten. 24 But in the fourth year all the fruit thereof shall be z holy, for m′giving praise unto Yahweh. 25 And in the fifth year shall ye eat of the fruit thereof, that it may yield unto you the n′increase thereof: ᵀI am Yahweh your God. 26 L Ye shall not o′eat any thing N with the blood: L neither shall ye p′use enchantments, nor q′practise augury. 27 L Ye shall not r′round the corners of your heads, neither shalt thou mar the corners of thy beard. 28 Ye shall not make any s′cuttings in your flesh for the a′dead, nor print any t′marks upon you: ᵠI am Yahweh. 29 LB′Profane not thy daughter, to make her a harlot; lest the u′land fall to v′whoredom, and the land become full of M wickedness. 30 L Ye shall b keep my e sabbaths, L and r reverence my sanctuary: ᵠI am Yahweh. 31 LG Turn ye not unto them that have u′familiar spirits, nor unto the w′wizards; seek them not out, to be c′defiled by them: ᵀI am Yahweh your God. 32 L Thou shalt x′rise up before the hoary head, and w honour the face of the old man, and thou shalt r fear thy God: ᵠI am Yahweh. 33 L And if a stranger sojourn with thee in your land, ye shall not do him y′wrong. 34 The d′stranger that sojourneth with you shall be unto you as the e′homeborn among you, and thou shalt b′love him as thyself; z′for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt: ᵀI am Yahweh your God. 35 L Ye shall do no u unrighteousness in judgement, in a″meteyard, in b″weight, or in c″measure. 36 Just d″balances, just e″weights, a just f″ephah, and a just b″hin, shall ye have: ᵀI am Yahweh your God, h″which brought you out of the land of Egypt. 37 And ye shall u observe all my statutes, and all my judgements, and do them: ᵠI am Yahweh.

20[1] L *And Yahweh a spake unto Moses, saying,* [2] N *Moreover, thou shalt say to the children of Israel,* b Whosoever he be of the children of Israel, a or of the c strangers that sojourn in Israel, that b giveth of his seed unto Molech; he shall surely be put to death: the X people of the land shall d stone him with stones. [3] e I also will f set my face against that man, and will g cut him off from among his people; because he hath given of his seed unto Molech, to h defile my i sanctuary, and to j profane my holy name. [4] N *And if the c′people of the land do any ways d′hide their eyes from that man, when he giveth of his seed unto Molech, and put him e′not to death:* [5] *then I will f′set my face against that man, and against his k family, and will g′cut him off, and all that l go a whoring after him, to commit whoredom with Molech, from among their people.* [6] L And the i soul that m turneth unto them that have g familiar spirits, and unto the

w 190c
x 19¹
y 16⁶
z 90a
a′ 19⁸
b′ 21⁰
c′ 167a
d′ 145b
e′ 34
a 185a
b 21⁸
c 145b
d 15²
e 9⁴
f 21²
g 197a
h 167a
i 9¹
j 210b
k 6⁵
l 146a
m 21⁴

19²⁰ **M** 𝔊 *there shall be inquisition.*—𝔊†.

21 The incongruity of 21. with the context is obvious. The language is that of 4–6⁷ cp 4²⁰ 6⁷; but the source of the insertion cannot be determined.

26 Cp 17¹⁴. In the text 𝔊 reads literally 'on the blood' as in Ezek 33²⁵; cp Ezek 18⁶ 22⁹ as corrected by W R Smith, *Rel of Sem* 324; Smend, *AT Rel Gesch* 313; Bertholet hesitates; Toy, *Ezek* (in Haupt's *SBOT*), concurs. 29 **M** Or, *enormity.*—Cp **220**.

20[2a] A fresh collection of precepts for the laity is here opened. The contents are less varied than those of 19, as they deal only with different forms of spiritual and sexual unchastity 2–7 and 8–21. The order of the opening words 'And to the children of Israel thou shalt say' recalls 17⁷ cp the subsequent formulae with 17¹³. The prohibition of the Molech rites 2b–5 seems like an expansion of 18²¹a (which appears out of place in its present context); while 6 finds a supplement in 27 which has been left out of the collection and added afterwards at the close. (The fundamental conception of 27, however, is not quite identical with that of 6. *RV* 27 disguises the fact that the 'familiar spirit' is inside the man or woman: Driv–Wh render 'in whom is a ghost or a familiar spirit': and 6 (cp 19³¹) 'if there be any one that regards ghosts or familiar spirits.') The first section closes at 7.

2b Dillmann suggests that the phrase here and in 4 is due to R cp 4²⁷* (Num 14⁹ differently) Ezek 7²⁷ 12¹⁹ 33² 39¹³ 45²² 46³ 9.

4 There appears to be a contradiction between 2 and 3, inasmuch as 2 prescribes death by stoning, while 3 implies some form of divine judgement. Is this due to careless expression on the part of a single writer (Wellh) or to diversity of source (Dillm)? It is difficult to decide (a third alternative being that 3 and 4. are independent supplements to 2, here editorially amalgamated), but in 4. it is probably correct to find traces of editorial emphasis and expansion; the doom announced in 3 on the single sinner extending in 5 to his family and all who share his guilt. The style of 4 much resembles that of the editorial work in 17.

JE | P[h] | P[g] | P[s]

[g]wizards, to [f]go a whoring after them, I will even [r]set my face against that soul, and will [g]cut him off from among his people. 7 [L h]Sanctify yourselves therefore, and [n]be ye holy: for [o]I am Yahweh your God.

8 [N]And ye shall [p]keep my statutes, and do them: [q]I am Yahweh which sanctify you. 9 [L]For [b]every one that [i]curseth his father or his mother shall surely be put to death: he hath cursed his father or his mother; his [r]blood shall be upon him. 10 [L]And the man that [j]committeth adultery [N]with another man's wife, even he that committeth adultery with his neighbour's wife, the adulterer and the adulteress shall surely be put to death. 11 [L]And the man that lieth with his [k]father's wife hath [s]uncovered his father's nakedness: both of them shall surely be put to death; their [r]blood shall be upon them. 12 And if a man lie with his [l]daughter in law, both of them shall surely be put to death: they have wrought [m]confusion; their [r]blood shall be upon them. 13 [L]And if a man lie with [n]mankind, as with womankind, both of them have committed [n]abomination: they shall surely be put to death; their [r]blood shall be upon them. 14 [L]And if a man take a [o]wife and her mother, it is [M]wickedness: they shall be [t]burnt [p]with fire, both he and they; that there be no wickedness among you. 15 [L]And if a man lie with a [q]beast, he shall surely be put to death: and ye shall [r]slay the beast. 16 And if a woman approach unto any beast, and [s]lie down thereto, thou shalt [T]slay the woman, and the beast: they shall surely be put to death; their [r]blood shall be upon them. 17 [L]And if a man shall take his [t]sister, his father's daughter, or his mother's daughter, and see her nakedness, and she see his nakedness; it is a [u]shameful thing; and they shall be [u]cut off in the sight of the children of their people: he hath [s]uncovered his sister's nakedness; he shall [v]bear his iniquity. 18 [L]And if a man shall lie with a woman having her [v]sickness, and shall [s]uncover her nakedness; he hath [w]made naked her [x]fountain, and she hath uncovered the fountain of her blood: and both of them shall be [u]cut off from among their people. 19 [L]And thou shalt not [s]uncover the nakedness of thy [y]mother's sister, nor of thy [z]father's sister: for he hath [w]made naked his [w]near kin: they shall [v]bear their iniquity. 20 And if a man shall lie with his [a']uncle's wife, he hath [s]uncovered his uncle's nakedness: they shall [v]bear their sin; they shall die [b']childless. 21 And if a man shall take his [c']brother's wife, it is [x]impurity: he hath [s]uncovered his brother's nakedness; they shall be [b']childless.

22 [L]Ye shall [d']therefore [P]keep all my statutes, and all my judgements, and do them: that the land, whither [e]I bring you to dwell therein, [y]vomit you not out. 23 [L]And ye shall not [z]walk in the [T]statutes of the [e']nation, which [e]I cast out before you: for they did all these things, and therefore I [f']abhorred them. 24 But I have said unto you, Ye shall [g'T]possess their [h']land, and I will give it unto you to [g']possess it, a land [i']flowing with milk and honey: [o]I am Yahweh your God, which have [a']separated you from the peoples.

25 [NL]Ye shall [d']therefore [a']separate between the [j']clean beast and the unclean, and between the unclean fowl and the clean: and ye shall not make your [l]souls [k']abominable by beast, or by fowl, or by any thing wherewith the ground [M]teemeth, which I have separated from you as unclean.

7. [L]11l' h ℌ Sam omit, cp 86[e]
9 [L]1b[e] i Ex 21[17] cp Ezek 22[7] ℌ
10 [L]11i j Ex 20[14]
11. [L]1e[j] k 18[8]
l 18[15]
m 18[23]†
13 [L]11f n 18[22]
14 [L]1e[k] o 18[17] p Cp 21[9] Gen 38[24]
15. [L]11g q 18[23] Ex 22[19]
r [JE]21o s 18[23]
17 [L]1e[l] t 18[9]
u Prov 14[34]†
18 [L]11h v Cp 15[33] w 18. ℌ* x 12[7]
19-21 [L]1e[m] y 18[13] z 18[12]
a' 18[14]
b' Gen 15[2] Jer 22[30]† c' 18[16]
22-26 [L]111[s] d' ℌ=*and ye shall* 8 cp 19[26]
23 [L]5d[i] e' 18[28] ℌ Sam *nations* cp 18[24] f' Cp Ex 1[12] g' 25[46] cp Gen 15[7] [D]88 (ct [P]127) Ezek 35[10] h' Gen 28[15] Num 11[12] 32[11] ℌ cp [D]69 i' [JE]34
25. [L]6a[l]b j' Cp 11[47] k' 11[43]

20[8] The introduction to a fresh section cp 22[2] 18[5]. In [9] it is natural to see a parallel to E's 'judgement' Ex 21[17]: [10] opens a series of laws summed up in the most general form in the seventh of the Ten Words. The relation of [10–21] to 18[6–19] has been variously estimated: are they from the same hand (Driver) or have they been drafted separately, and, in the latter case, if they are derived from a common original, which is the earlier? The table of prohibited intercourses in 18 contains no penalties, but the order seems better adjusted and the cases are more numerous than in 20, which provides no parallels to 18[7 10 17b 18]. This is so far an indication of later origin. Further, the series in 18[6..] is introduced by a general principle (unless this be the work of the author of [2b–3]) which is then specifically applied in all possible directions in uniform style. But in 20[10..] there are some delicate suggestions of combined sources, or of occasional addition, e g the duplicate clauses in [10ab], the unexpected 'you' and 'thou' in [14b 15b–16 19], and especially the varying formula in [19a] which corresponds to the regular form 18[7..]. These signs perhaps imply an earlier draft modified by later editorial activity, 20[19] owing its retention to the fact that it specified the punishments which were omitted in 18.

[10] Apparently an accidental repetition, Abbott, Driv-Wh, Addis: probably the result of amalgamation of texts, Dillm.

[14] **M** Or, *enormity*.—Cp 18[17]. [16] So ℌ as in [15]. **T** *kill*.

[23] So ℌ as in [22]. **T** *customs*. Cp 18[30]. [24] So ℌ **T** *inherit*.

[25a] The connexion here can hardly be original, as it seems to be founded on the word 'separate.' ℌ runs simply 'and ye shall.' The thought of [25..] is cognate with that of 11[43–45], and this passage may have once introduced a list similar to that in 11.

[25b] **M** ℌ *creepeth*.—[P]49[a].

JE | P^h | P^g | P^s

[26] And ye shall [n]be holy unto me: for [b']I Yahweh am holy, and have [a']separated you from the peoples, that ye should be mine.

[27] [L] 27 L_5 j g
[L] b' Cp Ex 22[18]

[27] [NL]A man also or a [l']woman that hath a [g]familiar spirit, or that is a [g]wizard, shall surely be put to death: they shall [d]stone them with stones: their [r]blood shall be upon them.

21· L_{11} a m
1-9 L_{11} f a
1-4 L_6 b c
a Ezek 44[25]

21[1] [L]*And Yahweh said unto Moses,* [N]*Speak unto the priests the* [a]*sons of Aaron, and say unto them,* [a]There shall none [b]defile himself for the [c]dead among his [d]people; [2] except for his [e]kin, that is near unto him, for his mother, and for his father, and for his son, and for his daughter, and for his brother; [3] and for his sister a virgin, that is near unto him, which hath had no husband, for her may he [b]defile himself. [4] He shall not [b]defile himself, [M][being] a chief man among his [d]people, to [f]profane himself. [5] [L]They shall not make [b]baldness upon their head, neither shall they shave off the [c]corner of their beard, nor [d]make any [e]cuttings in their flesh. [6] They shall [g]be holy unto their God, and not [h]profane the name of their God: for [N]*the* [i]*offerings of Yahweh made by fire,* the [j]bread of their God, they do [k]offer: therefore they shall [g]be holy. [7] [L]They shall not take a woman that is a harlot, or [M]profane; neither shall they take a woman [f]put away from her husband: for he is holy [g]unto his God. [8] [N]Thou shalt sanctify him therefore; for he offereth the [j]bread of thy God: he shall [g]be holy unto thee: for [l]I Yahweh, which sanctify you, am holy. [9] [L]And the daughter of any priest, if she [f]profane herself by playing the harlot, she [f]profaneth her father: she shall be [m]burnt with fire.

5. L_5 k c
b Cp Deut 14[1] Ezek 44[20]
c 19[27]
d Zech 12[3]†
e Cp 19[28]†
7 L_{16} e n
f 14 22[13] Num 30[9] Ezek 44[22]†
g Num 6[8] cp Deut 7[6] 14[2] 21 26[19]
9 L_{11} m d

[10] [L]And he that is the [h]high priest among his brethren, [N]upon whose head the [i]anointing oil is [n]poured, and [M]that is [o]consecrated to put on the garments, shall not let the hair of his head [j]go loose, nor rend his clothes; [11] [L]neither shall he go in to any [c]dead body, nor [b]defile himself for his father, or for his mother; [12] neither shall he go out of the [p]sanctuary, nor [q]profane the sanctuary of his God; for the [M]crown of the anointing oil of his God is upon him: [r]I am Yahweh. [13] [L]And he shall take a wife in her [k]virginity. [14] A widow, or one [f]divorced, or a [M]profane woman, an harlot, these shall he not take: but a virgin of his own [d]people shall he take to wife. [15] And he shall not [f]profane his seed among his [d]people: for [l]I am Yahweh which sanctify him.

10-15 L_{11} b b d a
10 L_{11} c z
h Num 35[25 28] Josh 20[6*] cp 2 Kings 12[10] 22[4 8] 23[4]
i Cp Ex 29[7]
j 10[6]
11 L_6 b c
13. L_{16} e n
k Deut 22[14..] Judg 11[37.] Ezek 23[3 8]†

[16] *And Yahweh* [s]*spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto Aaron, saying,* [17] [L]Whosoever he be of [N]thy seed *throughout their* [t]*generations* that hath a [u]blemish, let him not approach to offer the [j]bread of his God. [18] For whatsoever man

17-23 L_{11} f c

20[27] Cp [2a N]. This fragment has apparently been detached from its original connexion and attached loosely to the close of a section containing cognate material.

21[1] The general legislation in 18–20 is followed in 21–22 by a group of laws concerning the maintenance of priestly holiness, and the nature of the sacred gifts. This short code presents many of the phenomena already noticed. Thus (1) the hand of the later editor acquainted with the requirements and institutions of P^g is often traced in allusions such as those in 21[10 12 22]. And (2) diversity of original materials may be partially inferred from frequent alternations in form, in the use of the second and third persons, the singular and the plural, &c. The hortatory element characteristic of P^h is less prominent, and the brief close 22[31–33] sounds rather like an imitation of earlier phraseology in 18–20 which has lost the ring of direct address to the nation characteristic of such passages as 18[24]. . 20[22]. . The ritual regulations appear to belong to a less developed stage than P^g cp *Introd* i 149, and occasional points of contact occur with the laws of J and E. Peculiarities of phrase may be noticed in the expressions 'bread of God' and 'I am Yahweh which hallow you' 21[8 15 23] 22[9 16 32] (also 20[8] Ex 31[13]†). The little corpus has doubtless undergone successive revisions: the more obvious additions are indicated in small type. The frequency of these may partly result from the similarity of subject to the bulk of P^g. The superscription in 21[1] implies that the laws are addressed to the priests, but cp [8].

[4] **M** Or, as *a husband.* 𝔊 has, *on a sudden.*

[6] The term 'fire offerings of Yahweh' occurs sixty times in P cp Deut 18[1] Josh 13[14*]. But they are mentioned in P^h only in passages otherwise proved to have received editorial additions, and they are not necessary to the context. Cp 21 22[22 27] 23.

[7] **M** Or, *polluted.*—Cp Ezek 21[25] 𝔗, cp Ges-Brown, *Heb Lex.*

[8] This verse interrupts the transition from the character of the priest's wife to the conduct of his daughter. It is not clear who is addressed as 'thou'; the pronoun can really only designate Israel, but cp [1]. The first half of the verse is perhaps to be regarded as introduced by the compiler from an older source to reinforce the sanctity of the priesthood. In [8b] 𝔊 Sam read 'which sanctify them.'

[10a] The references to the unction and vestments are sometimes supposed to be derived from Ex 29, and to have been added by R^p cp [23]. But the 'great priest' in the Solomonic temple no doubt had his special robe, and may quite possibly have been anointed, the ceremonies enjoined in Ex 29 being only a late literary reproduction of an earlier use.

[10b] **M** 𝔗 *whose hand is filled.*—[P]69[a].

[12] **M** Or, *consecration.* [14] **M** Or, *polluted.*

[17] It must be doubtful whether P^h regarded the priests as the posterity of Aaron cp *Introd* XIII 8α i 144: and the formulae here and in 21 22[4] (ct [3]) may be derived from R^p. If the passage stood thus originally it can hardly be older than Ezekiel. Driv-Wh (like Horst, *Lev* xvii–xxvi [1881] 22) suggest that the primary phrase was 'seed of the priests.'

JE | P[h] | P[g] | P[s]

he be that hath a blemish, he shall not approach: a blind man, or a lame, or he that [l]hath a [M]flat nose, or [m]any thing superfluous, [19] or a man that is brokenfooted, or brokenhanded, [20] or [l]crookbackt, or a dwarf, or that hath a [l]blemish in his eye, or is [n]scurvy, or [o]scabbed, or [l]hath his stones broken; [21] no man [p]*of the seed of* [v]*Aaron the priest,* that hath a blemish, shall come nigh to offer *the offerings of Yahweh made by fire: he hath a blemish; he shall not come nigh to offer* the [j]bread of his God. [22] He shall eat the [j]bread of his God, [N]*both of the* [w]*most holy, and of the holy.* [23] Only he shall not [N]*go in unto the* [x]*veil, nor* come nigh unto the altar, because he hath a blemish; that he [q]profane not my sanctuaries: for [1]I am Yahweh which sanctify them. [24] [T]*And Moses spake unto* [y]*Aaron, and to his sons, and unto all the children of Israel.*

22[1] *And Yahweh* [a]*spake unto Moses, saying,* [2] *Speak unto* [b]*Aaron and to his sons,* [L]that they [a]separate themselves from the [b]holy things of the children of Israel[b], [N]*which they* [c]*hallow unto me,* and that they [d]profane not my holy name: [e]I am Yahweh. [3] [L]*Say unto them,* [c]Whosoever he be of all your seed *throughout your* [f]*generations,* that approacheth unto the [g]holy things, which the children of Israel [c]hallow unto Yahweh, having his [h]uncleanness upon him, that [i]soul shall be cut off from before me: [e]I am Yahweh.

[4] [NLJ]What man soever of the [d]seed of Aaron is a leper, or hath an issue; he shall not eat [e]of the holy things, until he be [k]clean. And whoso toucheth [M]any thing that is unclean by the [l]dead, or a man whose [f]seed goeth from him; [5] or whosoever toucheth any [m]creeping thing, whereby he may be made unclean, or a man of whom he may take uncleanness, [g]whatsoever uncleanness he hath; [6] the [n]soul which toucheth any such shall be unclean until the even, and shall not eat of the holy things, unless he [o]bathe his flesh in water. [7] And when the sun is down, he shall be clean; and afterward he shall eat of the holy things, because it is his bread.

[8] [L]That which [h]dieth of itself, or is torn of beasts, he shall not eat to [i]defile himself therewith: [e]I am Yahweh. [9] They shall therefore [p]keep my charge, lest they [q]bear sin for it, and die therein, if they [r]profane it. [s]I am Yahweh which sanctify them. [10] There shall no [t]stranger eat of the holy thing: a [u]sojourner of the priest's, or [L]an hired servant, shall not eat of the holy thing. [11] [L]But if a priest buy any [n]soul, the [v]purchase of his money, he shall eat [e]of it; and such as are [j]born in his house, they shall eat [e]of his bread. [12] And if a priest's daughter be married unto a [t]stranger, she shall not eat [e]of the [w]heave offering of the holy things. [13] But if a priest's daughter be a widow, or [k]divorced, and have no child, and is returned unto her father's house, as in her youth, she shall eat of her father's bread: but there shall no [t]stranger eat [e]thereof. [14] [N]And [x]if a man eat of the holy thing [l]unwittingly, then he shall put the [m]fifth part thereof unto it, and shall give unto the priest the holy thing. [15] And they shall not profane the [b]holy things of the children of Israel[b], which they offer unto Yahweh; [16] and [so] cause them to [q]bear the iniquity that [n]bringeth [y]guilt, when they eat their holy things: for [s]I am Yahweh which sanctify them.

[17] [N]*And Yahweh* [a]*spake unto Moses, saying,* [18] *Speak unto* [b]*Aaron, and to his sons, and unto*

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l ℌ†
m 22[23]†
n 22[22] Deut 28[27]†
o 22[22]†
p Cp 17 22[4] Num 16[40]
2 L11f*d*
a Cp 15[31] Hos 9[10] Ezek 14[7]
b 15 Num 5[9] 18[32]†
3–7 L11f*f* 6k*b*
c Cp 21[17]
4 L6h*b*g*a*b*j*
d Cp 21[17]
e 11 13 Ex 12[43] ℌ
f 11 13 15[16]
g 5[3]
8–16 L11f*e*
8 L6c*d*
h 17[15] Ezek 44[31]
i Ezek 4[14]
10 L2e*d*
11 L2d*l*
j Gen 17[12]
k 21[14]
l 4[2]
m 5[16]
n Cp 4[3]
v 12[a]
w 88[d]
x 171
y 12[f]
a 185[a]
b 12[f]
c 86[d]
d 210[b]
e 203[a]
f 76[b]
g 88[a]
h 167[c]
i 50[a]
j 218
k 42[a]
l 198
m 157[b]
n 146[a]
o 174[a]
p 39[b]
q 193
r 210[d]
s 203[d]
t 153[a]
u 144
v 78
w 118[g]
x 190[c]
y 81[b]

21[18] **M** Or, *slit.*

22 This distinction is not recognized in 22, and is therefore regarded by many critics as an insertion.

23 These words seem to involve the structure of Ex 25–27, cp 26[31]., and are therefore regarded here as an editorial addition, cp Lev 17[4N]. The terms 'Dwelling' and 'tent of meeting' are not employed in 21–22, where the place of cultus is called the 'sanctuary' 21[12], and can even be designated in the plural 21[23] (with reference to the altar and other sacred objects or places, Dillm, Driv-Wh), though (𝔊 reads 'sanctuary of his God' as in 12.

24 So ℌ. **T** *so.* The passage is peculiar, for this formula is usually elsewhere introductory. In 23[44] the word 'spake' (so ℌ) is followed by an object, the set feasts.'

22[2] This clause stands in ℌ after 'my holy name,' and the awkward order points to an interpolation. As the law does not really begin till 3, and the words 'say unto them' look back to 1–2a, there is some reason for regarding the whole of 2 as part of the introductory formulae: but it does not seem after the manner of the editor who combined P[h] with P[g] thus to reproduce the phrases of the shorter code.

4a With 4–7 cp 11–15 both for style and contents. Opinion is divided as to whether the passage is continuous with 3, or is to be regarded as early P[s] on a basis of P[h].

4b **M** Or, *any one.*

14 Kuenen finds in this verse, as in 1–7 and 17–25, indications of imitation or revision after P[g].

17 This title, like that in 17[1.], may perhaps point to an amalgamation of laws in the following section designed on the one hand for the priesthood e g 25, and on the other for the laity. The materials of the section 17–25 have sometimes been assigned to a later stage of P than P[h], and some of the characteristic phrases of P[h] do not occur. But various reasons both of style and substance plead on the whole against this view. The passage seems itself composite, 18b–20 has a complete

JE	P^h	P^g	P^s
18-25 L 2a pq 6l d 8g c	*all the children of Israel, and say unto them,* [LO]Whosoever he be of the house of Israel, or of the strangers in Israel, that offereth his [z]oblation, whether		z 118b
18-20 L 7b i o 17³	it be any of their vows, or any of their freewill offerings, which they offer unto Yahweh for a burnt offering; 19 that ye may be [a']accepted, [ye shall offer] a male [b']without blemish, [c']of the beeves, of the sheep, or of the goats. 20 But whatsoever hath a [d']blemish, that shall ye not offer: for it shall not be [a']acceptable for you.		a' 17b b' 123 c' 35 d' 194
21-25 L 7b f	21 [L]And [x]whosoever offereth a sacrifice of peace offerings unto Yahweh to [M]accomplish a vow, or for a freewill offering, [e']of the herd or of the flock, it shall be [b']perfect to be [a']accepted; there shall be no [d']blemish therein.		
p 21 18-20	22 [P]Blind, or broken, or maimed, or having [M]a wen, or scurvy, or scabbed,		
q 21⁶	ye shall not offer these unto Yahweh, *nor make an [q]offering by fire of them upon the altar unto Yahweh.* 23 Either a bullock or a lamb that hath anything		
r 21 18† s ℌ†	[r]superfluous or [s]lacking in his parts, that mayest thou offer for a free-will offering; but for a vow it shall not be [a']accepted. 24 That which hath		
t ℌ*	its stones [t]bruised, or crushed, or [t]broken, or cut, ye shall not offer unto Yahweh; neither shall ye [M]do [thus] in your land. 25 Neither from the hand of a [e']foreigner shall ye offer the [f]bread of your God of any of these; because		e' 154 f' 196
	their [s]corruption is in them, there is a [d']blemish in them: they shall not be [a']accepted for you.		
26-28 L 6l e u ℌ cp 177 v Ex 22³⁰ w Num 15²³ 32¹⁹	26 [L]And Yahweh [a]spake unto Moses, saying, 27 [w]When a bullock, or a sheep, or a goat, is brought forth, then it shall be [v]seven days under the dam; and from the eighth day and [w]thenceforth it shall be [a']accepted *for the oblation of an offering made by fire unto Yahweh.* 28 And whether it be cow or ewe, ye		
29 L 7c p i t a x 19⁵ ct 7¹⁵ y 7¹⁵ ct 19⁶	shall not [g']kill it and her young both in one day. 29 [NL]And when ye [x]sacrifice a sacrifice of thanksgiving unto Yahweh, ye shall sacrifice it that ye may be [a']accepted. 30 On the [y]same day it shall be eaten; ye shall leave none of it until the morning: [e]I am Yahweh. 31 [L]Therefore shall ye [h']keep		g' 100 h' 199
31-33 L 11 l 32 L 5c f z 19³⁶	my commandments, and do them: [e]I am Yahweh. 32 [L]And ye shall not [d]profane my holy name; but I will be [i']hallowed among the children of Israel: [s]I am Yahweh which hallow you, 33 that [z]brought you out of the land of Egypt, to [j']be your God: [e]I am Yahweh.		i' 86b j' 26
1-44 L 9a e 7e	23¹ [NL]And Yahweh [a]spake unto Moses, saying, 2a Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them,		a 185a

parallel in 21, marked, however, by curious differences of phraseology. Thus each is concerned to secure victims for sacrifice free from any defect. But instead of a general principle covering all cases, the precept is distributed over two groups, (1) burnt offering, (2) peace offerings, yet each of these comprises the same subdivisions, viz vows and freewill offerings. The terminology of the two regulations shows marked differences within the parallelism; cp the opening formulae 18b ... איש איש and אשר יקריב 21 איש כי יקריב; 19 'that ye may be accepted' 20 'acceptable for you' and 21 'to be accepted'; 20 'herd, sheep, and goats' and 21 'herd or flock'; 20 'whatsoever hath a blemish ye shall not offer' and 21 'there shall be no blemish therein.' It may be further noted that the changes in number and person in 18b–20 are unusually frequent, being due, apparently, to successive redactions. The affinities of 18b–20 are with 17; those of 21–24 with 21¹⁷⁻²⁰. Neither passage seems adequate to the later ritual standard. (1) makes no reference to other classes of burnt offering such as the sin and guilt offerings, or the daily and seasonal sacrifices; while (2) ignores the thanksgiving cp 29 which in 7¹¹.. constitutes a third division of the peace offerings.

22²¹ **M** Or, *make a special vow.*—P^{I72}.

22 **M** Or, *sores.* 24 **M** Or, *sacrifice* them.—P^{117}.

29 The law in 29. has sometimes been refused to P^h as being a supplement to 19⁵. to make it accord with 7¹⁵⁻¹⁸. But the phraseology agrees with the rest of P^h and the verb 'to sacrifice' 25 19⁵ is not common elsewhere in the laws of P^g or P^s (only Lev 9⁴), while it is characteristic of JED and P^h 17⁵ ⁷. The proximity of 29. to 27 which is obviously related to E's demand Ex 22³⁰, led Wellh to compare the regulation for the consumption of the thanksgiving sacrifice with another rule in E Ex 23¹⁸. Baentsch, *Heil Ges* 102, suggests that the triple division in Num 15⁸ corresponds to that in Lev 7, so that the technical 'thanksgivings' are equated with the sacrifices at the set feasts, and thus Wellh's identification is justified. In this view 29. is founded on an early ritual, and the classification of 7¹¹⁻¹⁸ represents the amalgamation of ordinances represented at a prior stage by 22¹⁸b⁻²⁴ 29. 19⁵⁻⁸.

23¹ The compiler of the *Hex* here takes up again the main document P^g, with a calendar of sacred seasons. This calendar, strictly speaking, begins at 4; the form of 2b is awkwardly framed in view of the subsequent announcement; in 38 the sabbaths are not included among the 'set feasts'; and it is probable that 2b–3 is a redactional addition, by which the sabbath with its 'holy convocation' was incorporated among the series of the yearly festivals cp 38. But this series is set forth in terms that are obviously not homogeneous. The paragraphs introducing the successive regulations begin with a common formula 1 9 23 26 33, to which an addition is made in four out of the five cases (ct 26) instructing Moses to convey the divine command to the people. But the contents of the calendar are not set forth with the same uniformity. It has been largely interpolated from P^h, the passages inserted having in their turn undergone more or less modification and addition to suit their new setting. The Passover and Feast of Unleavened Bread 5–8, and the Feast of Trumpets or New Year's Day 23–25, belong wholly to P^g, to which are further referred 21 closing the ordinances for Pentecost, and 33–38 regulating the Feast of Booths. These are assigned to fixed days; 'holy convocations' are appointed, and 'servile work' prohibited, while an 'offering made by fire' is usually prescribed. Similar characteristics are found in 26–32 (with the formula 'do no manner of work' 28 cp 3); but cp 27N. The extracts from P^h are identified by various marks: (1) they do not fit the title in 4 (cp 2b) nor the

JE | P^h | P^g | P^s

[2b] The [M]set feasts of Yahweh, which ye shall proclaim to be [b]holy convocations, even these are my set feasts. [3] [L]Six days shall [c]work be done: but on the seventh day is a sabbath of [d]solemn rest, an [b]holy convocation; ye shall do no manner of [c]work: it is a sabbath unto Yahweh in all your [e]dwellings.

[4] [L]These are the set feasts of Yahweh, even [b]holy convocations, which ye shall proclaim in their appointed season. [5] [L]In the [g]first month, on the fourteenth day of the month [M]at [h]even, is Yahweh's passover. [6] [L]And on the [g]fifteenth day of the same month is the feast of unleavened bread unto Yahweh: seven days ye shall eat unleavened bread. [7] In the first day ye shall have an [b]holy convocation: ye shall [i]do no [M]servile work. [8] But ye shall offer an offering made by fire unto Yahweh seven days: in the seventh day is an [b]holy convocation; ye shall do no [i]servile work.

[9] [NL]And Yahweh [a]spake unto Moses, saying, [10a] [L]Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them,

[10b] [j]When ye be [a]come into the land [b]which [k]I give unto you, and shall [c]reap the harvest thereof, then ye shall bring the sheaf of the [f]firstfruits of your harvest unto [l]the priest: [11] and he shall [m]wave the sheaf before Yahweh, to be [n]accepted for you: on the [e]morrow after the sabbath the priest shall wave it. [12] [NL]And in the day when ye wave the sheaf, ye shall [f]offer a he-lamb [o]*without blemish* [p]of the first year for a burnt offering unto Yahweh. [13] *And the* [g]*meal offering thereof shall be two* [q]*tenth parts* [*of an ephah*] *of fine flour mingled with oil, an offering made by fire unto Yahweh for a sweet savour: and the drink offering thereof shall be of wine, the* [h]*fourth part of an hin.* [14] And ye shall eat neither bread, nor [t]parched corn, nor [j]fresh ears, *until this* [r]*selfsame day*, until ye have brought the oblation of your God: *it is a* [s]*statute for ever* [t]*throughout your generations in all your* [e]*dwellings.*

[15] [L]And ye shall count unto you from the [e]morrow after the sabbath, from the day that ye brought the sheaf of the wave offering; [N]seven sabbaths shall there be [o]complete: [16] even unto the morrow after the seventh sabbath shall ye number fifty days; and ye shall offer a new meal offering unto Yahweh. [17] [L]Ye shall bring out of your [e]habitations two wave loaves of two [q]tenth parts [of an ephah]: they shall be of [k]fine flour, they shall be baken with leaven, for [l]firstfruits unto Yahweh. [18] And ye shall present with the bread [N]*seven lambs* [o]*without blemish* [p]*of the first year, and one young bullock, and two rams: they shall be a burnt offering unto Yahweh, with their meal offering, and their drink offerings, even an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto Yahweh.* [19] *And ye shall offer one he-goat for a sin offering, and* two he-lambs of the first year for a sacrifice of peace offerings. [20] And the [l]priest shall wave them with the bread of the firstfruits for a wave offering before Yahweh, [N]*with the two lambs:* they shall be holy to Yahweh for the priest.

[21] [L]And ye shall make proclamation on the [r]selfsame day; there shall be an [b]holy convocation unto you: ye shall [i]do no servile work: it is a [s]statute for ever in all your [e]dwellings [t]throughout your generations.

[22] [NL]*And* [m]*when ye reap the harvest of your land, thou shalt not wholly reap the corners of thy*

3 Lgb*l*
5 Lgd*f*
6-8 Lge*g*
9-43 Lga*d*
10-14 Lge*f* 8c*g*
10b Lfe*d*
a 19[23] cp Deut 26[1]
b 14[34]
c 19[9]
d 2[12] Ex 23[19] 34[26]
e 15. cp Num 33[3] Josh 5[11]*
12 Lfwc
f ℌ=*do* cp 22[24] Ex 29[38]
g 2[1 4]
h Num 15[5]
i ℌ*
j 2[14]
15-20 Lgf*d* 8c*f*
17 Lfe*d*
k 2[1]
l 2[14]
21 Lgf*e*
22 Lzi*d*
m 19[9].

b 89[a]
c 177[a]
d 137[c]
e 55[a]
f 188[a]
g 183
h 32
i 140[c]
j 191
k 94[a]
l 209
m 175
n 17[b]
o 123
p 119[b]
q 160[a]
r 138
s 62[c]
t 76[b]

colophon [37]., which only refer to 'holy convocations': (2) they do not (in their original form) fix precise dates: (3) they contain phrases characteristic of P^h, which they resemble in general style, P^g being only approached in clauses which may well have been expanded later. Cp Num 28 and *Table of Laws.*

23[2] **M** Or, *appointed seasons.*—$P^{III c}$.

5 **M** ℌ *between the two evenings.*

7 **M** ℌ *work of labour.*—Cp [8] 21 25 35. P_{14c}.

9 The compiler here introduces an account of an agricultural ceremony to which there is no exact parallel elsewhere. The firstfruits in Deut 26[2]. are not connected with any special day: in Deut 16[7] the seven weeks at the close of which the second festival is to be kept, are reckoned vaguely from the first day of cutting the corn: in the text the firstfruits are to be presented on the curious 'morrow after the sabbath,' which is also taken as the starting-point for the calculation of Pentecost.

12 The ritual language of 13. corresponds so closely to that of the later **P** as to suggest that these verses have been expanded by the compiler. In 12 he seems only to have added 'without blemish,' cp 19.

15 This clause, with **P**'s favourite word חמשים, seems to interrupt the reckoning which is only completed in 16. Possibly the original text was simpler, and has been enriched with extra detail to give greater apparent precision.

18 In 18. some later scribe seems to have supplemented the inadequate requirements of P^h with an incorrect quotation from Num 28[27–29], the numbers of bullocks and rams being interchanged. P^h does not elsewhere prescribe definite animal sacrifices: nor even does P^g enumerate them in this calendar, for in [8 25 27 36] nothing more specific is named than 'a fire offering.' The interpolation therefore must be later than the union of the two documents. But why did the annotator content himself with this single addition? When the animals of the sacrificial list are withdrawn, two he-lambs are left as probably original.

20 Added after the expansion of 18. rendered the application of 'wave them' uncertain.

22 An insertion from 19[9]., suggested perhaps by the phraseology of 10, but obviously out of place.

JE | P^h | P^g | P^s

field, neither shalt thou gather the gleaning of thy harvest: thou shalt leave them for the poor, and for the stranger: I am Yahweh your God.

23-25 *L* **9***g a*

23 [L]And Yahweh [a]spake unto Moses, saying, 24 Speak unto the children of Israel, saying, In the [g]seventh month, in the first day of the month, shall be a [d]solemn rest unto you, a [u]memorial of [n]blowing of trumpets, an [b]holy convocation. 25 Ye shall do no [i]servile work: and ye shall offer an offering made by fire unto Yahweh. u 11³

n 25⁹ ℌ Num 10⁵· 29¹

26-32 *L* **9***h c*

o 16²⁹

p 16³⁰

q 16³¹

26 [L]And Yahweh [a]spake unto Moses, saying, 27 [N]Howbeit on the [c]tenth day of this [g]seventh month is the day of [p]atonement: it shall be an [b]holy convocation unto you, and ye [q]shall [v]afflict your souls; and ye shall offer an offering made by fire unto Yahweh. 28 And ye shall do no manner of [c]work in that [r]same day: for it is a day of atonement, to [w]make atonement for you before Yahweh your God. 29 For whatsoever soul it be that shall not be [v]afflicted in that [r]same day, he shall be [x]cut off from his people. 30 And whatsoever soul it be that doeth any manner of [c]work in that [r]same day, that soul will I destroy from among his people. 31 Ye shall do no manner of [c]work: it is a [s]statute for ever [t]throughout your generations in all your [e]dwellings. 32 It shall be unto you a sabbath of [d]solemn rest, and ye shall afflict your souls: in the [g]ninth day of the month at even, from even unto even, shall ye [r]keep your sabbath. v 20 w 25ª x 50ª

r 25² 26³⁴ ℌ

33-36 *L* **9***i f*

33 [L]And Yahweh [a]spake unto Moses, saying, 34 Speak unto the children of Israel, saying, On the [g]fifteenth day of this seventh month is the feast of [T]booths for seven days unto Yahweh. 35 On the first day shall be an [b]holy convocation: ye shall do no [i]servile work. 36 Seven days ye shall offer an offering made by fire unto Yahweh: on the eighth day shall be an [b]holy convocation unto you; and ye shall offer an offering made by fire unto Yahweh: it is a [M]solemn assembly; ye shall do no [i]servile work.

37 [f]These are the set feasts of Yahweh, which ye shall proclaim to be [b]holy convocations, to offer an offering made by fire unto Yahweh, a burnt offering, and a meal offering, a sacrifice, and drink offerings, each on its own day: 38 [y]beside the sabbaths of Yahweh, and beside your gifts, and beside all your vows, and beside all your freewill offerings, which ye give unto Yahweh. y 31

39-43 *L* **9***i e*

s Cp 34

t Ex 23¹⁶ Deut 16¹³

u Ex 23¹⁴ Deut 16¹⁵ Ex 12¹⁴

v Ezek 6¹³ 20²⁸ Neh 8¹⁵†

w Deut 16¹⁴

39 [NL]*Howbeit on the [g]fifteenth day of the seventh month,* when ye have [t]gathered in the fruits of the land, ye shall [u]keep the feast of Yahweh seven days: [N]*on the first day shall be a solemn rest, and on the eighth day shall be a solemn rest.* 40 And ye shall take you on the first day the fruit of goodly trees, branches of palm trees, and boughs of [v]thick trees, and willows of the brook; and ye shall [w]rejoice before Yahweh your God seven days. 41 And ye shall keep it a feast unto Yahweh seven days in the year: *it is a [s]statute for ever [t]in your generations: ye shall keep it in the [g]seventh month.* 42 Ye shall [x]dwell in booths seven days; all that are [z]homeborn in Israel shall dwell in booths: 43 *that your generations may know that I made the children of Israel to dwell in [N]booths, when I brought them out of the land of Egypt:* [a']I am Yahweh your God.

x Neh 8¹⁴ ¹⁷

z 34

a' 20³ᵇ

1-4 *L* **10***e a*

a 6⁹ Num 5² 28² 34² 35² ct Deut 2⁴*

44 And Moses declared unto the children of Israel the set feasts of Yahweh.

24¹ [ML]And Yahweh [a]spake unto Moses, saying, 2 [a]Command the children a 18⁵ª

23²⁷ In accordance with the view adopted in 16 in which the day of atonement as a recurrent sacred season is regarded as a later development, this section is ascribed to P^s: and it may be noticed that the formula in ²⁶ is briefer than those in ²³ ²⁴ª and ³³ ³⁴ª, while the opening]ᴺ 'howbeit' resembles that in ³⁹ cp Ex 12¹⁵ ('even') 31¹³ Num 1⁴⁹ (cp Driv-Wh).

³⁴ So **M** ℌ. **T** *tabernacles.* Cp Deut 16¹³.

³⁶ **M** Or, *closing festival.*—Num 29³⁵ Deut 16⁸*. Driv-Wh regard the use of the word in 2 Kings 10²⁰ Am 5²¹ Jer 9² as decisive against this meaning.

³⁹ª The date in ³⁹ª seems added by the harmonist in introducing the regulations for Booths from P^h, which are founded on a shifting date according to the progress of the vintage and ingathering. Cp **E** and **D**, *Table of Laws* vol i.

³⁹ᵇ This clause seems designed to provide the seven days' feast of P^h cp ⁴⁰ᵇ ⁴¹. (Deut 16¹³⁻¹⁵) with the holy convocation on the eighth day according to P^g ³⁶. Cp *Introd* i 131.

⁴³ The historical reminiscence agrees ill with the purely agricultural nature of the festival just ordained, and there is no trace of this clause in Neh 8. It may possibly be suggested by the identical name Succoth Ex 12³⁷ 13²⁰ Num 33⁵.

24¹ **M** See Ex 27²⁰.—Cp also Num 8¹⁻⁴. The passage in Ex appeared to be out of place, and this may be the more original (notice 'Aaron' alone ³ for 'Aaron and his sons' Ex 27²¹). But the context here is not very suitable, and the repetition in ⁴ after the close in ³ has rather the air of a later addition to make the directions quite plain.

JE | P[h] | P[g] | P[s]

of Israel, that they bring unto thee pure olive oil beaten for the light, [M]to cause a lamp to burn [b]continually. [3] Without the veil of the testimony, in the tent of meeting, shall Aaron order it from evening to morning before Yahweh [b]continually: it shall be a statute for ever throughout your generations. [4] He shall order the lamps upon the [c]pure [b]candlestick before Yahweh [b]continually.

[5] [NL]And thou shalt take fine flour, and bake twelve [c]cakes thereof: two [d]tenth parts [of an ephah] shall be in one cake. [6] And thou shalt set them in [M]two [d]rows, six on a row, upon the pure [e]table before Yahweh. [7] [L]And thou shalt put [f]pure [c]frankincense upon each [N]row, that it may be to the bread for a [f]memorial, even an offering made by fire unto Yahweh. [8] [L]Every sabbath day he shall set it in order before Yahweh [b]continually; it is [N]on the behalf of the children of Israel, an [g]everlasting covenant. [9] [L]And it shall be for Aaron and his [h]sons; and they shall [N]eat it in a [i]holy place: for it is [j]most holy unto him of the offerings of Yahweh made by fire by a [j]perpetual statute.

[10] [NL]And the son of an Israelitish woman, whose father was an Egyptian, went out among the children of Israel: and the son of the Israelitish woman and a man of Israel strove together in the camp; [11] and the son of the Israelitish woman blasphemed [N]*the* [h]*Name*, and [k]cursed: and they brought him unto Moses. And his mother's name was Shelomith, the daughter of Dibri, of the [k]tribe of Dan. [12] And they put him in ward, that it might be [l]declared unto them at the [l]mouth of Yahweh.

[13] And Yahweh [a]spake unto Moses, saying, [14] Bring forth him that hath cursed [m]without the camp; and let all that heard him [n]lay their hands upon his head, and let all the [o]congregation [p]stone him. [15a] And thou shalt [a]speak unto the children of Israel, saying,

[15b NLq]Whosoever [k]curseth his God shall [r]bear his sin. [16] And he that [l]blasphemeth the name[l] of Yahweh, he shall surely be put to death; *all the* [o]*congregation shall certainly* [p]*stone him*: [L m]as well the stranger, as the [s]homeborn, when he blasphemeth the name [of Yahweh], shall be put to death. [17] [L]And [t]he that [n]smiteth any [c]man mortally shall surely be put to death, [18] [L]and he that [n]smiteth a beast mortally shall make it good: life for life. [19] [L]And [t]if a man cause a [u]blemish in his [v]neighbour; as he hath done, so shall it be [p]done to him; [20] [q]breach for breach, [r]eye for eye, tooth for tooth: as he hath caused a [u]blemish in a man, so shall it be rendered unto him. [21] [L]And he that [s]killeth a beast shall make it good: [L]and he that [t]killeth a man shall be put to death. [22] [NL]*Ye shall have* [u]*one manner of law, as well for the stranger, as for the* [s]*homeborn: for* [w]I am Yahweh your God.

[23] And Moses spake to the children of Israel, and they brought forth him

b 124 | c 42[b] | d 160[a] | e 72 | f 112 | g 62[a] | h 12[f] | i 90[a] | j 62[c] | k 165 | l 19[c] | m 120[a] | n 102 | o 45 | p 152 | q 218 | r 193 | s 34 | t 190[c] | u 194 | v 206 | w 203[b]

b Ex 25[31]
5-9 L7hb
c Ex 29[2]
d 7 Neh 10[33] ℌ Chron (6)
e Ex 25[23 30]
7 L7ic
f Cp 2 Ex 27[20] 30[34*]
8 L9bm
9 Lnjf
g 6[16]
10-23 L5cj
h Ct 16
i Cp 15b
j Num 15[34] cp Neh 8[8]
15b-16 L5cg
k ℌ = *revile* Ex 22[28]
l Cp 11 ℌ†
16b L2as
m Cp 22N
17 L2hj
n 18 cp 21 Ex 21[12]
o Cp Num 19[11] 31[35 40 45] ℌ
18 L3dd
19. L4ec 2ie
p Cp Ex 21[31]
q 21[19] ℌ
r Ex 21[24]
21a L3de
s Cp 18 ℌ = *smiteth*
21b L2hj
t Cp 17 ℌ = *smiteth*
22 L4hd
u Ex 12[49]

24[2] **M** Or, *to set up a lamp continually.*

[5] Another disconnected fragment, concerning the 'shew-bread.' The lack of clear sequence has led many critics to give this and the preceding section to P[s]; but the phraseology is that of P[g]. Conjecture is at fault concerning the reasons for incorporating these regulations here, immediately after the calendar of the feasts. If it be surmised that they are appended to the greater festivals as part of the daily service, then it is natural to inquire why the morning and evening offerings should be omitted cp Ex 29[38-]. The analogy of the compound structure of 23 points in the direction of the hypothesis that P[h] contained some similar ordinances, here replaced by the fuller form in P[g].

[6] **M** Or, *two piles, six in a pile.*

[7] **M** Or, *pile.*—For the incense-rite cp 2[1 15].

[8] **M** Or, *from.*

[9] This direction, recalling similar ordinances apparently older than P[g], confirms the suggestion [5N] that earlier material has here been recast. The known antiquity of the offering of shewbread, e g 1 Sam 21[4 6], renders this still more probable. The frankincense is probably an added element.

[10] The narrative here introduced illustrates the law against blasphemy. But the group of laws in [15b-22] contains several other enactments [17-21] on injuries to man and beast which are wholly unrelated to the particular offence previously described. The passage is evidently composite; and [15b-22] is in the style of P[h]. The story is probably a *midrash* framed to bring out what seemed the salient point. Ct [11a] and [16b] ℌ.

[11] Geiger, *Urschr* 274, Dillm-Ryss, Driv-Wh, think 'the Name' a very late substitute for 'Yahweh.'

[15] The series of laws in [15b-22] seems chiefly due to P[h] (cp 'whosoever' 15, 'bear his sin' 15, 'blemish' 18, 'neighbour' 19, and the closing formula [22b]). But it is hardly itself homogeneous: [21] reproduces [17.] in simpler style, [17.] showing affinities with other passages in P. Moreover [16] has certainly received an addition in the clause [b] concerning the 'congregation,' a term which P[h] does not employ cp [22N]. The parallels of the original nucleus are, as elsewhere in P[h], with the 'Judgements' of E.

[22] The stranger and the native Israelite are repeatedly associated in P[h] for legislative purposes cp [P]34; but the emphatic assertions that they are subject to a common law seem to belong to a later stage of P cp Ex 12[49] Num 9[14] 15[15. 29]. As these are nowhere else accompanied by the formula 'I am Yahweh' &c, the editorial addition may be regarded as closing with 'for.'

JE | P[h] | P[g] | P[s]

that had cursed [m]out of the camp, and [p]stoned him with stones. And the children of Israel [x]did as Yahweh commanded Moses. x 189[b]

1-7 Lgje

25[1] [NL]And Yahweh [a]spake unto Moses in mount [b]Sinai, saying, [2a] Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, a 185[a] b 7

a 23[10]

[2b] [c]When ye come into the land [a]which [d]I give you, then shall the land c 191

b 23[32]

[b]keep a sabbath unto Yahweh. [3] Six years thou shalt sow thy field, and six years thou shalt [c]prune thy vineyard, and [d]gather in the fruits thereof; d 94

c ℌ Qal†

d [20] 23[39]

[4] but in the seventh year shall be a [e]sabbath of solemn rest for the land, a sabbath unto Yahweh: thou shalt neither sow thy field, nor prune thy vineyard. [5] That which [e]groweth of itself of thy harvest thou shalt not reap, and the grapes of thy [f]undressed vine thou shalt not [g]gather: it shall be a year of [e]solemn rest for the land. [6] [L]And the sabbath of the land shall be for [f]food for you; for [h]thee, and for thy servant and for thy [i]maid, f 110 and for thy hired servant and for thy [g]stranger that sojourn with thee; [7] and g 144 for thy cattle, and for the beasts that are in thy land, shall all the [j]increase thereof be for food.

e [11] ℌ*

f Cp Num 6[2] ℌ

g [11] Deut 24[21]

6 L2cc

h Cp Ex 20[10]

i Ct 19[20] cp JE99

j [12] 19[25]

8-18 Lgkac

[8] [NL]And thou shalt [l]number seven sabbaths of years unto thee, seven times seven years; and there shall be unto thee the days of seven sabbaths of years, even forty and nine years. [9] Then shalt thou send abroad the [l]loud trumpet on the [m]tenth day of the [b]seventh month; in the day of h 183 [n]atonement shall ye send abroad the trumpet throughout all your land. [10] And ye shall [l]hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim [o]liberty throughout i 86[c] the land unto all the inhabitants thereof: it shall be a [j]jubile unto you; j 98 and ye shall return every man unto his [k]possession, and ye shall return k 127[b] every man unto his [l]family. [11] A [j]jubile shall that fiftieth year be unto l 65[a] you: ye shall not [p]sow, neither reap that which [e]groweth of itself in it, nor gather [the grapes] in it of the [f]undressed vines. [12] For it is a [j]jubile; it shall be [m]holy unto you: ye shall eat the [j]increase thereof out of the field. m 90[a] [13] In this year of jubile ye shall return every man unto his [k]possession.

k ℌ=*count*

l 23[24]

m 23[27]

n 16[30]

o Ezek 46[17] cp Jer 34[8..] Is 61[1] ct Ex 30[23]†

p Cp 4b

[14] [N]And if thou sell [q]aught unto thy [n]neighbour, or buy of thy [n]neighbour's n 206 hand, ye shall not [r]wrong [o]one another. o 184

q ℌ 25 27-29 33 f 0 Ezek 7[13] Neh 13[20] ct Deut 18[8]†

r [17] 19[33]

[15] According to the number of years after the [j]jubile thou shalt buy of thy [n]neighbour, [and] according unto the number of years of the [j]crops he shall sell unto thee. [16] [P]According to the multitude of the years thou shalt p 19[b] increase the [q]price thereof, and [P]according to the [r]fewness of the years thou q 36 r 105

25[1] Three separate themes are embraced in 25 and their interweaving renders analysis difficult: (1) the sabbath year 2[b-7] 19-22; (2) the principle of redemption applied (*a*) to the land 25 and (*β*) to the persons of the Israelites 35-40[a] 47; (3) the application of the jubile alike to the sale and tenure of land, and the ownership of Israelite slaves. The regulations for the sabbath year are seen at once to belong to P[h], but the allotment of the remaining passages is by no means easy. Apart from the general probability that the series of laws has been again and again revised, the legislation respecting both land and slavery presents so many resemblances on the one hand to P[h] and on the other to P[g] or P[s] as to show that materials from both sources here lie side by side. The chief problem concerns the jubile. The analysis adopted regards the jubile in its present form as a sign of distinct and later authorship. The introduction of it 8-13 interrupts the account of the sabbatical year, and the institution is nowhere mentioned in writings earlier than P[g]. But at the same time the context in which it first appears presents many affinities with P[h] cp 8N, so as to render it possible that the idea of a period of seven sabbaths of years was an early development out of the original sabbath year, which was then adapted and expanded by the later religious jurists into the jubile system. The whole complex of laws would then have passed through three main stages: (1) the sabbath year of P[h]; (2) the seven sabbaths of years of P[h'] ; (3) the jubile of P[s] with its applications to the previous regulations of P[hh'] concerning sale and purchase of land and slaves; the product, represented by P[hh']s, has received some additions 32-35 of a still later kind.

8 The number of doublets in 8-13 suggests that the passage is not altogether homogeneous, and this is confirmed by other indications, for while some phrases clearly presuppose P[g], others are plainly modelled on the basis of P[h]. Thus 8b more formally repeats 8a; 9b doubles 9a; 13 recalls 10b. But 8a starts from 23[15]; 11b and 12b are not unrelated to 4b 5 7; and a presumption is thus established that P[h] once contained a secondary or imitative institution carrying the sabbath year a step further. It may be conjectured that this was the hallowing of the fiftieth year, with a proclamation of liberty 10a. This term was applied by Jeremiah to the manumission of slaves 34[8..], and by Ezekiel to the reversion of land to its original owner 46[17]; in the text it includes both. If the further conjecture be adopted that the tenth of the seventh month was the old new year's day, the distinction between 9a and 9b is somewhat heightened. The original law would then be discovered in 8a 9a 10 (except 'it shall be a jubile unto you') 11b 12b, the rest being jubile additions, together with the identification of the date with the day of atonement in P[g]. Cp the section in Bäntsch's *Heil-Ges*, the notes of Addis and Driv-Wh (the latter treating the jubile for the land as original in P[h] but ascribing to a later hand the extension to persons), together with the archaeological treatises of Benzinger and Nowack, and Harford-Battersby in Hastings' *DB* art 'Sabbatical and Jubile years.'

14 The marks of complex authorship in this verse are clear, but the base seems to be P[h]. The opening words 'if *ye* sell ℌ . . . to *thy* neighbour' show a neglected incongruity arising from careless editorial handling; the words 'neighbour' and 'wrong' point to P[h], but 'one another' to P[g] or P[s] ct 17. Perhaps the final clause serves to introduce 15., in which the style of later P is apparent cp 50. The whole passage 8-18 interrupts the connexion of 2[b-7] and 19-22.

JE | P[h] | P[g] | P[s]

shalt [r]diminish the price of it; for the number of the [j]crops doth he sell unto thee.

17 And ye shall not [r]wrong one [n]another; but thou shalt [s]fear thy God: for [t]I am Yahweh your God. 18 Wherefore ye shall [u]do my statutes, and keep my judgements and do them; and ye shall dwell [N]in the land [s]in safety. 19 [L]And the land shall yield her fruit, and ye shall [t]eat your fill, and dwell therein [s]in safety. 20 And if ye shall say, What shall we eat the seventh year? [u]behold, we shall not sow, nor [d']gather in our [j]increase: 21 then I will command my blessing upon you in the sixth year, and it shall [v]bring forth fruit for the three years. 22 And ye shall sow the eighth year, and eat of the fruits, the [w]old store; until the ninth year, until her [j]fruits come in, ye shall eat the old store.

23 [NL]And the land shall not be sold in [x]perpetuity; for the land is [y]mine: for ye are strangers and [g]sojourners with me.

24 [NL]And in all the land of your [k]possession ye shall grant a [z]redemption for the land.

25 If thy [a']brother be [v]waxen poor, and sell some of his [k]possession, then shall his [w]kinsman that is [b']next unto him come, and shall [x]redeem [q]that which his brother hath sold.

26 [N]And [y]if a man have no one to [x]redeem it, and he be [z]waxen rich and find [a']sufficient to redeem it; 27 then let him [c']count the years of the sale thereof, and restore the [b']overplus unto the man to whom he sold it; and he shall [d']return unto his possession. 28 But if he [e']be not [a']able to get it back for himself, then [q]that which he hath sold shall remain in the hand of him that hath bought it until the year of [j]jubile: and in the jubile it shall [f']go out, and he shall [d']return unto his possession.

29 [NL]And [y]if a man sell a dwelling house in a walled city, then he may [z]redeem it within a whole year after it is [q]sold; for a full year shall he have the right of [z]redemption. 30 And if it be not [x]redeemed within the space of a [c']full year, then the house that is in the walled city shall be [g']made sure in [x]perpetuity to him that bought it, [d']throughout his generations: it shall not [f']go out in the jubile. 31 But the houses of the villages which have no wall round about them shall be reckoned with the fields of the country: they may be [z]redeemed, and they shall [f']go out in the jubile.

32 [NL]*Nevertheless the [h']cities of the Levites, the houses of the cities of their [k]possession, may the Levites [z]redeem [e']at any time.* 33 *And if [y]one of the Levites [M]redeem, then the house that was sold, and the city of his [k]possession, shall [f']go out in the jubile: for the houses of the cities of the Levites are their possession among the children of Israel.* 34 *But the field of the [M]suburbs of their cities may not be sold; for it is their [f']perpetual possession.*

35 [L]And if thy [a']brother be [v]waxen poor, and his hand [i']fail with thee; then thou shalt [M]uphold him; [N][as] *a stranger and a [g]sojourner* shall he live with thee. 36 Take thou no [j']usury of him or [k']increase; but [s]fear thy God: that thy brother may live with thee. 37 Thou shalt not give him thy money upon [j']usury, nor give him thy victuals for [l']increase. 38 [t]I am Yahweh

s 26[5] Deut 33[12] Ezek 28[26] &c (9)
19–22 *L* 9**j***f*
t 26[5] Ex 16[3]
u Cp Ex 4[1] ℌ
v Cp ℌ 26[34] Gen 33[11]
w 26[10]*
23 *L* 3**h**
x [30] ℌ†
y Cp 42
24–28 *L* 9**k***b* 3**g**h
z 24–52 Jer 32[7]. Ezek 11[15] Ruth 4[6].†
a' 19[17] cp 35. 39 47 ct 26 ℌ
b' 21[2]. Ex 12[4] Num 27[11]
c' ℌ=*reckon* 50 52 27[18–23]* ct 8
d' Cp 10
e' 12[28] ℌ
f' 30. 41 cp Ex 21[2]
29–34 *L* 9**k***d*
g' Gen 23[17]
32–34 *L* 11**k***d*
h' Num 35[1–8]
35–38 *L* 3**k***e* 2**a***t*
i' Cp Deut 32[35]*
j' Ex 22[25] Deut 23[20]
k' Ezek 18[8] 13 17 22[12] Prov 28[8]†
l' ℌ* 1 Sam 2[33]

25[18] ℌ *upon* 26[35] Num 13[18] cp Jer 23[8] Ezek 28[25] 37[25].

23 This verse is assigned to the jubile legislation, partly phraseologically cp [30], partly by analogy with the case of the Israelite slave [41]. For 'stranger and sojourner' cp Gen 23[4] Num 35[15]. The theological idea involved in the declaration that the land is Yahweh's and could not therefore be permanently alienated, is somewhat different from that expressed in the gift of the land to Abraham and his descendants 'for an everlasting possession' Gen 17[8] 48[4] cp Lev 14[34] Deut 32[49]: it probably, therefore, belongs to an advanced stage of priestly law. 'Sojourner' is properly 'dweller' or 'settler' and has nothing to do with the 'sojourning' of Israel in Egypt 19[34] (='strangers' and so often). The 'stranger' (ℌ 'sojourner') here is Yahweh's 'guest,' as in Ps 15[1] 61[4] ℌ.

24 Ascribed to P[h], as stating the principle governing the case introduced in [25]; but it may be the legal generalization of P[s]. The plural number occurs more frequently in P[s] than P[h] cp [3–7 25 35–37 39 40a 43 47].

26 The appearance of the legal formula 'and if a man' here and in [29] contrasted with [25 35] points again to the later jubile law. But as in [8–13] the provision may have a basis in P[h'].

29 The distinction here introduced affecting city property has the air of a legal refinement resting on no earlier material

32 The latest addition of all: the Levites have not yet been mentioned, still less has anything been said about their endowment with separate cities cp Num 35[1–8].

33a **M** Or, *a man redeem from the Levites.*

33b **M** Or, after 𝔏, *redeem not.*

34 **M** Or, *pasture lands.*—156.

35a **M** Or, *relieve.*

35b The form of the phrase is peculiar 'a stranger and sojourner and he shall live . . .'; 𝔊 𝔏 render 'shall uphold him as a stranger and a sojourner,' and 𝔊 adds 'and thy brother shall live with thee' as in [36b]. Dillm suggested that the words 'stranger and sojourner' are a gloss, with which Driv-Wh concur.

JE | P[h] | P[g] | P[s]

your God, [m']which brought you forth out of the land of Egypt, to [n']give you the [g']land of Canaan, to [h']be your God.

39 [L]And if thy [a']brother be [v]waxen poor with thee, and [o']sell himself unto thee; thou shalt not make him to serve as a bondservant: 40a as an hired servant, and as a [g]sojourner, he shall be with thee.

40b [L]He shall serve with thee unto the year of jubile: 41 then shall he [f']go out from thee, [i']he and his children with him, and shall [d']return unto his own family, and unto the possessions of his fathers shall he return. 42 For they are my servants, which I [p']brought forth out of the land of Egypt: they shall not be sold [q']as bondmen.

43 Thou shalt not [r']rule over him with [s']rigour; but shalt [s]fear thy God.

44 And as for thy bondmen, and thy [t]bondmaids, which thou shalt have; of the nations that are [t']round about you, of them shall ye buy bondmen and bondmaids. 45 Moreover of the children of the [g]strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their [l]families that are with you, which they have [j']begotten in your land: and they shall [k']be your possession. 46 And ye shall [w']make them an inheritance for your children after you, to [v']hold for a [l]possession; of them shall ye take your bondmen for ever: but over your brethren the children of Israel ye shall not [r']rule, [o]one over another, with [s']rigour.

47 [L]And if a stranger or [g]sojourner with thee be [z]waxen rich, and thy [a']brother be [v]waxen poor beside him, and sell himself unto the stranger [or] [g]sojourner with thee, or to the [w']stock of the stranger's [l]family:

48 after that he is sold he may be [z]redeemed; one of his brethren may [x]redeem him: 49 or his uncle, or his uncle's son, may redeem him, or any that is nigh of [m']kin unto him of his family may redeem him; or if he be [z]waxen rich, he may redeem himself. 50 And he shall [c']reckon with him that bought him from the year that he sold himself to him unto the year of jubile: and the price of his [q]sale shall be [x']according unto the number of years; according to the time of an hired servant shall he be with him. 51 If there be yet many years, [p]according unto them he shall give back the [z]price of his redemption[z] out of the money [q]that he was bought for. 52 And if there remain but few years unto the year of jubile, then he shall [c']reckon with him; [n']according unto his years shall he give back the [z]price of his redemption.

53 as a servant hired year by year shall he be with him: he shall not [r']rule with [s']rigour over him in thy sight.

54 And if he be not redeemed [M]by these [means], then he shall [f']go out in the year of jubile, [i']he, and his children with him. 55a [y']For unto me the children of Israel are servants; they are my servants whom I brought forth out of the land of Egypt:

55b [t]I am Yahweh your God.

26[1] [L]Ye shall make you no [M]idols, neither shall ye [a]rear you up a [b]graven image, [L]or [M]a pillar, neither shall ye place any [c]figured stone in your land, to bow down [M]unto it: for [a]I am Yahweh your God. 2 [L]Ye shall [d]keep [b]my sabbaths, [L]and [c]reverence my sanctuary: [d]I am Yahweh.

3 [N]If ye [e]walk in my statutes, and [f]keep my commandments, and do them; 4 then I will give your [e]rains in their season, and the land shall [f]yield her increase, and the [g]trees of the field shall yield their fruit. 5 And your [h]threshing shall reach unto the [i]vintage, and the vintage shall reach unto the sowing time: and ye shall eat your bread to the [j]full, and [k]dwell in your land safely. 6 And I will give peace in the land, and ye shall lie down, and [l]none shall make you afraid: and I will [m]cause evil beasts to cease out of the land, neither shall the [n]sword go through your land. 7 And ye shall [o]chase your enemies, and they shall [p]fall before you[p] by the

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m' 19^{36} n' 20^{24} Ex 6^{8}

39-55 [L]$\mathbf{2}d^{mo}$ o' Cp Ex 21^{2}

40b-42 [L]$\mathbf{9}k^{e}$

p' 55 26^{45}

q' ℌ† cp 39 43

r' 46 53 26^{17} Gen 1^{26}

s' Ex 1^{13} Ezek 34^{4}†

t' Deut 6^{14} 13^{7} Ezek 5^{7} 11^{12} 36^{36}

w' Num 32^{18} 33^{54} 34^{13} Ezek 47^{13} Is 14^{2}†

v' 20^{24} Num 33^{53} 27^{11} 36^{8} ct [D]88

47-55 [L]$\mathbf{9}k^{f}$

47. [L]$\mathbf{2}a^{u}$

w' ℌ†

x' Cp 15 ℌ

y' Cp 42

1a [L]$\mathbf{5}b^{k}$

a Deut 16^{22}

b Ex 20^{4}

1b [L]$\mathbf{5}g^{k}$

c Num 33^{52}* Ezek 8^{12}

2a [L]$\mathbf{9}b^{g}$

d 19^{3} 30

2b [L]$\mathbf{10}a^{p}$

e Ezek 34^{26} cp Jer 5^{24}

f 20 Deut 11^{17} cp 32^{22}* Ezek 34^{27} Zech 8^{12}

g Ex 9^{25b} cp Deut 20^{19}

h ℌ†

i ℌ* Judg 8^{2} *al*

j 25^{19}

k 25^{18}

l Deut 28^{26}* Is 17^{2} Jer 7^{33} Ezek 34^{28} 39^{26} *al*

m Ezek 34^{25}

n Ezek 14^{17}

o Cp Deut 32^{30} Josh 23^{10} Is 30^{17}

p ℌ†

g' 4^{a} h' 26^{a}

i' 176

j' 30 k' 27

l' 127^{b}

m' 204

n' 19^{a}

a 203[b] b 211 c 200[b] d 203[a] e 217 f 199

25^{54} **M** Or, *in these years.* 26^{1a} **M** See 19^{4}. 1b **M** Or, *an obelisk.*—Ex 23^{24} 34^{13}. 1c **M** Or, *thereon.*

3 A concluding exhortation cp Ex 23^{20}.. Deut 28. On the question of date and authorship cp *Introd* i 150.

JE | P[h] | P[g] | P[s]

sword. [8] And five of you shall chase an hundred, and an hundred of you shall chase [q]ten thousand: and your enemies shall [p]fall before you[p] by the sword. [9] And I will [r]have [g]respect unto you, and make you [h]fruitful, and [r]multiply you; and will [t]establish my covenant with you. [10] And ye shall eat [s]old store [t]long kept, and ye shall bring forth the old [M]because of the new. [11] And I will set my [T]dwelling among you: and my soul shall not [u]abhor you. [12] And I will [v]walk among you, and will [j]be [w]your God, and ye shall be my [x]people. [13] [a]I am Yahweh your God, which [y]brought you forth out of the land of Egypt, that ye should not be their bondmen; and I have broken the [z]bars of your yoke, and made you go [a']upright.

[14] But if ye will not hearken unto me, and will not [b']do all these commandments; [15] and if ye shall [c']reject my statutes[c'], and if your soul [u]abhor my judgements, so that ye will [d']not do all my commandments, but [e'k]break my [f']covenant; [16] [l]I also will [g']do this unto you; I will appoint [h']terror over you, even [i']consumption and [i']fever, that shall [j']consume the eyes, and make the soul to [k']pine away: and ye shall sow your seed in [l']vain, for your enemies shall eat it. [17] And I will [m']set my face against you, and ye shall be [n']smitten before your enemies: they that [o']hate you shall [p']rule over you; and ye shall flee [q']when none pursueth you. [18] And if ye will not yet for these things hearken unto me, then I will [r']chastise you seven times [s']more for your sins. [19] And I will break the [t']pride of your power; and I will make your [u']heaven as iron, and your earth as [v']brass: [20] and your strength shall be spent in [l']vain: for your land shall not [f]yield her increase, neither shall the trees of the land yield their fruit. [21] And if ye walk [w']contrary unto me, and will not hearken unto me; I will [x']bring seven times [s']more plagues upon you according to your sins. [22] And I will [y']send the beast of the field among you, which shall [z']rob you of your children, and [a'']destroy your cattle, and [b'']make you [m]few in number; and your ways shall become [c'']desolate. [23] And if by these things ye will not be [d'']reformed [M]unto me, but will walk [w']contrary unto me; [24] then will [l]I also walk [w']contrary unto you; and I will smite you, even [l]I, seven times for your sins. [25] And I will [e'']bring a sword[e''] upon you, that shall [f'']execute the vengeance of the covenant; and ye shall be [g'']gathered together within your cities: and I will send the [h'']pestilence among you; and ye shall be delivered into the hand of the enemy. [26] When I [i'']break your staff of bread[i''], ten women shall bake your bread in one oven, and they shall deliver your [j'']bread again by weight[j'']: and ye shall eat, and not be satisfied.

[27] And if ye will not for all this hearken unto me, but walk [w']contrary unto me; [28] then I will walk [w']contrary unto you in fury; and [l]I also will [r']chastise you seven times for your sins. [29] And ye shall [k'']eat the flesh of your sons, and the flesh of your daughters shall ye eat. [30] [L]And I will [l'']destroy your high places, and [a'']cut down your [m'']sun-images, and cast your [n'']carcases upon the carcases of your [o'']idols; and my soul shall [u]abhor you. [31] And I will [p'']make your cities a waste, and will bring your [n]sanctuaries unto [q'']desolation, and I will not [r'']smell the savour of your [o]sweet odours. [32] And I will bring the land into desolation: and your enemies which dwell therein shall be [s'']astonished at it. [33] And you will I [t'']scatter among the nations, and I will [u'']draw out the sword after you: and your land shall be a [v'']desolation, and your cities shall be a waste. [34] [L]Then shall the land [w'']enjoy her sabbaths, as long as it [x'']lieth

[g] 214 [h] 73 [i] 60[a] [j] 26[a] [k] 46[a] [l] 94[a] [m] 105 [n] 91 [o] 158

q Cp Deut 32[30]
r Ezek 36[9].
s 25[22]
t 13[11]
u 15 30 43. Jer 14[19] Ezek 16[5] 45†
v Deut 23[14] cp 2 Sam 7[6]
w Ezek 34[24] 36[28] 37[23 27]
x Ex 6[7] Ezek 11[20]
y 19[36]
z Ezek 34[27] cp 30[18]
a' ℌ†
b' Cp [3] Deut 28[15]
c' Ezek 20[24] (cp 5[6] 20[13 16])
2 Kings 17[15]†
d' 18[30]
e' 44 Gen 17[14]
f' Ezek 16[59] 17[15. 18] 44[7] Jer 11[10] *al*
g' Cp JE146
h' Jer 15[8] Is 65[23] Ps 78[33]
i' Deut 28[22]†
j' 1 Sam 2[33] Job 31[16]
k' ℌ†
l' Is 49[4] 65[23] Job 39[16] ℌ†
m' Ezek 14[8] 15[7]
n' Num 14[42] cp Deut 28[25]
o' Gen 24[60]
p' 25[43]
q' Prov 28[1]
r' 23 28 Deut 4[36] Jer 10[24] *al* Ezek (o)
s' Cp JE123
t' Ezek 24[21] 30[6] 18 33[28]†
u' Deut 28[23]
v' ℌ*
w' 23. 27. ℌ†
x' Cp Ezek 5[16]
y' Cp Ex 23[29] Deut 32[24] Ezek 5[17] 14[15 21] 34[28]
z' ℌ=*bereave* Ezek 14[15]
a'' Ezek 14[13] ℌ=*cut off* (14)
b'' Ezek 29[15]
c'' Ezek 6[4] 32[15] 33[28]
d'' Cp 18 ℌ Jer 6[3] 31[18]
e'' Ezek 5[17] 6[3] 11[8] 14[17] 29[8] 33[2]†
f'' Cp Ezek 24[8] 25[12 15]
g'' Jer 4[5] 8[14]
h'' Am 4[10] Jer 24[10] Ezek 14[19] 28[23]
i'' Ezek 4[16] 5[16] 14[13] Ps 105[16]†
j'' Ezek 4[16]
k'' Deut 28[53]. . Jer 19[9] Ezek 5[10]
30. L108*l*
30 L59*g*

l'' Num 33[52] ℌ=*demolish* cp D34[a] m'' ℌ* Is 17[8] 27[9] Ezek 6[4 6] n'' Ezek 6[5] o'' Deut 29[17]* Ezek 6[4]. . (39) p'' Ezek 5[14] 25[13] 30[12] 35[4] Jer 25[18] *al* q'' Ezek 14[8] 20[26] 30[12 14] ℌ r'' Gen 8[21] Am 5[21] s'' Ezek 26[16] 32[10] t'' Ezek 12[15] 20[23] 22[15] 29[12] 30[23] 26 u'' Ezek 5[2 12] 12[14] v'' Ezek 29[12] 32[15] 33[28] 35[3 7] cp Is 17 Jer 4[27] *al* 34. L9*jg* w'' Cp 41 43 Is 40[2] 2 Chron 36[21] ℌ x'' Cp 35 43 2 Chron 36[21] ℌ†

26[10] **M** Or, *from before.* 11 So ℌ. **T** *tabernacle* 15[31] Ezek 37[27] cp 54[c]. 23 **M** Or, *by.*

JE | P^h | P^g | P^s

desolate, and ye be in your enemies' land; even then shall the land rest, and enjoy her sabbaths. 35 As long as it x'''lieth desolate it shall have rest; even the rest which it had not in your sabbaths, when ye dwelt y'''upon it. 36 And as for them that are left of you, I will send a z'''faintness into their heart in the a'''lands of their enemiesa''': and the sound of a b'''driven leaf shall chase them; and they shall flee, c'''as one fleeth from the sword; and they shall fall $q'$when none pursueth. 37 And they shall stumble [P]one upon another, as it were before the sword, $q'$when none pursueth: and ye shall have no d'''power to stand before your enemies. 38 And ye shall perish among the nations, and the land of your enemies shall e'''eat you up. 39 And they that are left of you shall f'''pine away in their iniquity in your a'''enemies' lands; and also in the iniquities of their fathers shall they pine away with them. 40 And they shall [q]confess their iniquity, and the iniquity of their fathers, in their [r]trespass which they [r]trespassed against me, and also that because they have walked w'contrary unto me, 41 [1]I also walked w'contrary unto them, and brought them into the land of their enemies: if then their b'''uncircumcised heart be h'''humbled, and they then u''accept of the punishment of their iniquity; 42 then will I [s]remember my covenant with Jacob; and also my covenant with Isaac, and also my covenant with Abraham will I remember; and I will remember the land. 43 The land also shall be left of them, [L]and shall w''enjoy her sabbaths, while she x''lieth desolate without them; and they shall accept of the punishment of their iniquity: i'''because, even becausei''' they j'''rejected my judgements, and their soul [u]abhorred my statutes. 44 And k'''yet for all thati''', when they be in the land of their enemies, I will not l'''reject them, neither will I [u]abhor them, to m'''destroy them utterly, and to e'break my covenant with them: for [a]I am Yahweh their God: 45 but I will for their sakes [s]remember the covenant of their n'''ancestors, whom I o'''brought forth out of the land of Egypt in the p'''sight of the nations, that I might [j]be their God: [d]I am Yahweh.

46 [Mt]These are the statutes and judgements and laws, which Yahweh made between him and the children of Israel in mount [n]Sinai by the [v]hand of Moses.

27[1] [NL]And Yahweh [a]spake unto Moses, saying, 2 Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, [b]When a man shall [M]accomplish a [c]vow, [M]the [d]persons shall be for Yahweh by *a*[d]*thy* [e]estimation. 3 And *thy* estimation shall be of the [f]male from twenty years [g]old even unto sixty years old, even *thy* estimation shall be fifty shekels of silver, after the shekel of the [h]sanctuary. 4 And if it be a [i]female, then *thy* estimation shall be thirty shekels. 5 And if it be from five years old even unto twenty years old, then *thy* estimation shall be of the male twenty shekels, and for the female ten shekels. 6 And if it be from a month old even unto five years old, then *thy* estimation shall be of the male five shekels of silver, and for the female *thy* estimation shall be three shekels of silver. 7 And if it be from sixty years old and [j]upward; if it be a male, then *thy* estimation shall be fifteen shekels, and for the female ten shekels. 8 But if

y''' 25[18] ℌ
z''' ℌ†
a''' 39 cp 34 Ezek 39[27] cp 1 Kings 8[46 48] Jer 31[16]†
b''' Job 13[25]
c''' ℌ†
d''' ℌ†
e''' Num 13[32] Ezek 36[13]
f''' Ezek 4[17] 24[23] 33[10] Is 34[4] Zech 14[12]
g''' Cp 166 Ezek 44[7 9] cp Deut 10[16] 30[6] Jer 4[4] 9[26]
h''' Ct Deut 9[3*]
43 [L]gjg
i''' Ezek 13[10] 36[3]†
j''' Ezek 5[6] 20[13 16]
k''' ℌ†
l''' Hos 4[6] *al*
m''' Ex 32[12] Ezek 20[13]
n''' Deut 19[14] Is 61[4]
o''' 25[42]
p''' Ezek 20[9 14 22]
1-13 [L]8f*c*
a 5[15]

p 184 | q 45 | r 164[a] | s 135 | t 188[a] | u 7 | v 180[c] | a 185[a] | b 190[c] | c 172 | d 146[b] | e 61 | f 107 | g 119[a] | h 88[c] | i 107[d] | j 169[b]

26[46] The close of the Holiness-legislation, probably due to the compiler of P^h, though possibly from a later hand. But the form is not that of the colophons of collections apparently subsequent to P^g e g 7[37]. 27[34] Num 36[13].

27[1] The law for the discharge of vows 2–25 with supplemental limitations 26–29 and the appendix on tithes 30–33 plainly belong to the general collection of P, as the familiar terminology shows. It is here assigned to P^s, as it recognizes the institution of the jubile 17 cp 25[10], and in the regulations about tithe it appears to include live stock as well as the agricultural produce specified in Num 18[27]. But it would further seem that the whole series of cases has undergone a very curious revision. The introductory formula describes the law as addressed to the children of Israel. The recurring phrase 'thy estimation' implies, however, a more specific restriction. It is commonly supposed that the pronoun designates Moses: but (1) it can hardly be imagined that Moses would use this form in communicating instructions to the people, and (2) the person addressed is identified with 'the priest' [12b], where ℌ reads 'according to thy estimation the priest (or *O priest*) so shall it be.' Yet in 23 'thy' has again a different meaning, and the matter is complicated by the unusual appearance of the definite article as well as the pronominal suffix, הָעֶרְכְּךָ. These facts, compared with 𝔊 which throughout omits the pronoun, suggest that the original reading was 'the estimation,' and that the insertion of the pronoun is of later date to harmonize with 5[15] (addressed to Moses alone), the scribe having failed in 23 to remove the last trace of the impersonal form.

2a M Or, *make a special vow.*

2b M Or, *according to thy estimation of persons unto Yahweh, then thy estimation &c.*

JE | P[h] | P[g] | P[s]

he be [b]poorer than *thy* estimation, then he shall be [k]set before the priest, and the priest shall [l]value him; [m]according to the [n]ability of him that vowed shall the priest value him.

[9] And if it be a beast, whereof men [c]offer an oblation unto Yahweh, all that any man giveth of such unto Yahweh shall be [o]holy. [10] He shall not alter it, nor [d]change it, a good for a bad, or a bad for a good: and if he shall at all change beast for beast, then both it and that for which it is changed shall be holy. [11] [L]And if it be any unclean beast, of which they do not offer an oblation unto Yahweh, then he shall [k]set the beast before the priest: [12] and the priest shall [l]value it, whether it be good or bad: as *thou* the priest valuest it, so shall it be. [13] But if he will indeed [p]redeem it, then he shall [e]add the [q]fifth part thereof unto *thy* estimation.

[14] [L]And [b]when a man shall [r]sanctify his house to be holy unto Yahweh, then the priest shall estimate it, whether it be good or bad: as the priest shall estimate it, so shall it [f]stand. [15] And if he that sanctified it will redeem his house, then he shall add the fifth part of the money of *thy* estimation unto it, and it shall be his.

[16] And if a man shall sanctify unto Yahweh part of the field of his [s]possession, then *thy* estimation shall be [t]according to the sowing thereof: the sowing of a homer of barley [shall be valued] at fifty shekels of silver. [17] [L]If he sanctify his field from the year of [v]jubile, [m]according to *thy* estimation it shall stand. [18] But if he sanctify his field after the jubile, then the priest shall [h]reckon unto him the money [m]according to the years that remain unto the year of jubile, and an abatement shall be made from *thy* estimation. [19] And if he that sanctified the field will indeed redeem it, then he shall add the fifth part of the money of *thy* estimation unto it, and it shall [f]be assured to him. [20] And if he will not redeem the field, or if he have sold the field to another man, it shall not be redeemed any more: [21] but the field, when it [i]goeth out in the jubile, shall be holy unto Yahweh, as a field [j]devoted; the possession thereof shall be the priest's. [22] And if he sanctify unto Yahweh a field which he hath [u]bought, which is not of the field of his possession; [23] then the priest shall reckon unto him the [k]worth of *thy* estimation unto the year of jubile: and he shall give *thine* estimation in that day, as a holy thing unto Yahweh. [24] In the year of jubile the field shall [l]return unto him of whom it was bought, even to him to whom the possession of the land belongeth. [25] And all *thy* estimations shall be according to the shekel of the [h]sanctuary: twenty gerahs shall be the shekel.

[26] [L]Only the firstling among beasts, which is [m]made a firstling to Yahweh, no man shall sanctify it; whether it be ox or sheep, it is Yahweh's. [27] And if it be of an unclean beast, then he shall [n]ransom it according to *thine* estimation, and shall add unto it the fifth part thereof: or if it be not redeemed, then it shall be sold according to *thy* estimation.

[28] [L]Notwithstanding, no devoted thing, that a man shall [j]devote unto Yahweh of all that he hath, whether of man or beast, or of the field of his possession, shall be sold or redeemed: every devoted thing is [v]most holy unto Yahweh. [29] None devoted, which shall be devoted of men, shall be ransomed; he shall surely be put to death.

[30] [L]And all the tithe of the land, whether of the seed of the land, or of the fruit of the tree, is Yahweh's: it is holy unto Yahweh. [31] And if a man will redeem aught of his tithe, he shall add unto it the fifth part thereof. [32] And all the tithe of the herd or the flock, whatsoever [o]passeth under the rod[o], the tenth shall be holy unto Yahweh. [33] He shall not search whether it be good or bad, neither shall he [d]change it: and if he change it at all, then both it and that for which it is changed shall be holy; it shall not be redeemed.

[34] [w]These are the commandments, which Yahweh commanded Moses for the children of Israel in mount [x]Sinai.

b Ct 25[25]
c 1[2]
d 33 ℌ*
11 L6aj
e 5[16]
14-25 L8hd
f 19 25[30]
17-24 L9kg
g 25[10]
h 25[27]
i 25[27]
j Cp Num 18[14]
k Ex 12[4]†
l Cp 25[10 12 27].
26. L8bh
m Put† cp Deut 21[16] Jer 4[31] Ezek 47[12]†
n ℌ=*redeem* Ex 13[13] 34[20]
28. L8he
30-33 L8dc
o Ezek 20[37]

k 141
l 61
m 20[a]
n 109
o 90[a]
p 132[a]
q 68[k]
r 86[1]
s 127[b]
t 19[b]
u 36
v 90[b]
w 188[a]
x 7

NUMBERS[N]

	JE	P[h]	P[g]	P[s]	
1-15 *L40a*			1[1] [NL]And Yahweh [a]spake unto Moses in the wilderness of [b]Sinai, in the		a 185[a]
a Cp Ex 40[17]			tent of meeting, on the [c]first day of the second month, in the [a]second year		b 7
			after they were come out of the land of Egypt, saying, [2] [d]*Take ye the sum of* all		c 183
			the [e]congregation of the children of Israel, by their [f]families, by their		d 84[c]
			[g]fathers' houses, according to the number of the names, [h]every male, by		e 45[a]
			their [i]polls; [3] from twenty years [j]old and [k]upward, all that are [l]able to go		f 65[b]
			forth to war in Israel, thou *and Aaron* shall [m]number them by their [n]hosts.		g 18
b Cp 19[0d]			[4] And with *you* there shall be a man of [b]every [o]tribe; every one [p]head of his		h 107[b]
			fathers' house. [5] And [q]these are the names of the men that shall stand		i 83
			with *you:* of Reuben; Elizur the son of Shedeur. [6] Of Simeon; Shelumiel		j 119[a]
			the son of Zurishaddai. [7] Of Judah; Nahshon the son of Amminadab.		k 169[b]
			[8] Of Issachar; Nethanel the son of Zuar. [9] Of Zebulun; Eliab the son of		l 16
			Helon. [10] Of the children of Joseph: of Ephraim; Elishama the son		m 115
			of Ammihud: of Manasseh; Gamaliel the son of Pedahzur. [11] Of Benjamin;		n 92
			Abidan the son of Gideoni. [12] Of Dan; Ahiezer the son of Ammishaddai.		o 105
			[13] Of Asher; Pagiel the son of Ochran. [14] Of Gad; Eliasaph the son of		p 84
			[M]Deuel. [15] Of Naphtali; Ahira the son of Enan. [16] [q]These are they that		q 188[a]
c 16[2] 26[9]			were [c]called of the congregation, the [r]princes of the [o]tribes of their fathers;		r 131
			they were the [s]heads of the [M]thousands of Israel.		s 84[b]
d Cp 44 ct 19[b]			[17] And [d]Moses and Aaron took these men which are [e]expressed by name:		
e Ezr 8[20] 1 Chron 12[31] 16[41] 2 Chron 28[15] 31[19]†			[18] and they [t]assembled all the congregation together on the first day of the		t 45[b]
f ℌ†			second month, and they [f]declared their pedigrees[f] after their families, by		
			their fathers' houses, according to the number of the names, from twenty		
			years old and upward, by their polls, [19a] [N]as Yahweh commanded Moses.		
			[19b] [T]And he numbered them in the wilderness of Sinai.		
			[20] [N]And the children of Reuben, Israel's firstborn, their [u]generations, by		u 77[b]

The Book of Numbers starts from the situation described at the close of Ex, and assumed throughout Lev. This is maintained as far as Num 10[10]. In 10[11] the narrative of the March to Canaan is resumed and the story is carried forward till Israel is victoriously encamped beside the Jordan. The later narrative will be found to be combined from the same sources as Ex, **JE** and **P**. A cursory examination of the materials comprised in the earlier section 1[1]–10[10] shows that they are not all of the same class, though it will be seen that they belong to the general collection of **P**. The section opens with a census of the tribes, and a description of their organization in the camp 1–2. In 3–4 the appointment of the Levites (hitherto unnamed in the priestly legislation save in Lev 25[32].) is recorded, and their functions in connexion with the portable sanctuary are carefully detailed. The laws of 5–6, though adapted to the camp-scheme of legislation, are really independent of it: on the other hand, the offerings at the dedication of the altar 7, and the account of the consecration of the Levites 8, belong to **P**'s special conception of the sanctuary and the holy tribe called to its service. But these alternating groups of narrative and law will be found to belong to different layers of **P**, while they are only loosely combined in their present order. For example 7[1] is attached to Ex 40, and ought chronologically to precede 1[1]: while 9[1] starts from a date anterior to 1[1], though 9[11] carries the passover-celebration of the ritually unclean beyond it. These indications point in the direction of later compilation, for which P^g (whose careful numerical adjustments in other places are thus defied) has served as the general groundwork, into which additions might be from time to time inserted. Cp *Introd* XIII 10.

1[1] The census in 1, and the order of the tribes around the Dwelling so elaborately presented in 2, are obviously in intimate relation. But it may be doubted whether this relation implies unity of authorship. The tribes are enumerated three times, but the series all vary. (1) In 1[5–15] the order is nearly identical with that of Ex 1[2–4]: Levi is omitted, and the number twelve is completed by the insertion of 'the children of Joseph,' Ephraim and Manasseh, before Benjamin. (2) In 1[20–42] Gad occupies Levi's vacant place. (3) In 2 Judah, Issachar, and Zebulun take the lead. These diversities are most easily explained by the supposition that 1[20–47] and 2 are independent expansions of P^g cp 1[20N] and 2[1N]. (For another explanation see the forthcoming vol on *Numbers* by G Buchanan Gray in *ICC.*) It is further probable that 1[1–19] has itself undergone amplification. The divine address to Moses [1] begins with the plural [2] 'take ye,' and [3] shows that Aaron is now included. But the formula 'take the sum' cp 84[c] occurs elsewhere only in passages assigned independently to P^s. The original command probably opened 'Number . . .' cp 19[b] 3[15]. The simpler style of the census of Levi may be accepted as the type of P^g, and the supplemental clauses in [2] may be plausibly ascribed to a later revision. As in other passages in which Aaron has been subsequently set beside Moses (e g 1[44] 3[39] 4[1]), his appearance in [3b] is probably due to the same desire to associate the head of the ecclesiastical polity with the leader of the nation. But that the original narrative of P^g regarded the census as the act of Moses may be inferred from [19b] cp 3[15. 40 42], and ct 3[39] 4[46]. The exact determination of the amount of additions in 1[1–19] is matter of much difficulty; but secondary elements may also be traced in [17–19a], where the phrases 'expressed by name' 'declared their pedigrees' are unique in **P**, and the concluding 'as Yahweh commanded Moses' (cp [19N]) recurs continually in P^s.

[14] **M** In 2[14] *Reuel.* [16] **M** Or, *families.*

[19a] The formula 'as Yahweh commanded Moses' completes the statement of [18], so 𝔊 and Dillm. For its use by P^s cp Ex 39 Lev 8 Num 2[33] 3[51] 4[49] &c

[19b] **T** *so.* ℌ has the simple particle ו, commonly rendered 'and,' not the advb כֵּן as in [54b]. This clause follows [16].

[20] P^g no doubt narrated the result of Moses' numbering: but the diffuseness and repetitions in [20–44] make it probable that this lengthy recital of the separate tribal totals has been elaborated from a simpler original. This is confirmed (1) by

JE | P[h] | P[g] | P[s]

their families, by their fathers' houses, according to the number of the names, by their polls, every male from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war; [21] [v]those that were numbered of them, of the tribe of Reuben, were forty and six thousand and five hundred. v 115[b]

[22] Of the children of Simeon, their generations, by their families, by their fathers' houses, those that were numbered thereof, according to the number of the names, by the polls, every male from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war; [23] those that were numbered of them, of the tribe of Simeon, were fifty and nine thousand and three hundred.

[24] Of the children of Gad, their generations, by their families, by their fathers' houses, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war; [25] those that were numbered of them, of the tribe of Gad, were forty and five thousand six hundred and fifty.

[26] Of the children of Judah, their generations, by their families, by their fathers' houses, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war; [27] those that were numbered of them, of the tribe of Judah, were threescore and fourteen thousand and six hundred.

[28] Of the children of Issachar, their generations, by their families, by their fathers' houses, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war; [29] those that were numbered of them, of the tribe of Issachar, were fifty and four thousand and four hundred.

[30] Of the children of Zebulun, their generations, by their families, by their fathers' houses, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war; [31] those that were numbered of them, of the tribe of Zebulun, were fifty and seven thousand and four hundred.

[32] Of the children of Joseph, [namely], of the children of Ephraim, their generations, by their families, by their fathers' houses, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war; [33] those that were numbered of them, of the tribe of Ephraim, were forty thousand and five hundred.

[34] Of the children of Manasseh, their generations, by their families, by their fathers' houses, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war; [35] those that were numbered of them, of the tribe of Manasseh, were thirty and two thousand and two hundred.

[36] Of the children of Benjamin, their generations, by their families, by their fathers' houses, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war; [37] those that were numbered of them, of the tribe of Benjamin, were thirty and five thousand and four hundred.

[38] Of the children of Dan, their generations, by their families, by their fathers' houses, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war; [39] those that were numbered of them, of the tribe of Dan, were threescore and two thousand and seven hundred.

[40] Of the children of Asher, their generations, by their families, by their fathers' houses, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war; [41] those that were numbered of them, of the tribe of Asher, were forty and one thousand and five hundred.

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the variation of order in the list already noticed [1N]; (2) by the association of Aaron with Moses [44] contrasted with [19b]; (3) by the accumulation of clauses [20] [22] (it may be observed that 'by their polls' occurs only here and [2] [18], being afterwards dropped), contrasted with [3][15]. [22] &c. An additional argument is found in the double close in [45]. cp [45N].

JE	P^h	P^g	P^s
		[42] Of the children of Naphtali, their generations, by their families, by their fathers' houses, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war; [43] those that were numbered of them, of the tribe of Naphtali, were fifty and three thousand and four hundred.	
		[44] [q]These are they that were numbered, which [d]Moses and Aaron numbered, and the princes of Israel, being twelve men: they were each [e]one for his fathers' house. [45] [N]So all they that were numbered of the children of Israel by their fathers' houses, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war in Israel; [46] even all they that were numbered were six hundred thousand and three thousand and five hundred and fifty.	
g 2^{33} 26^{62*}		[47] But the Levites after the tribe of their fathers [g]were not numbered among them.	
48–53 L_{III}		[48] [TL]And Yahweh [a]spake unto Moses, saying, [49] Only the tribe of Levi thou shalt not number, neither shalt thou [d]take the sum of them among the children of Israel: [50] but appoint thou the Levites over the [w]Dwelling of the testimony, and over all the furniture thereof, and over all that belongeth to it: they shall bear the Dwelling, and all the furniture thereof; and they shall [h]minister unto it, and shall [i]encamp round about the Dwelling. [51] And when the Dwelling [j]setteth forward, the Levites shall [k]take it down: and when the Dwelling is to be pitched, the Levites shall [x]set it up: and the [y]stranger that cometh nigh shall be put to death. [52] And the children of Israel shall pitch their tents, every man by his own camp, and every man by his own [z]standard, according to their [n]hosts. [53] But the Levites shall pitch round about the [z]Dwelling of the testimony, that there be no [a′]wrath upon the congregation of the children of Israel: and the Levites shall keep the [b′]charge of the Dwelling of the testimony.	w 54[b]
h Ct Ex 24^{13} 33^{11} *i* 2^2 ℌ=*pitch* *j* 10^{17} ℌ Gen 12^9 *k* 4^5 10^{17}			x 60^b y 153^b z 151 a′ 178^a b′ 39^b
		[54] [c′]Thus did the children of Israel; according to all that Yahweh commanded Moses, so did they.	c′ 189^a
1–34 L_{4r}		2^1 [NL]And Yahweh [a]spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, saying, [2] The children of Israel shall pitch every man by his own [b]standard, with the ensigns of their [c]fathers' houses: over against the tent of meeting shall they pitch round about. [3] And those that pitch on the [d]east side toward the sunrising shall be they of the standard of the camp of Judah, [e]according	a 185^a b 151 c 66 d 56^a e 18^l
a 1^7 7^{12}		to their hosts: and the [f]prince of the children of Judah shall be [a]Nahshon the son of Amminadab. [4] [N]And his host, and those that were [g]numbered of them, were threescore and fourteen thousand and six hundred. [5] And those that pitch next unto him shall be the [h]tribe of Issachar: and the prince of the children of Issachar shall be Nethanel the son of Zuar: [6] and	f 131 g 115^b h 165

1^{45} In [45]. there are traces of two conclusions which have been imperfectly amalgamated, and which our version cannot properly display. Each verse begins with the same formula ℌ 'and all they that were numbered ([45] of the children of Israel) were . . .' The repeated ויהיו shows that in [46] a fresh start is made. [46] is complete in itself, and (with [54]) may have summed up the account in P^g cp 19^b. The somewhat ampler phrasing of [45] suggests its attachment to [20–44]; its union with [46] stripped it of its numerical predicate, and left the first ויהיו void of contents, so that the translators ignored it.

[48] So ℌ cp 19^b [45]. **T** *for*. The familiar formula 'And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying . . .' obviously introduces a new paragraph, designed to explain the little supplemental note of [47] on the omission of Levi from the census. Logically the prohibition to number Levi should have preceded the reckoning of the tribes. But the prohibition immediately gives way [50]. to a summary of the Levitical functions at the removal and erection of the Dwelling; and the whole passage is at once connected [52]. with the order of the tribes in camp exhibited in 2. There is no apparent reason in the duties specified in [50]. for the exemption in [49], and it is possible that [49] has been transposed from its original context (could it have originally followed [2.?]): for ויאמר [50] at the opening of a speech cp Gen 17^9 Ex 30^{23} 31^{13}. The correspondence between [50–53] and 2 implies that they proceed from the same hand, or that [50–53], which contains the rare phrase 'Dwelling of the Testimony' (belonging elsewhere to $P^{s'}$), is at least not earlier than 2.

2^1 As P^g doubtless stated the result of the census, so a description of the arrangements of the camp may be attributed to him with practical security. But it seems to have been replaced by the organization presented in 2, which enumerates the tribes in a fresh series compared with 1. The present delineation is evidently composite cp [4N]. The centre of the whole on the march as in the camp is the sanctuary [17]; and the entire passage is in close relation with $10^{12–28}$. [33a] reproduces 1^{47} with the addition of the secondary formula 'as Yahweh commanded Moses': while [34] shows the hand of the expander, beside the simpler closes of 1^{54} Gen 6^{22} Ex 7^6 12^{28} [50]. It may be conjectured, accordingly, that 2 is founded on materials derived from P^g; the princes' names agree with $1^{5..}$ and the numbers with $1^{20..}$, but the data have been thrown into fresh combinations.

[4] The directions for the order of the tribes in camp and on the march are curiously interrupted in [4 6 8 9a 11 13 15 16a 19 21 23 24a 26 28 30–31a] by statements embodying the results of the census, and inserted as so many parentheses. The writer has really forgotten that he is professedly reporting a divine instruction to Moses, and the combined presentation is probably the result of later aggregation of materials. In the second census 26, the numbers all occur in their natural places.

JE | P[h] | P[g] | P[s]

his host, and those that were numbered thereof, were fifty and four thousand and four hundred: [7] [and] the tribe of Zebulun: and the prince of the children of Zebulun shall be Eliab the son of Helon: [8] and his host, and those that were numbered thereof, were fifty and seven thousand and four hundred. [9] All that were numbered of the camp of Judah were an hundred thousand and fourscore thousand and six thousand and four hundred, according to their hosts. They shall [b]set forth first. b 1[51]

[10] On the [i]south side shall be the standard of the camp of Reuben according to their hosts: and the prince of the children of Reuben shall be Elizur the son of Shedeur. [11] And his host, and those that were numbered thereof, were forty and six thousand and five hundred. [12] And those that pitch next unto him shall be the tribe of Simeon: and the prince of the children of Simeon shall be Shelumiel the son of Zurishaddai: [13] and his host, and those that were numbered of them, were fifty and nine thousand and three hundred: [14] and the tribe of Gad: and the prince of the children of Gad shall be Eliasaph the son of [x]Reuel: [15] and his host, and those that were numbered of them, were forty and five thousand and six hundred and fifty. [16] All that were numbered of the camp of Reuben were an hundred thousand and fifty and one thousand and four hundred and fifty, according to their hosts. And they shall set forth second. i 56[b]

17 L[IIIp] [17] [L]Then the tent of meeting shall [b]set forward, with the camp of the Levites in the midst of the camps: as they encamp, so shall they set forward, every man in his place [j]by their standards. j 18[b]

[18] On the west side shall be the standard of the camp of Ephraim according to their hosts: and the prince of the children of Ephraim shall be Elishama the son of Ammihud. [19] And his host, and those that were numbered of them, were forty thousand and five hundred. [20] And next unto him shall be the tribe of Manasseh: and the prince of the children of Manasseh shall be Gamaliel the son of Pedahzur: [21] and his host, and those that were numbered of them, were thirty and two thousand and two hundred: [22] and the tribe of Benjamin: and the prince of the children of Benjamin shall be Abidan the son of Gideoni: [23] and his host, and those that were numbered of them, were thirty and five thousand and four hundred. [24] All that were numbered of the camp of Ephraim were an hundred thousand and eight thousand and an hundred, according to their hosts. And they shall set forth third.

[25] On the north side shall be the standard of the camp of Dan according to their hosts: and the prince of the children of Dan shall be Ahiezer the son of Ammishaddai. [26] And his host, and those that were numbered of them, were threescore and two thousand and seven hundred. [27] And those that pitch next unto him shall be the tribe of Asher: and the prince of the children of Asher shall be Pagiel the son of Ochran: [28] and his host, and those that were numbered of them, were forty and one thousand and five hundred: [29] and the tribe of Naphtali: and the prince of the children of Naphtali shall be Ahira the son of Enan: [30] and his host, and those that were numbered of them, were fifty and three thousand and four hundred. [31] All that were numbered of the camp of Dan were an hundred thousand and fifty and seven thousand and six hundred. They shall set forth hindmost by their standards.

[32] [k]These are they that were numbered of the children of Israel [l]by their fathers' houses: [c]all that were numbered of the camps according to their hosts were six hundred thousand and three thousand and five hundred and fifty. [33] But the [d]Levites [m]were not numbered among the children of Israel; [e]as Yahweh commanded Moses. [34] [n]Thus did the children of Israel; according to all that Yahweh commanded Moses, [f]so they pitched by their standards, and so they set forward, every one [o]by their families, according to their fathers' houses.

k 188[a] l 18[d] c 1[46] d 1[47] m 115[c] e 1[19] n 189 f Ct 1[54] o 65[b]

2[14] M In 1[14] *Deuel.*

JE	P^h	P^g	P^s
		3 [1] [N]Now [a]these are the generations of Aaron and Moses [c]in the day that Yahweh spake with Moses in mount [b]Sinai. [2] And [a]these are the names of the [c]sons of Aaron; Nadab the firstborn, and Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar. [3] [a]These are the names of the sons of Aaron, [L]the [d]priests which were [e]anointed, whom he [f]consecrated to [g]minister in the priest's office. [4] And Nadab and Abihu [b]died before Yahweh, when they [h]offered [c]strange fire before Yahweh, in the wilderness of [b]Sinai, and they had no children: and Eleazar and Ithamar [g]ministered in the priest's office [i]in the presence of Aaron their father.	
		[5] [NL]And Yahweh [j]spake unto Moses, saying, [6] [h]Bring the [k]tribe of Levi [N]near, and [l]set them before [m]Aaron the priest, that they may [d]minister unto him. [7] And they shall [n]keep his charge, and the charge of the whole [o]congregation before the tent of meeting, to [p]do the service of the [q]Dwelling. [8] [N]And they shall keep all the furniture of the tent of meeting, and the charge of the children of Israel, to do the service of the Dwelling. [9] And thou shalt give the Levites unto Aaron and to his sons: they are [M]wholly [e]given unto him [M]on the behalf of the children of Israel. [10] And thou shalt [M]appoint [r]Aaron and his sons, and they shall keep their [s]priesthood: and the [t]stranger that cometh nigh shall be [f]put to death.	
		[11] And Yahweh [j]spake unto Moses, saying, [12] [Lg]And [u]I, behold, I have taken the Levites from among the children of Israel instead of all the firstborn that [h]openeth the womb among the children of Israel; and the Levites shall be mine: [13] for all the firstborn are mine; [i]on the day that I smote all the firstborn in the land of Egypt I [v]hallowed unto me all the firstborn in Israel [j]both [w]man and beast: [k]mine they shall be; [x]I am Yahweh.	
		[14] [L]And Yahweh [j]spake unto Moses in the wilderness of [b]Sinai, saying, [15] [y]Number the children of Levi [l]by their fathers' houses, by their families: every male from a month old and upward shalt thou number them. [16] And Moses numbered them [z]according to the word of Yahweh, as he [m]was commanded. [17] And [a]these were the sons of Levi by their names; Gershon, and Kohath, and Merari. [18] And [a]these are the names of the sons of Gershon [a']by their families; [n]Libni and Shimei. [19] And the sons of Kohath by their families; [o]Amram, and Izhar, Hebron, and Uzziel. [20] And the sons of Merari by their families; [p]Mahli and Mushi. [a]These are the families of the Levites [b']according to their fathers' houses.	
		[21] Of Gershon was the family of the Libnites, and the family of the Shimeites: these are the families of the Gershonites. [22] Those that [c']were numbered of them [l]according to the number of all the males, from a month	

a Gen 5[1] Ex 6[28]
3 LXXf
b Lev 10[2]
c Lev 10[1]
5-10 LXXa𝔗i
d 18[2]
e 8[16] 19 18[6]†
f 15[1]
12. LXXij
g Gen 6[17]
h Ex 13[2]
i Ex 12[12] 13[2]
j Ex 12[12] ct 8[17] 𝔖
k Cp 41 45
14. LXXpα
l 1[2].
m Ex 34[34]
n Ex 6[17]
o Ex 6[18]
p Ex 6[19]

a 188[a]
b 7
c 12
d 130
e 23
f 69[a]
g 129[a]
h 118[1]
i 64
j 185[a]
k 165
l 141
m 12[a]
n 39[b]
o 45[a]
p 140[b]
q 54[b]
r 12[f]
s 129[b]
t 153[b]
u 94[b]
v 86[d]
w 108[c]
x 179[a]
y 115[a]
z 19[c]
a' 65[b]
b' 18[d]
c' 115[b]

3[1] The *tol[e]dhoth* form has been so long abandoned by P^g that its reappearance here excites surprise. It is probably secondary for the following reasons: (1) it is not quite in the style of P^g, Moses is included in the title but has no progeny, the section being concerned only with the derivation of the priesthood from Aaron; (2) the material is not new; Aaron's sons are enumerated in Ex 6[23], and the death of Nadab and Abihu is related in Lev 10[1].; (3) the inclusion of Aaron's sons in the unction [3] was not part of the original scheme of P^g cp Ex 28[41N]; (4) the passage is evidently placed here as an introduction to the assignment of the Levites to 'Aaron and his sons' in clear subordination to the priesthood.

[5] The narrative of the separate institution of the Levitical order, and the definition of their duties in the charge of the Dwelling 3[5]–4 clearly contains different elements. Thus the functions of the several clans, elaborately described in 4, have been already allotted in 3[25. 31. 36.]; while 3[21–39] displays phenomena cognate with those of 2 but in inverse order. Instead of weaving the results of the census into directions for the order of the tribes in camp, the passage is based on the enumeration of the Levitical clans but is interrupted by successive instructions concerning their place on encampment and the parts of the sanctuary under their care [23–26 29–32 35–38], which seem to be fragments of a view of the grouping of the Levites round the Dwelling now replaced by the ampler statement of 4. In the complex structure of 3[5–51] two layers seem distinguishable. (1) [5–20] appears to be the work of P^g to whom also may be assigned the numerical framework of [21–39]. The intervening passages may possibly belong to the same hand, though now out of place, but the references to the 'cords' [26 37] which are nowhere named in Ex 25–29 while they are specified in the secondary reproduction 35[18] 39[40], and to the 'altars' [31], point to a later source. (2) [40–43] and [46–51] appear to be the working out of the principles enunciated in [12. 45]. [41] is plainly an enlarged edition of [45]; the introductory formula in [40] does not correspond with [5 11 44]; the supplemental instruction in [40b] recalls the later use of נשא in 1[2]; in [42] the phrase 'as Yahweh commanded him' seems secondary. On the other hand, there is a relative simplicity in [40–43] which is not inharmonious with P^g. But in [46–51] the marks of later origin are clearer: 'the shekel of the sanctuary' [47 50] occurs only in P^s cp Ex 30[13]: 'redemption money' [49] is found nowhere else. On the whole, the present form of [40–51] seems best assigned to P^s, the link being found in P^g [45].

[6] On the relation of [6–10] to 18[1–7] see 18[1N].

[8] This verse, concluding with the phrase of [7b] may possibly be a later expansion cp Klostermann, *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift* (1897) p 57.

[9a] **M** 𝔗 *given, given.* [9b] **M** Or, *from.*

[10] **M** Or, *number.*

JE	P[h]	P[g]	P[s]

old and upward, even those that were numbered of them were seven thousand and five hundred.

23–26 29–32 35–38 L III *p*

[23] L The families of the Gershonites [N]shall pitch behind the Dwelling westward. [24] And the [d']prince of the fathers' house of the Gershonites shall be Eliasaph the son of Lael. [25] And the [e']charge of the sons of Gershon in the tent of meeting shall be the Dwelling, and the Tent, the [q]covering thereof, and the [r]screen for the [f']door of the tent of meeting, [26] and the [s]hangings of the court, and the [t]screen for the door of the court, which is by the Dwelling, and by the altar round about, and the [u]cords of it for all the service thereof.

q Ex 26[14]
r Ex 26[36]
s Ex 27[9]
t Ex 27[16]
u 37 4[26] 32 Ex 35[18] 39[40]

d' 131
e' 39[a]
f' III[b]

[27] And of Kohath was the family of the Amramites, and the family of the Izharites, and the family of the Hebronites, and the family of the Uzzielites: these are the families of the Kohathites. [28] According to the number of all the males, from a month old and upward, there were eight thousand and six hundred, keeping the charge of the [g']sanctuary.

g' 88[c]

[29] The families of the sons of Kohath shall pitch on the side of the Dwelling [h']southward. [30] And the prince of the fathers' house of the families of the Kohathites shall be Elizaphan the son of Uzziel. [31] And their charge shall be the [v]ark, and the [w]table, and the [x]candlestick, and the [y]altars, and the vessels of the [g']sanctuary wherewith they minister, and the screen, and all the service thereof. [32] And Eleazar the son of Aaron the priest shall be prince of the princes of the Levites, [and have] the [z]oversight of them that keep the charge of the sanctuary.

v Ex 25[10]
w Ex 25[23]
x Ex 25[31]
y Ex 27[1] 30[1]
z 36 4[16] ct 16[29]*

h' 56[b]

[33] Of Merari was the family of the Mahlites, and the family of the Mushites: these are the families of Merari. [34] And those that were numbered of them, according to the number of all the males, from a month old and upward, were six thousand and two hundred.

[35] And the prince of the fathers' house of the families of Merari was Zuriel the son of Abihail: they shall pitch on the side of the Dwelling northward. [36] And [M]the [z]appointed charge of the sons of Merari shall be the [a']boards of the Dwelling, and the [b']bars thereof, and the [c']pillars thereof, and the [d']sockets thereof, and all the instruments thereof, and all the service thereof; [37] and the [e']pillars of the court round about, and their sockets, and their [f']pins, and their [u]cords. [38] And those that pitch before the Dwelling [i']eastward, before the tent of meeting toward the sunrising, shall be Moses, and Aaron and his sons, keeping the charge of the [j']sanctuary [M]for the charge of the children of Israel; and the [t]stranger that cometh nigh shall be put to death.

a' Ex 26[15]
b' Ex 26[26]
c' Ex 26[37] 27[10]
d' Ex 26[19]
e' Ex 27[10]
f' Ex 27[19]

i' 56[a]
j' 91

[39] All that were numbered of the Levites, which Moses [N]*and Aaron* numbered [z]at the commandment of Yahweh, by their families, all the males from a month old and upward, were twenty and two thousand.

40 L 4Q
g' Cp 1[2] 𝔊
41 46–48 L III *q*
h' Cp 12 𝔊

[40] L And Yahweh said unto Moses, [y]Number all the firstborn males of the children of Israel from a month old and upward, and [g']take the number of their names. [41] L And thou shalt [h']take the Levites for me ([x]I am Yahweh) instead of all the firstborn among the children of Israel; and the cattle of the Levites instead of all the firstlings among the cattle of the children of Israel. [42] And Moses numbered, as Yahweh commanded him, all the firstborn among the children of Israel. [43] And all the firstborn males according to the number of names, from a month old and upward, of those that were numbered of them, were twenty and two thousand two hundred and threescore and thirteen.

45 L III *k*
i' Cp 41

[44] And Yahweh [j]spake unto Moses, saying, [45] L *h'*Take the Levites [i']instead

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3[23] Kautzsch and Addis, 'used to encamp,' and so in [24.] and [29.. 35. .]. On the significance of the imperfect in this sense cp Driver, *Tenses*[3] § 30, and Ges-Kautzsch, *Hebr Gram* § 107. In [24.] there is no verb at all, nor in the corresponding passages of the following sections [29–32 35–37]; but the final verb in [38] 'shall be put to death' cannot be treated as descriptive of past usage, and seems to guarantee the general view taken above.

[36] **M** 𝔊 *the office of the charge.* [38] **M** Or, *even.*

[39] The word 'numbered' in the Hebr text is singular, and the points over 'and Aaron' signify *ad delendum.* Sam 𝔖 and some 𝔊 MSS omit it cp [16], but its presence in 𝔊 implies its early entry into the text. It is one of the marks of the secondary character of 4 that Aaron is there associated with Moses from the beginning cp 1[1N]

JE | P^h | P^g | P^s

of all the firstborn among the children of Israel, and the cattle of the Levites instead of their cattle: and the Levites shall be mine; [x]I am Yahweh.

[46] And for [M]the redemption of the two hundred and threescore and thirteen of the firstborn of the children of Israel, which are [k']over and above [the number of] the Levites, [47] thou shalt take five shekels apiece by the [l']poll; after the shekel of the [g']sanctuary shalt thou take them (the shekel is twenty gerahs): [48] and thou shalt give the money wherewith the [k']odd number of them is redeemed unto Aaron and to his sons. [49] And Moses took the [j']redemption-money from them that were [k']over and above them that were redeemed by the Levites: [50] from the firstborn of the children of Israel took he the money; a thousand three hundred and threescore and five [shekels], after the shekel of the sanctuary: [51] and Moses gave [M]the redemption-money unto Aaron and to his sons, [z]according to the word of Yahweh, [k']as Yahweh commanded Moses.

4[1] [NL]And Yahweh [a]spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, saying, [2] [b]Take the sum of the sons of Kohath from among the sons of Levi, [a]by their families, by their fathers' houses, [3] [b]from thirty years old and upward even until fifty years old, all that [c]enter upon the [M]service, to [d]do the work in the tent of meeting. [4] [Le]This is the [M]service of the sons of Kohath in the tent of meeting, [about] the [f]most holy things: [5] when the camp [c]setteth forward, Aaron shall go in, and his sons, and they shall [d]take down the [g]veil of the screen, and cover the [h]ark of the testimony with it: [6] and shall put thereon a [e]covering of [f]sealskin, and shall spread [i]over it a cloth [g]all of blue, and shall put in the [h]staves thereof. [7] And upon the [i]table of shewbread[i] they shall spread a cloth of blue, and put thereon the [j]dishes, and the spoons, and the bowls, and the cups to [k]pour out withal: and the [j]continual bread shall be thereon: [8] and they shall spread upon them a cloth of [l]scarlet, and cover the same with a covering of sealskin, and shall put in the staves thereof. [9] And they shall take a cloth of blue, and cover the [m]candlestick of the [k]light, and its lamps, and its tongs, and its snuff-dishes, and all the oil vessels thereof, wherewith they [n]minister unto it: [10] and they shall put it and all the vessels thereof within a covering of sealskin, and shall put it upon [M]the frame. [11] And upon the [o]golden altar they shall spread a cloth of blue, and cover it with a covering of sealskin, and shall put in the staves thereof: [12] and they shall take all the vessels of [p]ministry, wherewith they minister in the [l]sanctuary, and put them in a cloth of blue, and cover them with a covering of sealskin, and shall put them on the frame. [13] And they shall [q]take away the ashes from the altar, and spread a [r]purple cloth thereon: [14] and they shall put upon it all the vessels thereof, wherewith they minister about it, the [s]firepans, the fleshhooks, and the shovels, and the basons, all the vessels of the altar; and they shall spread upon it a [e]covering of sealskin, and put in the staves thereof. [15] And when [m]Aaron and his sons have made an end of covering the [l]sanctuary, and all the furniture of the sanctuary, as the camp is to [c]set forward; after that, the sons

j' Cp 51 ℌ†
k' 1^{19a}
1-3 $L_4 p^c$
a 1^2
b 1^3
4-15 $L_{II} h n i^r$ 12
c^{15} 1^{51}
d 1^{51}
e 14 ℌ† ct 8 Ex 26^{14}
f Ex 25^5
g Ex 28^{31}
h Ex 25^{14}
i Cp Ex $25^{23\ 30}$
j Ex 25^{29}
k Ct Ex 25^{29} ℌ
l Ex 25^4
m Ex 35^{14}.
n 1^{50}
o Ex 30^1
p 2 Chron 24^{14}†
q Ex 27^3
r Ex 25^4
s Ex 27^3

k'		134
l'		83
a		185^a
b		84^c
c		92^b
d		177^a
e		188^b
f		88^d
g		171
h		161^b
i		169^a
j		124
k		104
l		88^1
m		12^f

3[46] **M** Or, *those that are to be redeemed, the &c.*—Cp 48 49 51 18^{16} cp Is 35^{10} 51^{11}.†

51 **M** Or, *the money of them that were redeemed.*

4[1] The second Levitical census of all males from thirty years of age to fifty is entrusted at the outset to Moses and Aaron [1], and the princes of Israel are associated with them in carrying it out. Compared with the simpler account of the more extensive operations of numbering the whole tribe and all the firstborn males of Israel executed by Moses alone in $3^{15.\ 40-42}$, this betrays the work of the later amplifier, who has combined with it more elaborate directions for the 'service' required from the three clans 4-15 24-28 31-33, though nothing is said about their place in the camp, and they are named in a fresh order. Whether this supersedes an earlier and briefer narrative by P^g must be doubtful: some trace may be thought to show itself in $3^{23\ 29}$ 'thou shalt number,' and in the address to Moses alone [21]. But the new superscription in [21] has only been required through the intrusion of [16] which has nothing to do with the arrangements for the removal of the Dwelling, and 17-20 which seems an afterthought; [22] opens exactly like [2], and the plural is resumed in [32]. The mention of the 'golden altar' [11] (cp incense [16]) at once implies a secondary origin, and this is confirmed by numerous small divergences from the phraseology of other parts of P. Thus [2 22] 'take the sum' ct 1^2 infin for imper; [5] 'veil of the screen,' [6] 'covering,' [7] 'table of the Presence' (ℌ omits 'bread' ct Ex 35^{13} 39^{36}), [7] 'cups of pouring,' [7] 'continual bread,' [12] 'vessels of ministry,' [15] 'burdens,' [19] 'approach' followed by accus without a prep—occur nowhere else in P: cp [9] 'candlestick of the light' only in Ex 35^{14}. In 4-15 the writer implicitly corrects the vagueness of 3^{31} which insufficiently protected the sacred objects from the gaze of any but priests; while [25.] is enlarged from $3^{25.}$ cp [31.] and $3^{36.}$

3 **M** ℌ *warfare*, or, *host* (and so in $35^{\ 39\ 43}$).—Cp P^{92}.

4 **M** Or, *work*.—Cp P^{140}. 10 **M** Or, *a bar*.—Cp 13^{23}.

JE	P[h]	P[g]	P[s]
		of Kohath shall come to bear it: but they shall not touch the [M]sanctuary,	
t 19 24 27 31. 47 ct 11[11] 17*		lest they die. [n]These things are the [t]burden of the sons of Kohath in the tent of meeting.	n 188[a]
16 L IIh*o* *u* 3[32] *v* Ex 27[20]		16 [NL]*And the [u]charge of Eleazar the son of Aaron the priest shall be the [v]oil for the [k]light, and the [o]sweet incense, and the [j]continual meal offering, and the [w]anointing oil, the [u]charge of all the [p]Dwelling, and of all that therein is, [q]the sanctuary, [q]and the furniture thereof.*	o 95[b] p 54[b] q 35
w Ex 36[25]			
17–20 L IIi*r*		17 [L]*And Yahweh [a]spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, saying,* 18 [r]*Cut ye not off the [x]tribe of the families of the Kohathites from among the Levites:* 19 *but [y]thus do unto them, that they may live, and not [s]die, when they approach [z]unto the [t]most holy things: Aaron and his sons shall go in, and appoint them [u]every one to his [v]service and to his [t]burden:* 20 *but they shall not go in to see the [M]sanctuary even [a']for a moment, lest they die.*	r 50[c]
x Cp 1 Sam 9[21] Judg 20[12] ct 1[49] ℌ *y* Cp [JE]I46[b] *z* Cp 1 Sam 9[18] 30[21] ℌ† ct 8[19] Ex 28[43] *al* *a'* ℌ† 21–23 L 4p*d* *b'* Cp 2..		21 [L]And Yahweh [a]spake unto Moses, saying, 22 [b']Take the sum of the sons of Gershon also, by their fathers' houses, by their families; 23 from thirty years old and upward until fifty years old shalt thou number them; all that [c]enter in to [M]wait upon the service, to [w]do the work in the tent of meeting.	s 52[a] t 88[d] u 190[d] v 140[a] w 140[b]
24–28 L IIi*s* 12 *c'* 3[25] *d'* Ex 26[1] *e'* Ex 26[14]		24 [Le]This is the [v]service of the families of the Gershonites, in serving and in bearing burdens: 25 [c']they shall bear the [d']curtains of the Dwelling, and the tent of meeting, its [e']covering, and the [e']covering of sealskin that is [i]above upon it, and the screen for the door of the tent of meeting; 26 and the hangings of the court, and the screen for the door of the [f']gate of the court, which is by the Dwelling and by the altar round about, and their cords, and all the instruments of their service, and whatsoever shall be done with them, therein shall they serve. 27 At the [x]commandment of Aaron and his sons shall be all the service of the sons of the Gershonites, in all their burden, and in all their service: and ye shall [g']appoint unto them in [y]charge all their burden. 28 [e]This is the service of the families of the sons of the Gershonites in the tent of meeting: and their [y]charge shall be [h']under the hand of Ithamar the son of Aaron the priest.	x 19[c] y 39[a]
f' Ex 27[16] *g'* Cp 32 ct 19 ℌ *h'* 33 ℌ=*by* Ex 38[21] Num 7[8] cp [P]18o 29. L 4p*e* *i'* Ct 2 22 cp 21 ℌ *ye shall*		29 [L]As for the sons of Merari, [i']thou shalt [z]number them [b']by their families, by their fathers' houses; 30 from thirty years old and upward even unto fifty years old shalt thou number them, every one that [c]entereth upon the service, to do the work of the tent of meeting. 31 [L]And [e]this is the charge of their burden, according to all their service in the tent of meeting; the [j']boards of the Dwelling, and the bars thereof, and the pillars thereof, and the sockets thereof; 32 and the pillars of the court round about, and their sockets, and their pins, and their cords, with all their instruments, and with all their service: and by name ye shall [Mg']appoint the instruments of the charge of their burden. 33 [e]This is the service of the families of the sons of Merari, according to all their service, in the tent of meeting, [h']under the hand of Ithamar the son of Aaron the priest.	z 115[a]
31–33 L IIi*t* 12 *j'* 3[36]			
34–49 L 4p*f* *k'* 1[16]		34 [L]And Moses and Aaron and the [k']princes of the congregation numbered the sons of the Kohathites by their families, and by their fathers' houses, 35 from thirty years old and upward even unto fifty years old, every one that [c]entered upon the service, for work in the tent of meeting: 36 and those that were numbered of them by their families were two thousand seven hundred and fifty. 37 [l']These are they that were numbered of the families of the Kohathites, all that did serve in the tent of meeting, whom Moses and Aaron numbered [x]according to the commandment of Yahweh [h']by the hand of Moses.	
l' 1[44]		38 And those that were numbered of the sons of Gershon, by their families, and by their fathers' houses, 39 from thirty years old and upward even unto fifty years old, every one that entered upon the service, for work	

4[15 20] **M** Or, *holy things.*—[P]88[a].

16 The instruction concerning Eleazar's charge seems to be supplemental, as it deals with a permanent priestly duty, and not with the occasional service of transport. In 17–20 the rule laid down in 15 is restated with a heightened emphasis (cp 'touch' 15 and 'see even for a moment' 20); the passage may therefore be regarded as a secondary addition.

23 **M** ℌ *war the warfare.*—Cp 92[c], only in P[s].

32 **M** Or, *number.*

JE | P[t] | P[g] | P[s]

in the tent of meeting, [40] even those that were numbered of them, by their families, by their fathers' houses, were two thousand and six hundred and thirty. [41] These are they that were numbered of the families of the sons of Gershon, all that did serve in the tent of meeting, whom Moses and Aaron numbered [x]according to the commandment of Yahweh.

[42] And those that were numbered of the families of the sons of Merari, by their families, by their fathers' houses, [43] from thirty years old and upward even unto fifty years old, every one that entered upon the service, for work in the tent of meeting, [44] even those that were numbered of them by their families, were three thousand and two hundred. [45] These are they that were numbered of the families of the sons of Merari, whom Moses and Aaron numbered [x]according to the commandment of Yahweh [h']by the hand of Moses.

[46] All those that were numbered of the Levites, whom Moses and Aaron and the princes of Israel numbered, by their families, and by their fathers' houses, [47] from thirty years old and upward even unto fifty years old, every one that entered in to do the work of service, and the work of bearing burdens in the tent of meeting, [48] even those that were numbered of them, were eight thousand and five hundred and fourscore. [49] [x]According to the commandment of Yahweh they were numbered [h']by the hand of Moses, every one according to his service, and [M]according to his burden: thus were they numbered of him, [m']as Yahweh commanded Moses.

m' ℌ=*which* Sam 𝔊 𝔖 *as* 1[19] 2[33]

1-4 L6k*d*
a Lev 24[2]
b Lev 15[2]
c Lev 19[28]
d Cp 10[7]
e Ct 19[13] ℌ
f Lev 15[31]

5[1] [NL]And Yahweh [a]spake unto Moses, saying, [2] [a]Command the children of Israel, that they put out of the camp every [b]leper, and every one that hath an [b]issue, and whosoever is [c]unclean by the [c]dead: [3] [d]both male and female shall ye put out, [d]without the camp shall ye put them; that they [e]defile not their camp, [f]in the midst whereof [e]I [f]dwell. [4] And the children of Israel did so, and put them out without the camp: [g]as Yahweh spake unto Moses, so did the children of Israel.

a 185[a]
b 103
c 167[b]
d 120[a]
e 94[a]
f 54[a]
g 189[a]

5-8 L7g*e* 3d/*e*c

[5] [NL]*And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying,* [6] *Speak unto the children of Israel,* [h]*When a* [i]*man or woman shall commit any sin that men commit, to do a* [j]*trespass against Yahweh, and that* [k]*soul be* [l]*guilty;* [7] *then they shall* [m]*confess their sin which they have done: and he shall make restitution for his guilt* [o]*in full, and* [o]*add unto it the* [n]*fifth part thereof, and give it unto him in respect of whom he hath been guilty.* [8] *But if the man have no* [o]*kinsman to whom restitution may be made for the guilt, the restitution for guilt which is made unto Yahweh shall be the priest's; besides the* [h]*ram of the atonement, whereby atonement shall be made for him.* [9] [L]And every [p]heave offering of all the [i]holy things of the children of Israel, which they [q]present unto the priest, shall be his. [10] And every man's hallowed things shall be his: whatsoever any man giveth the priest, it shall be his.

h 190[c]
i 10 8[a]
j 164[ab]
k 146[a]
l 81[a]
m 44
n 68
o 132[b]
p 118[g]
q 118[a]

g Lev 6[5]

h Lev 6[6].
•9 L11j*l*
i Lev 22[2]

[11] [NL]*And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying,* [12] *Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto*

-31 L11*j* 7j

4[49] **M** Or, *according to his burden and his duty, as &c.*—Cp Dillm *in loc*, who compares Ex 38[21].

5[1] This paragraph seems to presuppose the provisions contained in Lev 13–15, though it may conceivably embody in a prior form (cp the parallels with P[h]) the principle there worked out. The phrase 'in the midst of which I dwell' [3] recalls Lev 15[31N] 26[11], and suggests that if this be not a passage inserted from an earlier source, at least the editor has caught the spirit of his older models when he added this supplement to connect their provisions with the camp of Num 1–3.

[5] The contents of [5–10] fall into two divisions. [6b–8] is an obvious supplement to Lev 5[14-6:7], and provides for the case where the injured person is absent or dead, and there is no kinsman to receive the compensation, which is therefore assigned to the priest. In [9] a general principle is enunciated concerning the priestly right to the sacred gifts cp Lev 7[7–10] [31–36] and *Laws* 11*j*. The rare phrase 'holy things of the children of Israel' points to a possible derivation from P[h].

[11] The section which contains the remarkable procedure ordained in case of marital jealousy is supposed by many to be based upon earlier materials. This view rests rather on a sense of archaic flavour in the rite than on any distinctive marks of style. The phraseology is throughout that of P, and only faint echoes of P[h] are to be heard in [12] and [20]. As a whole the law must be placed with other early sections of P[s], which seem to be intrinsically older both in form and matter than P[g]. But the further question arises whether the present text is not a combination of two distinct though kindred ordinances. The common phenomena of amalgamation seem clearly present: two inconsistent situations are run together: they are discriminated first by diversities of conception, and these in turn disclose distinctive varieties of diction. The evidence for this view will be best appreciated after a comparison of the two sources (distinguished as **A** and **B**) conjecturally rearranged in parallel columns, with analytical notes and references. The separation proposed by Stade (*ZATW* 1895 166–78) has been followed in the main, but the division set forth here endeavours to avoid some difficulties to which his distribution was exposed. It will be seen by the frequency of the harmonist's phrases that the fusion has been fairly complete.

JE | P[t] | P[g] | P[s]

them, If [r]any man's wife [j]go aside, and commit a [j]trespass against him, [13] and a man lie [k]with her [l]carnally, and it be [m]hid from the eyes of her husband, and be kept close, and she be [n]defiled, and there be no witness against her, neither she be taken in the act; [14] and the spirit of jealousy [o]come upon him, and he be jealous of his wife, and she be defiled: or if the spirit of jealousy come upon him, and he be jealous of his wife, and she be not defiled: [15] then shall the man bring his wife unto the priest, and shall bring her [s]oblation for her, the [t]tenth part of an [p]ephah of barley meal: he

j 19. 29 Prov 4[15] 7[25]†
k 19. Gen 34[2] ℌ
l Lev 15[16] ℌ
m Lev 4[13] 5[2-4]†
n Gen 34[5]
o ℌ masc ct [30] fem
p Lev 5[11]
r 190[d]
s 118[b]
t 160[b]

But it is hard to resist the evidence for compilation. The law as it stands really contains two views of the incriminated woman: in one scheme it is proposed to ascertain whether she is innocent or guilty: in the other her guilt needs no demonstration, but only draws down on her the priestly doom. Thus the conclusion of **B** [27]. makes it clear that there is a real alternative, 'defiled' or 'clean': and the title, easily reconstructed out of the present colophon [29]., is equally plain. In **A**, on the other hand, both conclusion [31] and introduction [12 13ac] imply only guilt, and the water is not a method of ordeal but a mere instrument of the curse [21 23]. The distinction readily discerned between **A**'s 'offering of memorial' and **B**'s 'jealousy offering' supports the contention, which is further sustained by the copious parallels and contrasts exhibited below. In [13] the different genders of the verbs 'hid' (masc) and 'kept close' (fem), indistinguishable in our translation, seem best explained as the result of this amalgamation. In the same verse it is probable that some hint has fallen out by which in **A** the discovery of the wife's pregnancy was a sure sign of guilt. Otherwise the two sources are nearly entire.

In the following arrangement the phrases in small italics are assigned to the harmonist.

A

(Defiled and cursed, a condemnation.)

[11] And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying, [12] Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, If any man's wife go aside, and commit a trespass against him, [13a] and a man lie with her carnally, and it be hid from the eyes of her husband, [13c] and there be no witness against her, neither she be taken in the act . . . [15] then shall the man bring his wife unto the priest, and shall bring her oblation for her, the tenth part of an ephah of barley meal; he shall pour no oil upon it, nor put frankincense thereon; for it is *a meal offering of jealousy*, a meal offering of memorial, bringing iniquity to remembrance. [18] And the priest shall set the woman before Yahweh, and let the hair of the woman's head go loose, and put the meal offering of memorial in her hands, *which is the meal offering of jealousy:* and the priest shall have in his hand the water of bitterness *that causeth the curse*: [21] *then the priest shall cause the woman to swear with the oath of cursing*, and the priest shall say unto the woman, Yahweh make thee a curse and an oath among thy people, when Yahweh doth make thy thigh to fall away, and thy belly to swell. [23] And the priest shall write these curses in a book, and he shall blot them out into the water of bitterness: [24] and he shall make the

B

(Defiled or clean, a test.)

[29] This is the law of jealousy, When a wife, being under her husband, goeth aside, *and is defiled*, [13b] and it be kept close and she be defiled, [30a] or when the spirit of jealousy cometh upon a man, and he be jealous over his wife, [14b] and she be not defiled; [30b] then shall he set the woman before Yahweh, and the priest shall execute upon her all this law. [16] And the priest shall bring her near, and set her before Yahweh: [17] and the priest shall take holy water in an earthen vessel; and of the dust that is on the floor of the Dwelling the priest shall take, and put it into the water; [19] and the priest shall cause her to swear, and shall say unto the woman, If no man have lien with thee, and if thou hast not gone aside to uncleanness, being under thy husband, be thou free from this water *of bitterness* that causeth the curse: [20] but if thou hast gone aside, being under thy husband, and if thou be defiled, and some man have lien with thee besides thine husband: [22] then this water that causeth the curse shall go into thy bowels, and make thy belly to swell, and thy thigh to fall away: and the woman shall say, Amen, Amen. [25] And the priest shall take the meal offering of jealousy out of the woman's hand, and shall wave the meal offering before Yahweh, [26b] and afterward shall make the woman drink the water. [27] And when he hath made her drink the water, then it shall come to pass, if she be defiled, *and have committed a trespass against her husband*, that the water that causeth the curse shall enter into her and become bitter, and her belly shall swell, and her thigh shall fall away. [28] And if the woman be not defiled, but be clean; then she shall be free, and shall conceive seed.

A

woman drink the water of bitterness *that causeth the curse: and the water that causeth the curse shall enter into her and become bitter.* [27b] And the woman shall be a curse among her people. . . . [25b] and [he] shall bring it unto the altar: [26] and the priest shall take an handful of the meal offering, as the memorial thereof, and burn it upon the altar. [31] And the man shall be free from iniquity, and that woman shall bear her iniquity.

R

[14] And the spirit of jealousy come upon him, and he be jealous of his wife, and she be defiled: or if the spirit of jealousy come upon him, and he be jealous of his wife.

The subjoined table of parallels exhibits the correspondences and contrasts in the order of their occurrence in **A**: the most striking will be found in *f g i j l*, the last-named requiring the woman to drink the water twice according to the present text.

A	**B**
a 'If any man's wife . . . [12] (איש איש).	*a* 'When a wife . . .' [29].
b 'Go aside, and commit a trespass' [12].	*b* 'Being under her husband, goeth aside' [29 19].
c 'Lie with her carnally' [13].	*c* 'Lien with thee' [19]. ([13 19] all different in ℌ).
d 'Hid . . no witness . .' [12ac].	*d* 'It be kept close' [13b].
e 'The man shall bring his wife unto the priest' [15].	*e* 'He shall set the woman before Yahweh, and the priest . . .' [30].
f 'Meal offering of memorial' [15 18 26] cp 'bringing iniquity to remembrance' [15].	*f* 'Meal offering of jealousy' [25 15r 18r] cp 'law of jealousy' [29], 'spirit of jealousy' [30 14ab r].
g 'The priest shall set the woman before Yahweh' [18].	*g* 'The priest shall bring her near, and set her before Yahweh' [16].
h The offering put 'on' the woman's 'palms' ℌ [18].	*h* The offering taken from her 'hand' [25].
i The 'water of bitterness' [18 23. 19r] taken and prepared [18 23].	*i* 'The water that causeth the curse' [19 22 27 18r 24r] prepared [17].
j 'The priest shall say unto the woman, Yahweh make thee a curse' [21b] cp [27b], no alternative being given cp [12 31] where the woman's guilt is assumed.	*j* 'The priest shall cause her to swear, and say unto the woman' [19] cp [21r], an alternative being expressly proposed cp [27]. and [29]. as reconstructed.
k 'Give thy thigh falling away and thy belly swelling' ℌ [21].	*k* 'Belly (to) swell and thigh (to) fall away' [22 27].
l 'And he shall make the woman drink the water of bitterness' [24].	*l* 'And afterward shall make the woman drink the water' [26b] cp [27a] omitted by 𝔊 𝔖.
m The offering brought to the altar [25b], and the memorial burnt [26a].	*m* The offering waved before Yahweh [25a].

[14] seems due to **R**, and is accordingly eliminated; the cumbrous ℌ seems to indicate the work of the compiler who has turned the original introduction of **B** into a colophon, two little groups of words being retained in the commencement, viz [13b] and [14b]. 'Spirit' is here taken as masc, whereas in [30] it is fem.

JE P[t] P[g] P[s]

shall [n]pour no [q]oil upon it, nor put [v]frankincense thereon; for it is a [r]meal offering of jealousy[r], a meal offering of [w]memorial, [s]bringing iniquity to remembrance. 16 And the priest shall [q]bring her near, and [x]set her before Yahweh: 17 and the priest shall take holy water in an earthen vessel; and of the dust that is on the [t]floor of the [NY]Dwelling the priest shall take, and put it into the water: 18 and the priest shall [x]set the woman before Yahweh, and let the [u]hair of the woman's head go loose, and put the meal offering of [w]memorial in her hands, which is the [r]meal offering of jealousy: and the priest shall have in his hand the [v]water of bitterness[v] that [w]causeth the curse: 19 and the priest shall cause her to swear, and shall say unto the woman, If no man have lien [k]with thee, and if thou hast not [j]gone aside to [z]uncleanness; [M]being under thy husband, be thou [x]free from this [v]water of bitterness that [w]causeth the curse: 20 but if thou hast [j]gone aside, [M]being under thy husband, and if thou be [n]defiled, and some man have [y]lien with thee [z]besides thine husband: 21 then the priest shall cause the woman to swear with the oath of [M]cursing, and the priest shall say unto the woman, Yahweh make thee a [M]curse and an oath among thy people, when Yahweh doth make thy thigh to fall away, and thy belly to [a']swell; 22 and this water that [w]causeth the curse shall go into thy bowels, and make thy belly to [a']swell, and thy thigh to fall away: and the woman shall say, Amen, Amen. 23 And the priest shall [b']write these curses in a book, and he shall [c']blot them out into the [v]water of bitterness: 24 and he shall make the woman drink the [v]water of bitterness that [w]causeth the curse: and the water that causeth the curse shall enter into her [and become] bitter. 25 And the priest shall take the [r]meal offering of jealousy out of the woman's hand, and shall [a']wave the meal offering before Yahweh, and [q]bring it unto the altar: 26 and the priest shall [d']take an handful of the meal offering, as the [b']memorial thereof, and [c']burn it upon the altar, and afterward shall make the woman drink the water. 27 And when he hath made her drink the water, then it shall come to pass, if she be defiled, and have [j]committed a trespass against her husband, that the water that [w]causeth the curse shall enter into her [and become] bitter, and her belly shall [a']swell, and her thigh shall fall away: and the woman shall be a curse among her people. 28 And if the woman be not defiled, but [d']be clean; then she shall be [x]free, and shall [e']conceive seed. 29 [e']This is the law of jealousy, when a wife, [M]being under her husband, [j]goeth aside, and is defiled; 30 or when the spirit of jealousy [f']cometh upon a man, and he be jealous over his wife; then shall he [x]set the woman before Yahweh, and the priest shall execute upon her all this law. 31 And the man shall be [x]free from iniquity, and that woman shall [f']bear her iniquity.

6[1] [NL]*And Yahweh* [a]*spake unto Moses, saying,* 2 *Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them,* [b]When [a]either [c]man or woman shall make a [d]special vow, the vow of [M]a Nazirite, to [M]separate himself unto Yahweh: 3 he shall [b]separate himself from wine and [c]strong drink; he shall drink no [d]vinegar of wine, or vinegar of strong drink, neither shall he drink any [e]liquor of grapes, nor eat [f]fresh grapes or dried. 4 All the days of his [M]separation shall he eat nothing that is made of the grape-vine, from the [g]kernels even to the [g]husk. 5 All the days of his vow of separation there shall no [h]razor come upon his

q Lev 2[1] 5[11]
r Cp 18 25†
s ℌ cp Lev 14[21]
t ℌ 1 Kings 6[15]. 30 7[7] Am 9[3]†
u Lev 10[6]
v 19 23.†
w 19 22 24 ℌ Pi Gen 5[29]†
x 28 31 cp Gen 24[8]
y Lev 18[20]
z Josh 22[19]*
a' adj† 22 27 vb (?Is 29[7])†
b' Ex 17[14]
c' Ct Gen 6[7]
d' Lev 2[2]
e' ℌ†
f' Ct 14
1-21 Lnpa 8f[c]
a 5[6]
b 5. 12 Lev 15[31]
c Lev 10[9]
d ℌ*
e ℌ†
f Cp Gen 30[37]*
g ℌ†
h 8[7]*

u 128
v 72
w 113
x 141
y 54[b]
z 167[c]
a' 175
b' 112
c' 37
d' 42[b]
e' 188[b]
f' 28[a]
a 185[a]
b 190[c]
c 108[a]
d 172

5[17] (ℌ *Tent of meeting.* As this term is not elsewhere used in the original text of the priestly teaching (cp Ex 25[1N]) its appearance here is hardly original.

19 20 **M** Or, with another *instead of thy husband.* See Ezek 23[5] Rom 7[2]. 21ab **M** Or, *adjuration.*

29 **M** Or, *goeth aside* with another *instead of her husband.*

6[1] The Law of the Nazirite betrays no special dependence upon P[g] except in the thrice repeated allusion to the 'door of the tent of meeting' 10 13 18, which may not be original (or may belong to the older view of the sanctuary cp Ex 25[1N]), the 'basket of unleavened bread' &c 15 (only in Ex 29 Lev 8). The ritual terminology 10. ., 'offer,' with the various kinds of sacrifices, and the appropriate offerings, conforms closely to the type of Lev 1–7. Of the three parts into which the law falls 2b–8 9–12 13–21 the first may well be earlier still. The phraseology shows some peculiarities arising from the subject, but in other respects it approximates closely to the usage of P[h]; thus, with the idea of 'separation' to Yahweh, cp 'holy to Yahweh' 8 Lev 21[7] &c (for 'separation unto God' 7 cp Judg 13[5 7], 'God' cp Lev 2[13N]); further, 'be holy' 5, 'dead body' 6 cp Lev 21[11], 'make himself unclean' &c 7 cp Lev 21[2]. For the Nazirite elsewhere, cp Judg 13[5 7] 16[17] Am 2[11]. Lam 4[7]; the term is also used in other applications Gen 49[26] || Deut 33[16] Lev 25[5 11]†.

2a **M** That is, *one separated* or *consecrated.*

2b **M** Or, *consecrate.*

4 **M** Or, *consecration.* Or, *Naziriteship.*

JE | P[t] | P[g] | P[s]

head: until the days be [i]fulfilled, in the which he [b]separateth himself unto Yahweh, he shall [e]be holy, he shall let the [j]locks of the hair of his head grow long. [6] [L]All the days that he [b]separateth himself unto Yahweh he shall not come near to a [f]dead body. [7] He shall not [k]make himself [g]unclean for his father, or for his mother, for his brother, or for his sister, when they die: because his separation unto God is upon his head. [8] All the days of his separation he is [l]holy unto Yahweh.

[9] And if any man die very [m]suddenly beside him, and he [g]defile the head of his separation; then he shall [n]shave his head in the day of his [h]cleansing, on the [o]seventh day shall he shave it. [10] And on the eighth day he shall bring [p]two turtledoves, or two young pigeons, to the priest, to the [i]door of the tent of meeting: [11] and the priest shall [q]offer one for a sin offering, and the other for a burnt offering, and make atonement for him, for that he sinned by reason of the [f]dead, and shall [j]hallow his head that same day. [12] And he shall [b]separate unto Yahweh the days of his separation, and shall bring a [r]he-lamb of the first year [s]for a guilt offering: but the former days shall be void, because his separation was defiled.

[13] And [k]this is the law of the Nazirite, when the days of his separation are [i]fulfilled: he shall be brought unto the [i]door of the tent of meeting: [14] and he shall offer his oblation unto Yahweh, one [r]he-lamb of the first year [t]without blemish for a burnt offering, and one [t]ewe-lamb of the first year without blemish for a sin offering, and one ram without blemish for peace offerings, [15] and a [u]basket of unleavened bread, cakes of fine flour mingled with oil, and unleavened wafers anointed with oil, and their meal offering, and their drink offerings. [16] And the priest shall present them before Yahweh, and shall [m]offer his sin offering, and his burnt offering: [17] and he shall offer the ram for a sacrifice of peace offerings unto Yahweh, with the [u]basket of unleavened bread: the priest shall offer also the meal offering thereof, and the drink offering thereof. [18] And the Nazirite shall [n]shave the head of his separation at the [i]door of the tent of meeting, and shall take the hair of the head of his separation, and put it on the fire which is under the sacrifice of peace offerings. [19] [L]And the priest shall take the [v]sodden shoulder of the ram, and one unleavened cake out of the [u]basket, and one unleavened wafer, and shall put them upon the hands of the Nazirite, after he hath shaven [the head] of his separation: [20] and the priest shall [n]wave them for a wave offering before Yahweh; this is [o]holy for the priest, together with the [w]wave breast and heave [M]thigh: and after that the Nazirite may drink wine. [21] [k]This is the law of the Nazirite who voweth, [and of] his oblation unto Yahweh for his separation, [p]beside that which he is [q]able to get: [r]according to his vow which he voweth, so he must do after the law of his separation.

[22] [NL]And Yahweh [s]spake unto Moses, saying, [23] Speak unto [s]Aaron and unto his sons, saying, On this wise ye shall [x]bless the children of Israel; [y]ye shall say unto them,

[24] Yahweh bless thee, and [z]keep thee:

[25] Yahweh [a']make his face to shine[a'] upon thee, and be [b']gracious unto thee:

[26] Yahweh [c']lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace.

[27] So shall they put my name upon the children of Israel; and [t]I will bless them.

7[1] [NL]And it came to pass on the [a]day that Moses had made an end of

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6[20] **M** Or, *shoulder*.

[22] In the absence of any contrary indication, this paragraph is most naturally assigned to P[g], but the actual formula of benediction [24–26] is presumably much older. The distinctive linguistic affinities are, as is natural, rather with the devotional literature of the Psalter than with the legal or narrative styles of the Pentateuch.

7[1] It is generally agreed that [1–88] belongs in its entirety to the latest stratum of P[s]. The date in [1 10] attaches the 'dedication of the altar' to Ex 40[2 17] so that chronologically it should precede Num 1 (cp Num [N] *ad init*). Yet the distribution of the gifts [5–9] implies the functions of the Levitical clans as arranged in 4, while the order of the tribes is that of the camp described in 2, so that the arrangements laid down in 1–4 are throughout presupposed. Moreover the circumlocution is carried to the utmost possible extent. Apart from one or two additional

JE | P[ht] | P[g] | P[s]

[a]setting up the [b]Dwelling, and had [b]anointed it and [b]sanctified it, and all the furniture thereof, and the altar and all the vessels thereof, and had anointed them and sanctified them; 2 that the [c]princes of Israel, the [d]heads of their fathers' houses, [e]offered; these were the princes of the [f]tribes, these are they that [c]were over them that were [g]numbered: 3 and they brought their [h]oblation before Yahweh, six [d]covered wagons, and twelve oxen; a wagon for every two of the princes, and for each one an ox: and they [e]presented them before the Dwelling. 4 And Yahweh [i]spake unto Moses, saying, 5 Take it of them, that they may be to [j]do the service of the tent of meeting; and thou shalt give them unto the Levites, to every man [k]according to his service. 6 And Moses took the wagons and the oxen, and gave them unto the Levites. 7 Two wagons and four oxen he gave unto the sons of Gershon, [k]according to their service: 8 and four wagons and eight oxen he gave unto the sons of Merari, [k]according unto their service, [e]under the hand of [l]Ithamar the son of Aaron the priest. 9 But unto the sons of Kohath he gave none: because the service of the [m]sanctuary belonged unto them; they [f]bare it upon their shoulders. 10 And the princes offered [m]for the dedication of the [g]altar in the day that it was anointed, even the princes offered their oblation before the altar. 11 And Yahweh said unto Moses, They shall offer their oblation, each prince on his day, for the dedication of the altar.

12 And he that offered his oblation the first day was Nahshon the son of Amminadab, of the tribe of Judah: 13 and his oblation was one silver [h]charger, the weight thereof was an hundred and thirty [shekels], one silver [i]bowl of seventy shekels, after the [j]shekel of the sanctuary; both of them full of [k]fine flour mingled with oil for a meal offering; 14 one golden [l]spoon of ten [shekels], full of [n]incense; 15 one young bullock, one ram, one [m]he-lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering; 16 one male of the goats for a sin offering; 17 and for the sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs of the first year: [o]this was the oblation of Nahshon the son of Amminadab.

18 On the second day Nethanel the son of Zuar, prince of Issachar, did offer: 19 he offered for his oblation one silver charger, the weight thereof was an hundred and thirty [shekels], one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meal offering; 20 one golden spoon of ten [shekels], full of incense; 21 one young bullock, one ram, one he-lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering; 22 one male of the goats for a sin offering; 23 and for the sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs of the first year: this was the oblation of Nethanel the son of Zuar.

24 On the third day Eliab the son of Helon, prince of the children of Zebulun: 25 his oblation was one silver charger, the weight thereof was an hundred and thirty [shekels], one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meal offering; 26 one golden spoon of ten [shekels], full of incense; 27 one young bullock, one ram, one he-lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering; 28 one male of the goats for a sin offering; 29 and for the sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs of the first year: this was the oblation of Eliab the son of Helon.

30 On the fourth day Elizur the son of Shedeur, prince of the children of Reuben: 31 his oblation was one silver charger, the weight thereof was an hundred and thirty [shekels], one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meal offering; 32 one golden spoon of ten [shekels], full of incense; 33 one

b Ex 40[9]
c 2 Chron 7[6] ℌ
d Is 66[20]†
e 4[28 33]
f 4[15]
g Ex 40[10]
h 4[7] Ex 25[29]
i 4[14] Ex 27[3]
j Ex 30[13]
k Ex 29[2]
l Ex 25[29]
m Ex 29[38]

a 60[b] b 54[b] c 131 d 66 e 118[4] f 165 g 115[b] h 118[b] i 185[1] j 140[b] k 19[a] l 12[2] m 88[c] n 95[3] o 188[b]

variations in the first two sections 12–17 18–23, the same formula, consisting of 118 English words, is repeated for each of the twelve tribes, with the alteration of only six words for the number of the day and the name and tribe of the prince.

7[10] M Or, *the dedication-gift*.—Cp Ps 30 (title) 2 Chron 7[9] Ezr 6[16]. Neh 12[27] Dan 3[2].†.

JE | P[ht] | P[s] | P[s]

young bullock, one ram, one he-lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering; [34] one male of the goats for a sin offering; [35] and for the sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs of the first year: this was the oblation of Elizur the son of Shedeur.

[36] On the fifth day Shelumiel the son of Zurishaddai, prince of the children of Simeon: [37] his oblation was one silver charger, the weight thereof was an hundred and thirty [shekels], one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meal offering; [38] one golden spoon of ten [shekels], full of incense; [39] one young bullock, one ram, one he-lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering; [40] one male of the goats for a sin offering; [41] and for the sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs of the first year: this was the oblation of Shelumiel the son of Zurishaddai.

[42] On the sixth day Eliasaph the son of Deuel, prince of the children of Gad: [43] his oblation was one silver charger, the weight thereof was an hundred and thirty [shekels], one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meal offering; [44] one golden spoon of ten [shekels], full of incense; [45] one young bullock, one ram, one he-lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering; [46] one male of the goats for a sin offering; [47] and for the sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs of the first year: this was the oblation of Eliasaph the son of Deuel.

[48] On the seventh day Elishama the son of Ammihud, prince of the children of Ephraim: [49] his oblation was one silver charger, the weight thereof was an hundred and thirty [shekels], one silver bowl of seventy skekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meal offering; [50] one golden spoon of ten [shekels], full of incense; [51] one young bullock, one ram, one he-lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering; [52] one male of the goats for a sin offering; [53] and for the sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs of the first year: this was the oblation of Elishama the son of Ammihud.

[54] On the eighth day Gamaliel, the son of Pedahzur, prince of the children of Manasseh: [55] his oblation was one silver charger, the weight thereof was an hundred and thirty [shekels], one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meal offering; [56] one golden spoon of ten [shekels], full of incense; [57] one young bullock, one ram, one he-lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering; [58] one male of the goats for a sin offering; [59] and for the sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs of the first year: this was the oblation of Gamaliel the son of Pedahzur.

[60] On the ninth day Abidan the son of Gideoni, prince of the children of Benjamin: [61] his oblation was one silver charger, the weight thereof was an hundred and thirty [shekels], one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meal offering; [62] one golden spoon of ten [shekels], full of incense; [63] one young bullock, one ram, one he-lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering; [64] one male of the goats for a sin offering; [65] and for the sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs of the first year: this was the oblation of Abidan the son of Gideoni.

[66] On the tenth day Ahiezer the son of Ammishaddai, prince of the children of Dan: [67] his oblation was one silver charger, the weight thereof was an hundred and thirty [shekels], one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meal offering; [68] one golden spoon of ten [shekels], full of incense; [69] one young bullock, one ram, one he-lamb of the first year, for

JE | P[ht] | P[s] | P[s]

a burnt offering; [70] one male of the goats for a sin offering; [71] and for the sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs of the first year: this was the oblation of Ahiezer the son of Ammishaddai.

[72] On the eleventh day Pagiel the son of Ochran, prince of the children of Asher: [73] his oblation was one silver charger, the weight thereof was an hundred and thirty [shekels], one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meal offering; [74] one golden spoon of ten [shekels], full of incense; [75] one young bullock, one ram, one he-lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering; [76] one male of the goats for a sin offering; [77] and for the sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs of the first year: this was the oblation of Pagiel the son of Ochran.

[78] On the twelfth day Ahira the son of Enan, prince of the children of Naphtali: [79] his oblation was one silver charger, the weight thereof was an hundred and thirty [shekels], one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meal offering; [80] one golden spoon of ten [shekels], full of incense; [81] one young bullock, one ram, one he-lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering; [82] one male of the goats for a sin offering; [83] and for the sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs of the first year: this was the oblation of Ahira the son of Enan.

[84] [P]This was the [M]dedication of the altar, in the day when it was anointed [M]by the princes of Israel: twelve silver chargers, twelve silver bowls, twelve golden spoons: [85] each silver charger [weighing] an hundred and thirty [shekels], and each bowl seventy: all the silver of the vessels two thousand and four hundred [shekels], after the shekel of the sanctuary; [86] the twelve golden spoons, full of incense, [weighing] ten [shekels] apiece, after the shekel of the sanctuary: all the gold of the spoons an hundred and twenty [shekels]: [87] all the oxen for the burnt offering twelve bullocks, the rams twelve, the he-lambs of the first year twelve, and their meal offering: and the males of the goats for a sin offering twelve: [88] and all the oxen for the sacrifice of peace-offerings twenty and four bullocks, the rams sixty, the he-goats sixty, the he-lambs of the first year sixty. [P]This was the [M]dedication of the altar, after that it was anointed. p 188[b]

[89] [N]And when Moses went into the tent of meeting to [n]speak with him, then he heard the Voice speaking unto him [o]from above the [T]covering that was upon the ark of the testimony, from between the two cherubim: and he spake unto him.

n Ex 25[22] = *commune* ℌ
o Ex 25[22]

1-4 L10ec

8[1] [NL]And Yahweh [a]spake unto Moses, saying, [2] Speak unto Aaron, and say unto him, [a]When thou [M]lightest the lamps, the seven lamps shall [b]give light [b]in front of the [c]candlestick. [3] And Aaron did so; he [M]lighted the lamps thereof [so as to give light] [b]in front of the candlestick, [d]as Yahweh commanded Moses. [4] And [c]this was the work of the candlestick, [M]beaten work of gold; unto the base thereof, [and] unto the flowers thereof, it was beaten work: according unto the [e]pattern which Yahweh had shewed Moses, so he made the candlestick. a 185[a] b 71 c 188[b]

a Ex 27[20]. Lev 24[1-4]
b Gen 1[15]
c Ex 25[31]
d Ex 39[1]
e Ex 25[9]

5-19 LIIIu

[5] [NL]And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying, [6] Take the Levites from

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7[84 88] **M** Or, *dedication-gift.*
[84b] **M** Or, *at the hands of.*

[89a] This verse is plainly severed from its natural connexion, for there is no proper antecedent to 'him.' It appears to be a fragment of P[s], being closely related to Ex 25[21], left stranded like a boulder, amid alien surroundings.

[89b] So **M** Ex 25[17]. **T** *mercy-seat.*

8[1] The construction of the 'candlestick' is ordained in Ex 25[31-39]. Lev 24[1-4] Ex 27[20] and Num 8[1-4] deal with the oil and lighting or 'setting up' of the candlestick, and are here given in order of probable date. This passage seems to define more precisely the position of the lamps.

[2] **M** Or, *settest up.*—Cp Ex 27[20].
[3] **M** Or, *set up.*
[4] **M** Or, *turned* —Cp Ex 25[18].

[5] The appointment of the Aaronic priesthood was followed in Lev 8 by an account of the consecration of Aaron and his sons. In a similar way, the institution of the Levitical order 3 finds its sequel in a narrative of their solemn gift to Yahweh for the service of the sanctuary. The analogy of Lev 8 suggests for this piece also a secondary character. This seems confirmed by marks of redactional extension. Thus the instructions for the purification of the Levites are curiously duplicated. A full close seems to be reached in 15[5a]; but in 15[5b] Moses is again directed to cleanse them cp 6., and to wave them as a wave offering

among the children of Israel, and [f]cleanse them. [7] And [g]thus shalt thou do unto them, to cleanse them: [d]sprinkle the [h]water of expiation[h] upon them, and let them cause a [i]razor to pass over all their flesh, and let them [e]wash their clothes, and [f]cleanse themselves. [8] Then let them [j]take a young bullock, and its meal offering, fine flour mingled with oil, and another young bullock shalt thou take for a sin offering. [9] And thou shalt [g]present the Levites before the tent of meeting: and [k]thou shalt [h]assemble the whole congregation of the children of Israel: [10] and thou shalt [g]present the Levites before Yahweh: and the children of Israel shall [i]lay their hands upon the Levites: [11] and Aaron shall [r]wave the Levites before Yahweh for a wave offering, [M]on the behalf of the children of Israel, that they may be to [j]do the [l]service of Yahweh[l]. [12] And the Levites shall [i]lay their hands upon the [m]heads of the bullocks: and offer thou the one for a sin offering, and the other for a burnt offering, unto Yahweh, to [n]make atonement for the Levites. [13] And thou shalt [k]set the Levites before Aaron, and before his sons, and wave them for a wave offering unto Yahweh. [14] Thus shalt thou [i]separate the Levites from among the children of Israel: and the Levites shall be [o]mine. [15a] And after that shall the Levites go in to [j]do the service of the tent of meeting.

[15b] And thou shalt [f]cleanse them, and wave them for a wave offering. [16] For they are [M]wholly given unto me from among the children of Israel; instead of [p]all that openeth the womb, even the firstborn of all the children of Israel, have I taken them unto me. [17] [q]For all the firstborn among the children of Israel are mine, [m]both man [n]and beast: on the day that I smote all the firstborn in the land of Egypt I [r]hallowed them for myself. [18] And I have taken the Levites instead of all the firstborn among the children of Israel. [19] And I have [s]given the Levites as [M]a gift to [n]Aaron and to his sons from among the children of Israel, to [j]do the service of the children of Israel in the tent of meeting, and to [o]make atonement for the children of Israel: that there be no [p]plague among the children of Israel, [M]when the children of Israel [t]come nigh unto the [q]sanctuary. [20] [r]Thus did Moses, and Aaron, and all the [s]congregation of the children of Israel, unto the Levites: according unto all that Yahweh commanded Moses touching the Levites, so did the children of Israel unto them. [21] And the Levites [t]purified themselves from sin, and they [e]washed their clothes; and Aaron waved them for a wave offering before Yahweh; and Aaron made atonement for them to cleanse them. [22] And after that went the Levites in to do their service in the tent of meeting before Aaron, and before his sons: as Yahweh had commanded Moses concerning the Levites, so did they unto them.

[23] [NL]And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying, [24] [u]This is that which belongeth unto the Levites: from [w]twenty and five years [v]old and [w]upward they shall go in [M]to wait upon the service in the work of the tent of meeting: [25] and from the age of fifty years they shall [M]cease waiting upon the work, and shall serve no more; [26] but shall minister with their brethren in the tent of meeting, to [x]keep the charge, and shall do no service. [v]Thus shalt thou do unto the Levites touching their charges.

9 [1] [NL]And Yahweh [a]spake unto Moses in the wilderness of [b]Sinai, in the [c]first month of the second year [a]after they were come out of the land of Egypt, saying, [2] [N]Moreover let the children of Israel [b]keep the passover

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cp [13] further cp [9a 10a]. [16–19] shows direct dependence on 3^{9} [12], but in [17] the compiler has abandoned the usage of 3^{13} Ex 12^{12} ‥ עֵר ‥ מִן, in favour of the formula ‥ בְּ ‥ בְּ cp 108[c] 35. Further, the original draft of the ceremony implies that Moses throughout is the agent of dedication, as in Lev 8 cp [6. 9.]. Accordingly in [13] Moses is instructed to 'wave' the Levites symbolically as a wave offering before Yahweh cp [15b]. The allotment of this duty to Aaron [11], belongs apparently to the later revision which set him by the side of Moses in the census cp 1^{1N}. The original form, therefore, would seem to have been comprised in [5–10 12–15a], with a simple record of the fulfilment of the divine commands, now expanded into [20–22], where Aaron's share becomes more prominent. It is in accordance with this view that the atonement to be made by Moses in [12] is ascribed to Aaron in [21]. Dillm suggests that [13b–14] fell into its present place when [11] was inserted, thus interrupting [13a] and [15a] which may have stood in immediate connexion.

8^{11a} So **M** 𝔊. **T** *offer*, and in [13 15 21].

[11b] **M** Or, *from*.

[16] **M** See 3^{9}.

[17] 𝔊 as in 3^{13}. **T** *sanctified*.

[19a] **M** 𝔊 *Nethunim*, given.

[19b] **M** Or, *through the children of Israel coming nigh*.

[23] According to 4^{3} the period of Levitical service in the sanctuary was fixed from thirty to fifty years of age. This law, extending the time by five years, from twenty-five to fifty, can only be a later modification.

[24] **M** 𝔊 *to war the warfare in the work*.—[P]92[c].

[25] **M** 𝔊 *return from the warfare of the work*.

9[1] The celebration of the passover in the first month of the second year of the Exodus falls in order of time before the census at the opening of the second month 1^{1} cp 7^{1}; the record seems, however, to be introduced here to prepare for the secondary passage in [6–14] providing for a supplemental observance on the fourteenth of the second month, which is thus completed before the start on the twentieth 10^{11}. Cp Ex 12.

[2] 𝔊 *and*. Apparently some words have dropped out, so that the text is defective. It seems probable that other material has here been incorporated, for the language is not without affinities to [Ph]; thus [2–5] '*do* the passover,' cp Ex 31^{16} ct Ex 12^{6} [14 17], [3] 'statutes and judgements' cp [14] [P]213. Some slight variations in 𝔊 [2–5] further indicate diversity of treatment or scribal manipulation.

JE | P[ht] | P[g] | P[s]

in [c]its appointed season. [3] In the [d]fourteenth day of [e]this month, [M]at even, ye shall [b]keep it in [c]its appointed season: according to all the statutes of it, and according to all the [f]ordinances thereof, shall ye [b]keep it. [4] And Moses spake unto the children of Israel, that they should [b]keep the passover. [5] And they [b]kept the passover in the first [month], on the fourteenth day of the month, [M]at even, in the wilderness of Sinai: [d]according to all that Yahweh commanded Moses, so did the children of Israel. d 189[c]

[6] [NL]And there were certain men, who were [g]unclean by the [e]dead body of a man, so that they could not [b]keep the passover on that day: and they came before Moses and before Aaron on that day: [7] and those men said unto him, We are unclean by the [e]dead body of a man: wherefore are we [h]kept back, that we may [i]not [f]offer the oblation of Yahweh in [c]its appointed season among the children of Israel? [8] And Moses said unto them, Stay ye; that I may hear what Yahweh will command concerning you. e 198 f 118[a]

[9] And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying, [10] Speak unto the children of Israel, saying, [g]If any man of you or of your [h]generations shall be [g]unclean by reason of a dead body, or be in a journey afar off, yet he shall [b]keep the passover unto Yahweh: [11] in the second month on the fourteenth day [M]at even they shall [b]keep it; they shall [j]eat it with unleavened bread and bitter herbs: [12] they shall [k]leave none of it unto the morning, nor [l]break a bone thereof: according to all the statute of the passover they shall [b]keep it. [13] But the man that is clean, and is not in a journey, and forbeareth to [b]keep the passover, that soul shall be [i]cut off from his people: because he offered not the oblation of Yahweh in [c]its appointed season, that man shall [j]bear his sin. [14] [L]And [m]if a stranger shall sojourn among you, and will keep the passover unto Yahweh; according to the statute of the passover, and according to the [f]ordinance thereof, so shall he do: ye shall have [n]one statute, both for the stranger, and for him that is [k]born in the land. g 190[d] h 76[b] i 50[a] j 28[b] k 34

[15] [NL]And on the day that the [l]Dwelling was [m]reared up the cloud [o]covered the Dwelling, even the tent of the [n]testimony: and at even it was upon the Dwelling [p]as it were the appearance of fire, until morning. [16] So it was [o]alway: the cloud covered it, and the appearance of [q]fire by night. [17] And [p]whenever the cloud [q]was taken up from over the Tent, then after that the children of Israel journeyed: and in the place where the cloud [r]abode, there the children of Israel encamped. [18] [s]At the commandment of Yahweh the children of Israel journeyed, and at the commandment of Yahweh they encamped: as long as the cloud [r]abode upon the Dwelling they remained encamped. [19] And when the cloud tarried upon the Dwelling many days, then the children of Israel [t]kept the charge of Yahweh, and journeyed not. [20] And [r]sometimes the cloud was a few days upon the Dwelling; then [s]according to the commandment of Yahweh they remained encamped, and according to the commandment of Yahweh they journeyed. [21] And [r]sometimes the cloud was from evening until morning; and when the cloud [q]was taken up in the morning, they journeyed: or [if it continued] by day and by night, when the cloud [q]was taken up, they journeyed. [22] Whether it were two days, or a month, or a year, that the cloud tarried upon the Dwelling, [r]abiding thereon, the children of Israel remained encamped, and journeyed not: but when it [q]was taken up, l 54[b] m 60[b] n 161 o 124 p 19[b] q 159 r 54[a] s 19[c] t 39[b]

$9^{3\ 5\ 11}$ **M** 𝔊 *between the two evenings* —[P]32.

[6] An exceptional case giving rise to a law placed in narrative setting (for other instances in P[s] cp Lev 10^{12}.. 24^{10}.. Num 31^{21}..). The law, however, takes cognizance of other circumstances beside those which suggest it, and the reference to travellers [10] may have led the compilers to place the section immediately before the account of the resumption of the march cp [1N]. The peculiarities of phrase noted in [2–5] are not wanting in [6]..; for *nephesh* [6. 10] 'soul' = 'dead body' cp [P]198; 'if any man' [10] cp 190[d]; 'bear his sin' [13] cp 28^{b} 193; 'not' [7] Lev 18^{30} 20^{4} 26^{15} cp Josh 22^{25} P*; with [8] cp Lev 24^{12}, 'stay' cp Ex 9^{28}. On the whole, therefore, [1–14] may be regarded as in one piece P[s], showing acquaintance with the usage of both P[h] and P[g].

[15] This passage attaches itself to Ex 40. The general impression of its secondary character suggested by this reference as well as by its numerous repetitions, is further confirmed by some unusual expressions not found elsewhere in P[g]; thus [15] 'as it were the appearance of fire,' [19 23] 'kept the charge of Yahweh' Lev 8^{35}† (ct 'charge of the Dwelling, the congregation' &c), [20]. 'and sometimes' ויש אשר Neh 5^{2-4}†. In [21–23] 𝔊 either follows a shorter text or curtails its original. The present form is probably expanded from a simpler base in P[g]. On the contrast of the representation with that of JE Num 10^{33}.. cp *Introd* VIII ii 2β i 59.

they journeyed. 23 [s]At the commandment of Yahweh they encamped, and at the commandment of Yahweh they journeyed: they [t]kept the charge of Yahweh, at the commandment of Yahweh [u]by the hand of Moses. u 180[b]

1-8 *L*48*l*
a Gen 6[14]
b 8-10 31[6]* Hos 5[8] *al*
c ☊=*convocation* Ex 12[16] Lev 23[2]·· Num 28 29*
d Lev 23[24]
e 2[3]
f 2[10]

10[1] [NL]And Yahweh [a]spake unto Moses, saying, 2 [a]Make thee two [b]trumpets of silver; of [M]beaten work shalt thou make them: and thou shalt use them for the [c]calling of the [b]congregation, and for the [c]journeying of the camps. 3 And when they shall blow with them, all the [b]congregation shall [d]gather themselves unto thee at the [e]door of the tent of meeting. 4 And if they blow but with one, then the [f]princes, the [g]heads of the thousands of Israel, shall [d]gather themselves unto thee. 5 And when ye blow an [d]alarm, the camps that lie on the [e]east side shall take their journey. 6 And when ye blow an alarm the second time, the camps that lie on the [f]south side shall take their journey: they shall blow an alarm for their [c]journeys[N]. 7 But when the assembly is to be [h]gathered together, ye shall blow, but ye shall not sound an alarm. 8 [L]And the [i]sons of Aaron, the priests, shall blow with the trumpets; and they shall [j]be to you for a [k]statute for ever [l]throughout your generations.

a 185[a]
b 45[a]
c 97[b]
d 111[t]
e 111[b]
f 131
g 84[b]
h 24[a]
i 130[a]
j 27
k 62[c]
l 76[b]

8 *L*11h*l*

9. *L*4me8*c*
g Ct 3[1.21] 3[26] Deut 20[1]
h 31[6]
i Cp Is 62[6]
j Ex 14[30]
10 *L*9c*t*
k 28[11]†

9 [NL]And when ye [g]go to war in your land against the adversary that oppresseth you, then ye shall sound an alarm with the [h]trumpets; and ye shall be [i]remembered before Yahweh your God, and ye shall be [j]saved from your enemies. 10 [L]Also in the day of your gladness, and in your [m]set feasts, and in the [k]beginnings of your months[k], ye shall blow with the trumpets over your burnt offerings, and over the sacrifices of your peace offerings; and they shall [n]be to you for a [o]memorial before your God: [p]I am Yahweh your God.

m 111[c]
n 27
o 113
p 203[b]

l 1[1]
m 9[17]

11 [N]And it came to pass in the [l]second year, in the [q]second month, on the twentieth day of the month, that the [m]cloud [r]was taken up from over the [s]Dwelling of the testimony. 12 And the children of Israel [t]set forward according to their [c]journeys out of the wilderness of [u]Sinai; and the cloud [v]abode in the wilderness of [n]Paran.

q 183
r 159
s 54[b]
t 97[a]
u 7
v 54[a]

n 12[16] 13[3 26] Deut 1[1] Gen 21[21]
13-28 *L*4r*b*
o 2[9]
p 2[3]

13 [L]And they first took their journey [w]according to the commandment of Yahweh by the hand of Moses. 14 And in the [o]first [place] the [x]standard of the camp of the children of Judah set forward [y]according to their hosts: and over his host was [p]Nahshon the son of Amminadab. 15 And over the host of the [z]tribe of the children of Issachar was Nethanel the son of Zuar. 16 And over the host of the tribe of the children of Zebulun was Eliab the son of Helon. 17 And the Dwelling was [q]taken down; and the sons of [r]Gershon and the sons of [s]Merari, who bare the Dwelling, set forward. 18 And the standard of the camp of Reuben set forward according to their hosts: and over his host was Elizur the son of Shedeur. 19 And over the host of the tribe of the children of Simeon was Shelumiel the son of Zurishaddai. 20 And over the host of the tribe of the children of Gad was Eliasaph the son of Deuel. 21 And the [t]Kohathites set forward, bearing the [a']sanctuary: and [the other] did [b']set up the Dwelling against they came. 22 And the standard of the camp of the children of Ephraim set forward according to their hosts: and over his host was Elishama the son of Ammihud. 23 And over the host of the tribe of the children of Manasseh was Gamaliel the son of Pedahzur. 24 And over the host of the tribe

w 180[b]
x 151
y 18[1]
z 165

q 1[51]
r 3[25]
s 3[36]
t 3[31]

a′ 91
b′ 60[b]

10[1] If 1-8 be rightly ascribed to P[g], the suggestion that P[g] contained a brief account of the order of encampment cp 2[1N] gains additional strength. But the manner is not quite uniform, a transition occurring at 5 to 'ye,' while the duty of blowing is finally limited 8 to the priests. After the close in 8 the editor appends a passage in a rather different style cp 9[N].

2 **M** Or, *turned.*—Ex 25[18].

6 (𝔊 adds similar signals for the west and north divisions.

9 The instructions for the use of the trumpets 1-8 are confined to the march. In 9, however, the situation changes to the promised land cp Lev 19[23] 23[10] 25[2] (cp 'your land' Lev 19[9] 33 22[24] 23[22] 25[9 45] 26[1]) P[h]: other peculiarities point in this direction, 'before Yahweh your God' 9 Lev 23[40] P* ((𝔊 omits 'your God'), 'gladness (rejoicing)' cp Lev 23[40], 'sacrifices of your peace offerings' Lev 17[5], but cp P[H]18[c], 'I am Yahweh your God,' 203[b] ((𝔊 omits 'your God'). Either therefore P[g] has utilized other material, or **R** has attached 9. to the other trumpet arrangements.

11 At this point P[g] begins the itinerary from Sinai cp 33. Sam inserts between 10 and 11 some excerpts from Deut 1[6-8]. The description of the order of the march in 13-28 is obviously dependent on the arrangements of the camp detailed in 2, and belongs to the same secondary series of additions to the main narrative of P[g]: its conclusion is probably to be found in 34.

J E P^h P^g P^s

of the children of Benjamin was Abidan the son of Gideoni. 25 And the standard of the camp of the children of Dan, which was the [u]rearward of all the camps, set forward according to their hosts: and over his host was Ahiezer the son of Ammishaddai. 26 And over the host of the tribe of the children of Asher was Pagiel the son of Ochran. 27 And over the host of the tribe of the children of Naphtali was Ahira the son of Enan. 28 [c']Thus were the [c]journeyings of the children of Israel [y]according to their hosts; and they set forward. c' 188a

29 [N]And Moses said unto [v]Hobab, the son of [w]Reuel the Midianite, Moses' [x]father in law, We are [y]journeying unto the [z]place of which Yahweh said, I will give it you: come thou with us, and we will [d']do thee good: for Yahweh hath spoken good concerning Israel. 30 And he said unto him, I will not go; but I will depart to mine own [a']land, and to my [e']kindred. 31 And he said, [f']Leave us not, [g']I pray thee; [h']forasmuch as thou knowest how we are to encamp in the wilderness, and thou shalt be to us instead of eyes. 32 And it shall be, if thou go with us, yea, it shall be, that what good soever Yahweh shall [d']do unto us, the same will we [d']do unto thee. d' 38 e' 60 f' 160 g' 186 h' 35

33 [N]And they set forward from the mount of Yahweh [i']three days' journey; and the [b']ark of the covenant of Yahweh [y]went before them three days' journey, to [c']seek out a resting place for them. i' 86

34 [N]And the [d']cloud of Yahweh was over them by day, when they set forward from the camp.

35 [N]And it came to pass, [j']when the ark set forward, that Moses said,
Rise up, O Yahweh, and let thine enemies be [e']scattered;
And let them that [k']hate thee flee before thee. j' 127b k' 167

36 And when it rested, he said,
Return, O Yahweh, unto the [f']ten thousands of the thousands of Israel.

11[1] [N]And the people were as [a]murmurers, [N][speaking] evil in the ears of Yahweh: and when Yahweh heard it, his anger was kindled; and the fire of Yahweh [b]burnt among them, and devoured in the uttermost part of the camp. 2 And the people [a]cried unto Moses; and Moses [b]prayed a 141 b 113

u Josh 6⁹ 13* Is 52¹²
v Judg 4¹¹†
w Ex 2¹⁸
x Cp Judg 1¹⁶
y Cp Ex 14¹⁰ ℌ
z 14⁴⁰ cp Ex 33¹
a' Gen 12²
b' Cp P19
c' Cp P150
d' Ex 40³⁸† cp Num 14¹⁴
e' Gen 11⁴ ℌ Qal*
f' Gen 24⁶⁰ Deut 33¹⁷
a Lam 3³⁹† ct Ex 15²⁴ and P114
b Ex 3².

10²⁹ With this paragraph 29–32 the narrative of JE is at last resumed (from Ex 34²⁸). The margins prove that it is derived from J, but the abruptness of both opening and close indicates that it is only a fragment. Its beginning has probably been omitted in view of the duplicate narrative of E in Ex 18 (cp 18[N]), where some portion of it seems to have been preserved. The conclusion, on the other hand, which told of Hobab's aid (cp Judg 1¹⁶ 4¹¹, Moore's *Judges* in *ICC*, Sayce, *Early Hist* 213), has probably been dropped as inconsistent with P's representations 9¹⁷. ·.

33 The basis of this passage is J's account of the start, but the language has undergone some editorial manipulation. On the designation 'ark of the covenant' cp Couard, *ZATW* (1892) 62: the repetition of the phrase 'three days' journey' is probably due to a corrupted text; but it does not seem necessary to ascribe the rest to R^P. The verb 'seek out' is used by P, but in the meaning 'to reconnoitre.' It occurs also in Deut 1³³ and may quite well have stood in the older narrative, though Couard thinks that priority here belongs to D, and that the passage in the text is founded upon it. For 'resting place' cp Gen 49¹⁵.

34 The description of the cloud as 'over' the advancing Israelites at once separates this statement from the narrative of J in which it is conceived as going before them 14¹⁴ᵇ Ex 13²¹ as a pillar. In P, on the other hand, it is always above them without definite form cp 9¹⁷·.·. The peculiar phrase 'cloud of Yahweh' occurs only elsewhere in P^s Ex 40³⁸ (cp Num 14¹⁴ R), and this verse which in ℌ follows 36 may be regarded as the natural conclusion of 13–28 where a reference to the protecting presence of the cloud might be expected.

35 This pair of poetical invocations is here ascribed to a setting in J, and may have been derived from the Book of the Wars of Yahweh or some other similar collection. For Yahweh's 'enemies' cp Judg 5³¹.

11[1a] The narratives in 11–12 are obviously derived from JE. Familiar phrases like the 'kindling' of Yahweh's anger 11[1] [10], the style of Moses' expostulation with Yahweh, the description of Yahweh's descent in the cloud 11²⁵ 12⁵, the place of the sanctuary outside the camp 11²⁶ 12⁴, and the account of the prophesying 11²⁵. ·, are conclusive. The Taberah incident is difficult to locate. The place is not named in P's itinerary which makes Kibroth-hattaavah [34] the first place after the departure from Sinai 33¹⁶. The solitary reference to it elsewhere in Deut 9²² associates it with Massah and Kibroth-hattaavah, but it does not follow that this was the order of the three stories in D's sources. It is plausibly attributed to E, negatively because it shows no special connexion with adjoining J passages, while positively a link is found in Moses' prayer [2] cp 21⁷ and Gen 20⁷ [17]. No cause is assigned for the murmurs of the people. If they originated in the dissatisfaction with the desert food, E's narrative may have contained an account of the manna, the general disgust at the monotony of the diet, and a plague in punishment, somewhat similar to J's. On this view, R in combining the two documents, retained one and dropped the other, but left the skeleton of E side by side with the full form of J. So, substantially, Dillm. Bacon conjectures that 1–3 originally followed the narrative of the contest with Amalek Ex 17⁸–¹⁶, which he inserts after the departure from Horeb, in sequence on Num 12.

1[b] M Or, which was *evil*.

J	E	JE	J	E	P	
		unto Yahweh, and the fire [c]abated. 3 And the [d]name of that place was called [M]Taberah: because the fire of Yahweh burnt among them.				
		...4 [N]And the [e]mixed multitude that was among them [f]fell a lusting: and the children of Israel also wept [g]again, and said, Who shall give us flesh to eat? 5 We remember the fish, which we did eat in Egypt for [h]nought; the [i]cucumbers, and the [i]melons, and the [j]leeks, and the [i]onions, and the [i]garlick: 6 but now our soul is dried away; there is nothing at all: we have nought [c]save this manna to look to. 7 And the manna was like [k]coriander seed, and the [M]appearance thereof as the appearance of [l]bdellium. 8 The people [m]went about, and [n]gathered it, and [o]ground it in [p]mills, or [q]beat it in [q]mortars, and [r]seethed it in [m]pots, and made [s]cakes of it: and the taste of it was as the taste of [M]fresh oil. 9 And when the [t]dew fell upon the camp in the night, the manna fell [M]upon it. 10a And Moses heard the people weeping [N]throughout their [u]families, every man at the door of his tent: and the anger of Yahweh was kindled greatly.			c	138
		10b [N]And Moses was displeased. 11 And Moses said unto Yahweh, [v]Wherefore hast thou [w]evil entreated [d]thy servant? and wherefore have I not [e]found favour in thy sight, that thou layest the [x]burden of all this people upon me? 12 Have I [f]conceived all this people? have I brought them forth, that thou shouldest say unto me, Carry them in thy bosom, as a [y]nursing-father carrieth the sucking child, unto the [z]land which thou [g]swarest unto their fathers?		d e f g	73 31a 21 217
		13 Whence should I have flesh to give unto all this people? for they weep unto me, saying, Give us flesh, that we may eat.				
		...14 [N]I am not able to [a']bear all this people alone, because it is too heavy for me.				
		15 And if thou deal thus with me, kill me, I pray thee, out of hand, if I have [e]found favour in thy sight; and let me not see my wretchedness.				
		16 [NL]And Yahweh said unto Moses, [b']Gather unto me [c']seventy men of the [h]elders of Israel, whom thou knowest to be the elders of the people, and [d']officers over them; and bring them unto the [e']tent of meeting, that they may stand there with thee. 17 And I will [i]come down and talk with thee there: and I will [f']take of the spirit which is upon thee, and will put it upon them; and they shall [a']bear the burden of the people with thee, that thou bear it not thyself alone.		h i	151 19
		...18 And say thou unto the people, [g']Sanctify yourselves [h']against				

11³ M That is, *Burning.*

4 The narrative in 4–35 reveals a dual origin. The communication of the spirit to the seventy elders in 16. 24b–30 is plainly independent of the demand for flesh meat and the plague which punished the voracity of the people on the advent of the quails cp 16N. The margins vindicate the main story for **J**, but it is possible that some passages have undergone later expansion e g 18.. 31.., and it is also conceivable that other elements have been incorporated into it, causing additional dislocation cp 10bN. It does not seem necessary (with Cornill) to treat 7–9 as an interpolation by **R**P. In 10 some critics have seen traces of his hand in the phrase 'throughout their families' (in this form only in Num 2³⁴*); but it is hardly used in legal fashion here, and it occurs independently 1 Sam 10²¹.

7 **M** ℌ *eye.*—Cp Lev 13⁵⁵ ℌ.

8 **M** Or, *cakes baked with oil.*—'Fresh' ℌ Ps 32⁴†.

9 **M** Or, *with.*

10a A phrase so common in **P** that some critics have ascribed its occurrence here to **R**P (but the sing suff 'his families' is not favourable to this suggestion cp 2³⁴*). On the other hand, if viewed as original, it supplies one of the numerous links between the phraseology of **J** and that of **P**.

10b The expostulation of Moses 10b–12 15 does not seem in harmony with the cause implied in the context. His 'displeasure' is plainly directed, not like the anger of Yahweh against the people, but against Yahweh himself. The language of 12 suggests that he repudiates a responsibility which really lies upon the God of Israel. But that responsibility has not here been thrown upon him, except by remote implication. On the other hand it is formally laid on him in Ex 33¹ ¹². Now in the original document of **JE** the Horeb section Ex 32–34 immediately preceded the departure in Num 10²⁹..., and stood consequently in near proximity to the manna scene. Bacon accordingly conjectures that this passage once stood after Ex 33³ and before 33¹² (see 12N). In the combination of **J** and **E** these verses were displaced by the insertion of the account of the Tent of Meeting, and were woven into the nearest appropriate situation, where (on this view) they have dislocated the connexion of 13 with 4–10a.

14 May be a fragment of **E** cp 17b, or it is perhaps due to **R**, who has caught up the phrase 'bear (ℌ = *carry*) all this people' (ct 17b 'bear the burden of the people') from 12a.

16 The prophesying of the seventy elders is in no way related to the adjacent gift of quails. The scene is laid outside the camp, away from the people, at the Tent of Meeting, where Yahweh descends in the cloud as in Ex 33⁷.. Joshua, the minister of Moses, is in attendance on his master, and remains in the sanctuary when Moses returns with the elders to the camp 30 cp Ex 33¹¹. But the new associates of Moses in bearing the burden of the people 17 have no concern with Israel's subsequent conduct, and their selection at this precise moment in no way mitigates either the popular greed or the divine wrath. On the other hand the story deals with prophetic conceptions peculiar to **E** cp JE11 14. It has, however, in part the same motive as another narrative in **E** (with 17b cp Ex 18¹⁸ ²², 17b, however, may be itself due to **R**), and seems to belong to a small secondary group cp 12, marked by advanced reflexion on the phases of prophetic activity. (Gray, on the other hand, considers that its affinities are with the stories of Saul's frenzy in Samuel.) By the side of the secular judges over the 'small matters,' the coadjutor-prophets must be assigned to **E**³.

J E JE J E P

to-morrow, and ye shall eat flesh: for ye have wept in the ears of
i' 14[3] Ex 14[12] Yahweh, saying, Who shall give us flesh to eat? for it was *i'*well with
us in Egypt: therefore Yahweh will give you flesh, and ye shall eat.
19 Ye shall not eat one day, nor two days, nor five days, neither ten
j' 21 Gen 29[14] ℌ days, nor twenty days; 20 but a *j'*whole month, until it come out at your
k' ℌ† nostrils, and it be *k'*loathsome unto you: because that ye have *l'*rejected
l' 14[31] Lev 26[15] 43* Yahweh which is [1]among you, and have wept before him, saying, [k]Why j 58
came we forth out of Egypt? 21 And Moses said, The people, among k 89[b]
m' Ex 12[37] whom I am, are *m'*six hundred thousand footmen; and thou hast said,
I will give them flesh, that they may eat a *j'*whole month. 22 Shall
n' Ct [P]100 [1]flocks and herds be *n'*slain for them, to *o'*suffice them? or shall all the l 33
o' Judg 21[14] cp Josh 17[16] fish of the sea be gathered together for them, to suffice them?
p' 21[4] ℌ 23 And Yahweh said unto Moses, Is Yahweh's hand waxed *p'*short?
q' Ex 6[1] now *q'*shalt thou see whether my *r'*word shall come to pass unto thee
r' Ex 9[20] *s'*or not. 24[a] And Moses went out, and told the people the words of
s' Gen 27[21] Yahweh.

24[b] And he *b'*gathered seventy men of the [h]elders of the people, and set them round
t' Ex 33[9] about the *e'*Tent. 25 And Yahweh [i]came down in the *t'*cloud, and spake unto him,
and *f'*took of the spirit that was upon him, and put it upon the seventy elders: and
it came to pass, that, when the spirit rested upon them, they [m]prophesied, but they m 114
did so no more. 26 But there remained two men in the camp, the name of the one
was Eldad, and the name of the other Medad: and the spirit rested upon them; and
u' Ex 33[7b] they were of them that were written, but had not *u'*gone out unto the Tent: and
they prophesied in the camp. 27 And there ran a young man, and told Moses,
and said, Eldad and Medad do prophesy in the camp. 28 And Joshua the son of Nun,
v' Ex 24[13] 33[11] the *v'*minister of Moses, [N]one of his chosen men, answered and said, My [n]lord Moses, n 56[a]
w' Gen 8[2b] *w'*forbid them. 29 And Moses said unto him, Art thou *x'*jealous for my sake? would
ℌ=*restrain* God that all Yahweh's people were prophets, that Yahweh would put his spirit upon
x' Gen 30[1] them! 30 And Moses *y'*gat him into the camp, he and the [h]elders of Israel.
y' 12[14] ct 22 ℌ 31 And there went forth a *z'*wind from Yahweh, and *a''*brought *b''*quails
z' Cp Ex 10[13b] 14[21b] from the sea, and *c''*let them fall [M]by the camp, about a day's journey on
a'' Ps 90[10]† this side, and a day's journey on the other side, round about the camp,
b'' Ex 16[13]* and about two cubits above the face of the earth. 32 And the people rose
c'' Gen 31[28] ℌ up all that day, and all the night, and all the next day, and gathered the
quails: he that gathered *d''*least gathered ten homers: and they *e''*spread
d'' Cp Ex 16[17]. *e''* ℌ* them all abroad for themselves round about the camp. 33 While the
flesh was [o]yet between their teeth, [p]ere it was chewed, the anger of o 91
f'' Josh 10[10] 20 Yahweh was kindled against the people, and Yahweh *f''*smote the people p 6
ℌ* with a very great *f''*plague. 34 And the [d]name of that place was called
[M]Kibroth-hattaavah: because there they buried the people that lusted.
g'' Cp 12[16] 1–15 *Lnnb* 35 From Kibroth-hattaavah *g''*the people journeyed unto Hazeroth; and
l *Lred* they abode at Hazeroth.
a Ex 15[20] 12[1] [NL]And [a]Miriam and Aaron spake [b]against Moses [a]because of the Cushite woman a 111
b 8 21[5 7]* whom he had married: [N]*for he had married a Cushite woman.*
c ℌ† cp 189 2 And they said, Hath Yahweh [c]indeed spoken [c]only [M]with Moses? hath he not
d 11[1] spoken also [M]with us? And Yahweh [d]heard it. 3 Now the [e]man Moses was very
e Ex 11[3]

11[28] **M** Or, *from his youth.*—If this rendering be adopted, the phrase can hardly proceed from the author of Ex 33[11] where Joshua is described as a young man, as it implies a much greater lapse of time, and seems based on a general retrospective view of the whole relations of Joshua to Moses. It is consistent with this discrimination of different strata in **E** that while in Ex 33[9] the pillar of cloud itself descends, and is so far identified with Yahweh that it can speak with Moses, in [25] 12[5] it is Yahweh who comes down, *in* the cloud, by a later religious differentiation.

31 **M** Or, *over.* 34 **M** That is, *The graves of lust.*

12[1a] The narrative in [1–15] is closely allied with the institution of the Tent of Meeting Ex 33[7]. . and the gift of the spirit to the seventy elders 11[16. 24b–30]. The sanctuary is outside the camp [4], and Yahweh's presence is marked by the descent of the cloud [5] which stands at the door. The importance attached to prophecy, visions, and dreams, is throughout characteristic of **E** cp 101, 114, and the marginal references amply confirm this ascription. The mention of Miriam also supports it. Dillm has, indeed, found traces of the amalgamation of two documents; but the apparent doublet 'and they three came out' [4], 'and they two came out' [5], admits of another explanation. In [4] the three are summoned together from the camp; in [5] the two are called forth from Moses' side to hear the divine vindication of his authority. The phraseological affinities with **J**, registered in the margins, are not more numerous or decisive than in other **E** passages, and belong to the common stock of the vocabulary of **JE**. Whether [2–15] was originally continuous with [1] is more doubtful, as it is founded on a quite different motive. The general reflexions on the nature of prophetic activity and the eminence of Moses as the recipient of direct revelation [6–8] suggest that this narrative is among the later additions of **E**[s]; with this view the representation of [5] harmonizes cp 11[28N]. But the sequel in [9–15] may be part of the original story, [2–8] having been elaborated out of earlier material.

1b This explanation is obviously derived from the text itself, and is omitted (presumably as a gloss) by ℭ. The wife of Moses in **J** is Zipporah, a Midianitess; but in **E** she is not named. Cp Ex 18[2 5]. 2ab **M** Or, *by.*

J E JE J E P

f ℌ* Am 2[7] *al*
4–10 *L*10*bc*
g Josh 10[9] 11[7] ct Num 6[9]*
h Ex 33[7]
i 11[25]
j Ex 33[9]
k Gen 37[6]
l Gen 45[1]†
m Gen 15[1] 46[2]
n [8] Ex 14[31] Deut 34[5]
o Deut 7[9] 28[59]*
p Cp Ex 33[11] Deut 34[10]
q ℌ* 1 Kings 10[1] *al*
r Ex 20[4]
s Ct 9[17] cp 14[9] Ex 8[11] 29 (depart) **224**
t Ex 4[6]
u ℌ=*turned to* 16[42] Ex 16[10]
v Is 19[13] Jer 5[4] 50[36]† Niph
w Gen 20[17] Ex 15[26]
x Deut 25[9]†
y ℌ*
z Cp Lev 13[4]
a′ Cp P**120**
b′ [15] 11[30] ℌ
c′ 11[35] *d′* 10[12]

*f*meek, above all the men which were upon the [b]face of the earth. [4] *L*And Yahweh spake [g]suddenly unto Moses, and unto Aaron, and unto Miriam, [h]Come out ye three unto the tent of meeting. And they three came out. [5] And Yahweh [i]came down in a pillar of cloud, and [j]stood at the door of the Tent, and called Aaron and Miriam: and they both came forth. [6] And he said, [k]Hear now my words: if there be a [c]prophet among you, I Yahweh will [l]make myself known unto him in a [m]vision, I will speak with him in a [d]dream. [7] My [n]servant Moses is not so; he is [o]faithful in all mine house: [8] with him will I speak [p]mouth to mouth, even manifestly, and not in [q]dark speeches; and the [r]form of Yahweh shall he [e]behold: [f]wherefore then were ye not afraid to speak [b]against my [n]servant, against Moses? [9] And the anger of Yahweh was kindled against them; and he departed. [10] And the cloud [s]removed from [N]over the Tent; and, behold, Miriam was [t]leprous, as [white as] snow[t]: and Aaron [u]looked upon Miriam, and, behold, she was leprous. [11] And Aaron said unto Moses, [g]Oh my lord, [h]lay not, I pray thee, sin upon us, for that we have [v]done foolishly, and for that we have sinned. [12] Let her not, I pray, be as one dead, of whom the flesh is half consumed when he cometh out of his mother's womb. [13] And Moses cried unto Yahweh, saying, [w]Heal her, O God, I beseech thee. [14] And Yahweh said unto Moses, If her father had but [x]spit in her face, should she not be [y]ashamed seven days? let her be [z]shut up [a′]without the camp seven days, and after that she shall be [b′]brought in again. [15] And Miriam was [z]shut up without the camp seven days: and the people journeyed not till Miriam was [b′]brought in again.

[16] [N]And afterward the [c′]people journeyed from Hazeroth, and pitched in the [d′]wilderness of Paran.

b 40
c 114
d 101
e 179
f 230
g 56[b]
h 194

13[1] [N]And Yahweh [a]spake unto Moses, saying, [2] Send thou men, that they

a 185

12[10] The preposition does not necessarily mean more than 'from' cp Gen 17[22] 35[13] 1 Kings 13[4] *al*; in [5] the pillar was at the entrance of the Tent, and E nowhere describes it as 'over' or 'covering' it cp Deut 31[15].

[16] A fragment of J's itinerary cp 11[35]. The reference to the 'wilderness of Paran' may be due to R[p] founded on 10[12] to prepare the way for 13[3]. The district is not named in Num 33.

13[1] The story of the explorer's mission 13[1] shows many signs of composite origin. The opening section 13[1–17a] is easily identified with P, and supplies the clue to subsequent analysis. (1) The twelve tribal representatives are directed to 'spy out the land of Canaan' [2 17a]; their journey is described in [21b 25–26a]; and their report is presented in [32]. According to these statements they traversed the entire extent of the country from the wilderness of Paran to the extreme north and back again [3 21b 26a], and their absence lasted forty days [25 14[34]]. (2) Blended with this is another representation which fixes the point of departure and return as Kadesh [26b] (cp 32[8] Deut 1[19] Josh 14[6].). The travellers advance as far as the valley of Eshcol in the neighbourhood of Hebron [22.]; this serves as their limit, for they carry back to Kadesh the fruit which they cut down from thence [23 26b]. The report of the investigators has in like manner two contradictory aspects, (1) declares the land to be unproductive, and all its people of immense stature [32]: (2) affirms that it is fruitful and flows with milk and honey [26b–27], though the people are strong, the cities fortified, and some of the inhabitants gigantic [28]. The sequel in 14 corresponds to this division. (1) According to 13[26] the report is rendered to Moses, Aaron, and all the congregation: Moses and Aaron, consequently, are the object of the popular murmurs 14[1 2 5], and are ultimately charged to communicate to the rebellious children of Israel the divine sentence of 'death in this wilderness' 14[26..]. The only exemption is in favour of two of the twelve, Joshua son of Nun and Caleb son of Jephunneh 14[30 38] who had endeavoured to pacify the people by declaring the land an exceeding good land 14[6.]. (2) The other version nowhere mentions either Aaron or Joshua. Caleb alone stills the people 13[30], and is to be permitted to enter the promised land hereafter 14[24]; while Moses alone hears his remonstrances 13[30] and intercedes for the guilty nation 14[11..]. Further examination, however, proves that (2) is itself a compound. Thus 13[17b] contains two instructions 'go up into the South,' and 'go up into the hill-country'; repetitions and doublets in [18–20] are best explained through amalgamation; one writer describes the traditional giants as 'children of Anak' and locates them at Hebron 13[22 28], while elsewhere they are designated 'Nephilim' [33]. These indications point to the presence of both J and E, but their exact partition is matter of much difficulty. The margins show different linguistic clues: further help may be gained from 14[11–24] (strongly characteristic of J[s]) where the intervention of Caleb [24] justifies the ascription of 13[30.] to J, and this seems to carry with it [28 22 18b–19 and 17b]. On the other hand Deut 1[19–46] is evidently founded on a form of the story in which P is ignored, and the references to Horeb and the Amorites cohere with E (cp J[E]96 105): this version describes the ascent of the Twelve into the hill-country and their arrival at the valley of Eshcol in terms corresponding with 13[17c 23]. The following parallels and contrasts are thus obtained:—

J	E	P
Caleb and others sent by Moses 13[27] to see the people and the land 18b–19.	[Twelve men sent at the request of the people Deut 1[22–25].]	Hoshea (Joshua) and Caleb with ten others sent by command of Yahweh to explore the land of Canaan 13[1–17a].
Into the South 17b 22.	Into the hill-country 13[17c].	
They reach Hebron 22.	They reach the valley of Eshcol 23, cut down some fruit, and come back to Kadesh 26b.	They spy out the land to Rehob 21b and come back to the wilderness of Paran 26a.
They report to Moses 27.	They report to their countrymen 26b and show the fruit.	They report to Moses, Aaron, and the congregation 26a 32.
The people are strong 18b 28 31.	The people are many 18c occupying all parts of the country 29.	
The land flowing with milk and honey 27 14[8].	The land fruitful 20 23. 26b 27b.	The land eating up its inhabitants 32a.
Children of Anak at Hebron 13[22 28].	Nephilim in the country 33.	All the people of great stature 32b.
The people weep 14[1c].	(The children of Israel) cry out 14[1b].	The congregation murmur against Moses and Aaron 14[1a 2 5].
Fear of death and loss of wives and children 3.	Proposal to elect a captain 4.	
Caleb stills the people 13[30. 14[8].].		Joshua and Caleb expostulate 6. 9a 10.
Intercession of Moses 11..: only Caleb and the little ones to see the promised land 24 31.		Moses and Aaron enjoined to announce forty years of wandering and death in the wilderness to all save Caleb and Joshua 26–30 32..: Death of ten spies by plague 36..
	Instructions to march by way of the Red Sea 25.	
The people [proposing to go up] are forbidden, but their presumptuous attempt is defeated 41–45.	The people go up, intending to enter the promised land direct 40.	

J	E	P	
		may [b]spy out the [c]land of Canaan, which [d]I [a]give unto the children of Israel: of every [e]tribe of their fathers shall ye send a man, every one a [f]prince among them. [3] And Moses sent them from the [b]wilderness of Paran [g]according to the commandment of Yahweh: all of them men who were [c]heads of the children of Israel. [4] And [h]these were their names: of the tribe of Reuben, Shammua the son of Zaccur. [5] Of the tribe of Simeon, Shaphat the son of Hori. [6] Of the tribe of Judah, [d]Caleb the son of Jephunneh. [7] Of the tribe of Issachar, Igal the son of Joseph. [8] Of the tribe of Ephraim, [e]Hoshea the son of Nun. [9] Of the tribe of Benjamin, Palti the son of Raphu. [10] Of the tribe of Zebulun, Gaddiel the son of Sodi. [11] Of the tribe of Joseph, [namely], of the tribe of Manasseh, Gaddi the son of Susi. [12] Of the tribe of Dan, Ammiel the son of Gemalli. [13] Of the tribe of Asher, Sethur the son of Michael. [14] Of the tribe of Naphtali, Nahbi the son of Vophsi. [15] Of the tribe of Gad, Geuel the son of Machi. [16] [h]These are the names of the men which Moses sent to [b]spy out the land. And Moses called Hoshea the son of Nun Joshua. [17a] And Moses sent them to [b]spy out the [c]land of Canaan,	b 150 c 4 d 94 e 165 f 131 g 19[c] h 188
	...[17b] And he said unto them, [f]Get you up this way [N]by the South, ...[17c] and go up into [g]the mountains: [18a] and [h]see the land what it is;... ...[18b] and the people that dwelleth [i]therein, [j]whether they be [k]strong or [l]weak, [18c] whether they be few or many; [19] and what the land is that they dwell in, whether it be [i]good or bad; and what [m]cities they be that they dwell in, whether in camps, or in [n]strong holds; [20] and what the land is, whether it be [o]fat or [p]lean, whether [j]there be wood therein, or not. And [q]be ye of good courage, and bring of the [r]fruit of the land. Now the time was the time of the firstripe grapes. [21a] [N]So they [s]went up,		i 165 j 84
		[21b] [N]and they [b]spied out the land from the wilderness of [k]Zin unto Rehob, to the [t]entering in of Hamath.	k 9
	[22] And they [u]went up [N]by the South, and came unto [v]Hebron; and [w]Ahiman, Sheshai, and Talmai, the children of Anak, were there. (Now Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt.) [23] and they came unto the valley of [x]Eshcol, and cut down from thence a [y]branch with one [z]cluster of grapes, and they bare it upon a staff between two; [they brought] also of the [a']pomegranates, and of the figs. [24] [N]That place was called the valley		

a 15^{2} Ex 6^{8} Lev 14^{34} *b* 10^{12} 12^{16} *c* Cp 84 *d* Ct Josh 14^{6} 14 *e* Cp 16^{b} ct Ex 17^{9} *f* ℌ=*go up* *g* ℌ=*the mountain* cp 29 14^{40} 44 Deut 1^{24} *h* Gen 42^{9} Josh 2^{1} *i* ℌ *thereon* Lev $25^{18.}$ 26^{35} Deut 30^{20} *j* Gen 27^{21} *k* Cp (28) 31 *l* ℌ* *m* 22 28 Deut 1^{28} Josh 14^{12} *n* Cp *fenced* ℌ 28 Num 32^{17} 36 Josh 10^{20} *o* Gen 49^{20}* *p* Ezek 34^{20}† *q* Gen 48^{2}* *r* Cp 23 26^{b} 27^{b} *s* Cp 17^{c} *t* 34^{8} Josh 13^{5} *u* Cp 17^{b} *v* Gen 13^{18} *w* Josh 15^{14} Judg 1^{10} *x* 32^{9} Deut 1^{24} ct Gen 14^{13} *y* ℌ* Is 17^{10} *al* *z* *eshcol* Gen 40^{10} Deut 32^{32}* *a'* Num 20^{5}

13^{17b} ^{22} **M** Or, *into*.

^{21a} ℌ *and they went up* as in ^{22}, an obvious doublet. As **P** does not contain any instructions to 'go up,' these two passages seem best treated as the issues of the twofold command 'go up' ^{17bc}. One, therefore, belongs to **E**, the other to **J**. The continuation of **E**'s narrative is found in ^{23}, ct 'they went up and came to the valley of Eshcol' with ^{22} 'they went up ... and came to Hebron.' With both these ct ^{21b} which sends them right through the land to its northernmost verge.

^{21b} The sequel of ^{17a}. The pronoun involved in the ℌ verb has been inserted in the text.

^{24a} This verse may possibly be an editorial annotation, explaining the name 'valley of Eshcol' ^{23}. But the peculiar word 'because' pleads for **E**.

J	JE	E	P	
		of [M]Eshcol, [l]because of the cluster which the children of Israel cut down from thence.		l 111
			25 And they returned from [b]spying out the land at the end of [b']forty days. [26a] And they went and came to Moses, and to [c']Aaron, and to all the [m]congregation of the children of Israel, unto the wilderness of [b]Paran.	m 45
		...[26b] to [d']Kadesh; and they [e']brought back word unto them, [N]and unto all the congregation, and shewed them the [r]fruit of the land.		n 219
		...[27a] [N]And they [n]told him, and said, We came unto the [f']land whither thou sentest us, and [o]surely it [p]floweth with milk and honey;		o 126 p 34
		...[27b] and this is the [r]fruit of it.		
		28 [g']Howbeit the people that dwell in the land are [h']strong, and the cities are [i']fenced, [and] very great: and [o]moreover we saw the [j']children of Anak there.		
		29 [N k']Amalek dwelleth in the [l']land of the South: and the Hittite, and the Jebusite, and the [q]Amorite, dwell in the [g]mountains: and the [m']Canaanite dwelleth by the sea, and along by the [n']side of Jordan.		q 96 ct 17
		30 [N]And [o']Caleb [p']stilled the people before Moses, and said, Let us go up at once, and [q']possess it; for we are [r']well able to overcome it. 31 But the men that went up with him said, We be not able to go up against the people; for they are [k]stronger than we.		
			32 And they [s']brought up an evil report of the land which they had [b]spied out unto the children of Israel, saying, The land, [t']through which we have gone to spy it out, is a land that [u']eateth up the inhabitants thereof; and all the people that we saw in it are men [v']of great stature.	
		33 And there we saw the [M]Nephilim,		

b' 14[34]
c' Ct 27 30 cp 14[2] 5 26
d' 32[8] Deut 1[19] Josh 14[6].
e' 22[8] Gen 37[14] Josh 14[7] Deut 1[22]
f' Cp 19 14[8]
g' 22[35] 23[13]
h' Cp 18
i' Cp 19 ℌ Deut 1[28]
j' Cp 22
k' 14[25 43 45]
l' Gen 20[1] ct 17b
m' Ct 14[43 45] cp Josh 11[3]
n' Ex 2[5]
o' 14[24]
p' ℌ†
q' Gen 15[7] 22[17] 24[60]
r' 22[38]*
s' 14[36]. cp Gen 37[2]*
t' 14[7]
u' Lev 26[38] Ezek 36[13]
v' Cp Jer 22[14] Is 45[14] ℌ

13[24b] **M** That is, *a cluster*.

[26b] A harmonist's insertion from [26a]. [27a] Cp 16[13N].

[29] The authorship of this short catalogue of peoples (which differs in style from the lists named in Ex 3[8N]) has been much discussed; it is here assigned to **E** for the following reasons: (1) 'the land of the South' ct [17 22] cp Gen 20[1] **E**; (2) the reference to the Amorite as dwelling in the hill-country (ℌ 'mountain') seems best to fit **E** cp [JE]96 Deut 1[27 44]; (3) the location of the Canaanite in the Jordan valley on the east and the maritime lowlands on the west is in direct opposition to 14[43] **J**; (4) a further phraseological coincidence with **E** occurs in the phrase 'hand of the Jordan' cp Ex 2[5] 'hand' of the Nile. The verse can hardly belong to **J** on the ground of (3), and the only alternative would be to regard either the whole or part of it as redactional.

[30] The intervention of Caleb seems here introduced prematurely, for the people have as yet given no signs of agitation or resistance. The passage probably followed 14[1c] and [3], but was displaced by the incorporation of **P**'s version in which Joshua and Caleb endeavour to quell the murmurs of the congregation 14[6]. The sequel of 13[30]. doubtless included 14[8 9b].

[33] **M** Or, *giants*.—Gen 6[4]†. The harmonist endeavours to identify these with the 'children of Anak' [22 28b]. Three representations of the tradition are thus traceable: at Hebron dwelt the 'children of Anak' [22 28] a race of mighty size, **J**; 'there' (query in the 'mountain' [17c]) among the numerous races named in [29] were the Nephilim or 'giants,' **E**; 'all the people' from end to end were of great stature, **P**. In this last statement the antiquarian detail has been dropped, and the idea generalized.

J	JE	E	P	
w' Ct 22 28 ℌ	the *w'*sons of Anak, which come of the Nephilim: and we were in our own sight as grasshoppers, and so we were in their sight.			
			14[1a N]And all the [a]congregation lifted up	a 45
a Gen 45[2]		...[1b T]and they [a]gave forth their voice.		
b 11[10 18]		...[1c] And the [b]people [b]wept [c]that night.		b 226
			[2] And all the children of Israel [d]murmured against Moses and against [c]Aaron: and the whole [a]congregation said unto them, [d]Would God that we had died in the land of Egypt! or would God we had died in this wilderness!	c 142 d 114
c 5 26 13[26]				
d 20[3] Gen 17[18] .=*Oh that*				
	...[3] And wherefore doth Yahweh bring us unto this land, to [e]fall by the sword? Our [e]wives and our [e]little ones shall be a *f*prey: were it not [g]better for us to return into Egypt?			
e Cp 43*				e 52[b]
f 31 Deut 1[39]				
g Ex 14[12]				
	[4] And they said [f]one to another, Let us make a captain, and let us return into Egypt.			f 112[a]
			[5] Then Moses and [c]Aaron [g]fell on their faces before all the [h]assembly of the [a]congregation of the children of Israel. [6] And [i]Joshua the son of Nun and [j]Caleb the son of Jephunneh, which were of [k]them that [h]spied out the land, rent their clothes: [7] and they spake unto all the [a]congregation of the children of Israel, saying, The land, [l]which we passed through to [h]spy it out, is an [i]exceeding good land.	g 67
h Ex 12[6] ℌ om				
i 13[16b] ct 13[30]				
j 13[6]				
k 13[16a]				h 150
l ℌ as in 13[32]				
				i 63
m Gen 34[19]	...[8 N]If Yahweh [m]delight in us, then he will bring us into this land, and give it unto us; a [n]land which [j]floweth with milk and honey.			
n 13[27]				
			...[9a] Only [o]rebel not against Yahweh, ...	j 34
o Josh 22[16 18]. Gen 14[4*] Ezek 2[3] 17[15] 20[38] *al*				
	[9b T]But as for you [k]fear ye not the people of the land; for they are bread for us: their [m]defence is [l]removed from over them, and Yahweh is [m]with us: [k]fear them not.			k 154
				l 224
				m 130
			[10] But all the [a]congregation bade [n]stone them with stones. And the [o]glory of Yahweh appeared in the tent of meeting unto all the children of Israel.	n 152 o 79
p Ct 26..				
q 23 16[30] Deut 31[20*]	[11] *And Yahweh said unto [p]Moses, How long will this people [q]despise me? and how long will they not [p]believe in me, for all the [r]signs which I have*			
r Cp Ex 4[30].				p 134

14[1a] The opening verse presents a curiously mixed text. ℌ runs, 'And all the congregation lifted up' (fem sing) 'and they gave forth their voice' (masc pl). The introduction of the 'congregation' shows the hand of **P**, whose formula elsewhere enables us to reconstruct his text, 'and all the congregation of the children of Israel murmured . . .' cp Ex 16[2]. The phrase 'give forth the voice' finds a counterpart in **E** Gen 45[2]: for 'the people wept' cp 11[10 18] **J**. It is possible that **J**'s narrative ran originally 'lifted up their voice and wept' cp [JE]17[6b], the first verb being transferred in the amalgamation from the 'people' to the 'congregation,' and 'their voice' being suppressed as needless in view of the other clause.

[1b] So ℌ Gen 45[2]. **T** *their voice and cried.* The subject may have been 'all the children of Israel' 2.

[8] Probably a part of Caleb's speech cp 13[30N].

[9b] ℌ as in [32]. **T** *neither fear ye.* When the clause in [9a] is removed (the margin indicates its place in **P**) the order of the words in ℌ becomes more impressive and significant; standing as the second term in a contrast, of which [8] supplies the opening.

[9b'] **M** ℌ *shadow.*

J E JE J E P

wrought [q]*among them?* [12] *I will smite them with the* [s]*pestilence, and* [t]*disinherit them, and will* [u]*make of thee a nation greater and* [r]*mightier than they.* [13] [N]*And Moses said unto Yahweh, Then the Egyptians shall hear it; for thou* [s]*broughtest up this people in thy might from among them;* [14] *and they will tell it to the* [v]*inhabitants of this land: they have heard that thou Yahweh art* [q]*in the midst of this people; for thou Yahweh art seen* [M]*face to* [w]*face,* [N]*and thy cloud standeth over them, and thou goest* [x]*before them, in a pillar of cloud by day, and in a pillar of fire by night.* [15] *Now if thou shalt kill this people as one man, then the nations which have* [y]*heard the fame*[y] *of thee will speak, saying,* [16] *Because Yahweh was not able to bring this people into the land which he* [t]*sware unto them, therefore he hath slain them in the wilderness.* [17] *And now, I pray thee, let the power of* [u]*the Lord* [r]*be great,* [N]*according as thou hast* [z]*spoken, saying,* [18] *Yahweh is slow to anger, and plenteous in mercy, forgiving iniquity and transgression, and that will by no means clear* [the guilty]; *visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, upon the third and upon the fourth generation.* [19] [a′]*Pardon, I pray thee, the iniquity of this people according unto the* [b′]*greatness of thy mercy, and according as thou hast* [c′]*forgiven this people, from Egypt even* [w]*until now.* [20] *And Yahweh said, I have pardoned* [x]*according to thy word:* [21] [d′]*but in very deed,* [e′]*as I live, and as all the* [f′]*earth shall be filled with the glory of Yahweh;* [22] *because all those men which have seen my glory, and my* [r]*signs, which I wrought in Egypt and in the wilderness, yet have* [g′]*tempted me these ten times, and have not* [y]*hearkened to my voice;* [23] *surely they shall not see the land which I* [t]*sware unto their fathers, neither shall any of them that* [q]*despised me see it:* [24] *but my* [z]*servant* [k′]*Caleb,* [i′]*because he had another spirit with him, and hath followed me fully, him will I bring into the land whereinto he went; and his seed shall* [j′]*possess it.*

...[25] [N]Now the [k′]Amalekite and the Canaanite dwell in the valley: tomorrow [l′]turn ye, and get you into the wilderness by the [m′]way to the Red Sea.

[26] And Yahweh [a′]spake unto Moses and unto [c]Aaron, saying, [27] How long [shall I bear] with this evil [a]congregation, which [d]murmur against me? I have [n′]heard the murmurings of the children of Israel, which they murmur against me. [28] Say unto them, [o′]As I live, saith Yahweh[v], surely as ye have spoken in mine ears, so will I do to you: [29] your [p′]carcases shall fall in [q′]this wilderness; and all [b′]that were numbered of you, according to your whole number, [r′]from twenty years old and upward, which have [d]murmured against me, [30] surely ye shall not

s Ct 37 cp Ex 5[3]
t Cp Ex 15[9] =*destroy*
u Gen 12[2] Ex 32[10]
v Gen 50[11]
w Ct 12[8] Ex 33[11]
x 10[33] Ex 13[21]
y Gen 29[13] Deut 2[25]
z Ex 34[6]
a′ Ex 34[9]
b′ Deut 3[24]
c′ ℌ=*spared* Gen 18[24]
d′ Ex 9[16]
e′ Jer 22[24] Ezek 5[11] Is 49[18]
f′ Cp Is 6[3] 11[9]
g′ Ex 17[2b] Deut 6[16]
h′ 13[30]
i′ Gen 22[18]
j′ Ct 13[30] ℌ
k′ Ct 43 45 13[29]
l′ Deut 1[40]
m′ 21[4] Ex 13[18]
n′ Cp Ex 6[5]
o′ Ct 20 Ezek (13)
p′ Lev 26[30]
q′ Cp 2
r′ 13

q 58
r 59
s 136
t 217
u 56
v 166
w 171
x 2
y 44[b]
z 207[b]
a′ 185
b′ 115[b]

14[13] The ℌ text in [13] is much confused, cp Dillm and the versions. [14a] M ℌ *eye to eye.*

[14b] This clause seems due to a reminiscence of the account of the Dwelling in the midst of the camp and the cloud above it cp 10[34N].

[17] The following quotation from Ex 34[6] may be an annotator's addition, but the whole passage has reminiscences of the scenes at Sinai. The affinities with later prophetic language (cp [21]), the peculiar appeals to Yahweh's sense of his own fame among the nations [15] (cp 32[12] Ezek 36[20].), the reference to the ten disobediences by which Israel had 'tried' Yahweh [22] (apparently a number belonging to a systematized tradition), all render it probable that this passage belongs to the most recent of the expansions in **J**. The parallels with Ex 32[7–14] suggest its kinship with R[Je]. On the affinity of J[s] and R[Je] cp *Introd* i 109.

[25] The elements of this verse are highly perplexing. [25b] is reproduced in Deut 1[40] as the close of the divine condemnation following a passage in which phrases of J and E seem blended, and the parallels on the whole point to E. But [25a] is inconsistent with 13[29], as well as with 14[43 45]. What is 'the valley'? In Gen 14[3 8 10] the word is applied to the Vale of Siddim, in Gen 37[14b] to the Vale of Hebron, and in Joshua to other localities; but it is nowhere used without further definition. ⊜ reads 'in the mountain' cp [45]; this may be only a correction yet it may preserve a genuine trace, for Deut 1[44] suggests that the original may have run 'Now the Amorite dwells in the mountain'; the entry of the Amalekite and the Canaanite would in that case be due to the harmonist cp 43 45.

J	JE	E	P[g]	
			come into the land, concerning which I [g']lifted up my hand that I would make you dwell therein, save [j]Caleb the son of Jephunneh, and [i]Joshua the son of Nun.	
[s'] Ex 6[8]*				
		31 [N]But your [e]little ones, which ye said should be a [f]prey, them will I bring in, and they shall know the land which ye have [t']rejected.		
[t'] 11[20]				
			32 But as for you, your [p']carcases shall fall in this wilderness. 33 And your children shall be [M]wanderers in the wilderness forty years, and shall [w']bear your [v']whoredoms, until your carcases be consumed in the wilderness. 34 After the number of the days in which ye [h]spied out the land, even [w']forty days, for every day a year, shall ye [c']bear your iniquities, even forty years, and ye shall know [M]my alienation. 35 [d']I Yahweh have spoken, surely this will I do unto all this evil [a]congregation, that are [e']gathered together against me: in [q']this wilderness they shall be consumed, and there they shall die. 36 [N]And the men, which Moses sent to [h]spy out the land, who returned, and made all the [a]congregation to [d]murmur against him, by [z']bringing up an evil report against the land, 37 even those men that did bring up an evil report of the land, died by the [f']plague before Yahweh. 38 But Joshua the son of Nun, and Caleb the son of Jephunneh, remained alive of those men that went to [h]spy out the land. 39a And Moses told these words unto all the children of Israel.	c' 28 d' 91 e' III[a] f' 125[b]
[v'] Hos Jer Ezek				
[w'] 13[25]				
[x'] 13[32]				
[y'] Gen 37[34] Ex 33[4]*		39b [N]And the people [y']mourned greatly.		
[z'] Cp 13[17c]		40 And they [g']rose up early in the morning, and [z']gat them up to the top of the mountain, saying, [h']Lo, we be here, and will go up unto the [a'']place which Yahweh hath promised[a'']: for we have [b'']sinned.		g' 200 h' 104
[a''] Cp Gen 22[3 9]				
[b''] 12[11] 21[7] Deut 1[41]				i' 89[b]
[c''] 22[18] 24[13]*		..41 And Moses said, [f']Wherefore now do ye [c'']transgress the commandment of Yahweh, seeing it shall not		

14[31] A fragment left over from **J** as the language suggests cp [3], and here incorporated with **P**. Gray, however, considers it the work of **R**, as the people in **J** fear to take, but do not reject or despise, the land.

[33] **M** Ḥ *shepherds.*—32[13] implies נעים 'wanderers' for רעים.

[34] **M** Or, *the revoking of my promise.*—Job 33[10]†.

[36] The divine words are not reported to Israel until [39]: the announcement of their fulfilment is thus premature, and may be due to editorial annotation.

[39b] The source of the clause is doubtful. The change from 'children of Israel' to 'people' marks it off from **P**. The sequel shows decided traces of dual origin. In [40] the people *went up* to the top of the mountain, whereas in [41]. Moses endeavours to restrain them, and they only reach in [44] the point already attained in [40]. The parallels to [40] are decisive for **E**; and the passage joins on fittingly to [25]. On the morrow the people endeavour by an early and unauthorized march to evade the divine command. The language of [41–43] is no less clearly stamped with significant expressions of **J**, while the mention of the Amalekite and Canaanite as joint occupants of the southern highlands [43 45] cannot proceed from the author of 13[29]. In [44] the designation 'ark of the covenant of Yahweh' has probably been enlarged from a simpler phrase 'ark of Yahweh.' The statement that it did not 'depart out of the midst (or, from within) the camp' is conclusive (in spite of the word 'depart') against **E** in which the sanctuary stood outside the camp 11[24–30] 12[4] Ex 33[7]. On the other hand, this passage offers a glimpse into the conception of **J** which seems to have supplied the basis for **P**'s picture of the Dwelling surrounded by the tribes. [45] may contain elements of both **J** and **E**. For 'Amalekite and Canaanite' Deut 1[44] seems to have read 'Amorite,' as if from **E**: the final words 'smote them and beat them down' may comprise a doublet, and the reference to Hormah may also belong to **E** cp 21[1–3].

J	JE	E	P[t]	P[g]	P[s]
	[j']prosper? [42] Go not up, for Yahweh is not [q]among you; that ye be not [a''] smitten down before your enemies. [43] For there the [e''] Amalekite and the Canaanite are before you, and ye shall [e]fall by the sword: [k'] because ye are turned back from [j''] following Yahweh, therefore Yahweh will not [g''] be [m]with you. [44] But they [h''] presumed to go up to the top of the mountain: nevertheless the ark [n]of the covenant of Yahweh, and Moses, [i''] departed not out of the camp. [45] Then the Amalekite came down, and the Canaanite which dwelt in that mountain, and smote them and [j''] beat them down, even unto [k''] Hormah.				

[a''] Lev 26[17]
[e''] Ct 13[c9]
[j''] Cp 24
[g''] Cp 9
[h''] ℌ† cp Hab 2[4]
[i''] Ex 13[22]
[j''] Deut 1[44]
[k''] Cp 21[3]

j' 66
k' 35

1-16 *Lṭm wᵓl*

15[1] [NL] *And Yahweh* [a]*spake unto Moses, saying,* [2] *Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them,* [b]When ye be come into the land of your [c]habitations, [a]which [d]I give unto you, [3] and will [e]make an offering by fire unto Yahweh, a burnt offering, or a sacrifice, [M]to accomplish a [f]vow, or as a freewill offering, or in your [g]set feasts, to make a sweet savour unto Yahweh, of the [b]herd, or of the flock: [4] then shall he that offereth his oblation offer unto Yahweh a [c]meal offering of a [h]tenth part [of an ephah] of fine flour [d]mingled with the fourth part of an hin of oil: [5] and [e]wine for the drink offering, the fourth part of an hin, shalt thou [e]prepare with the burnt offering or for the sacrifice, for each lamb. [6] Or for a ram, thou shalt prepare for a meal offering two tenth parts [of an ephah] of fine flour mingled with the third part of an hin of oil: [7] and for the drink offering thou shalt offer the third part of an hin of wine, of a sweet savour unto Yahweh. [8] And when thou [e]preparest a [f]bullock for a burnt offering, or for a sacrifice, [M]to accomplish a vow, or for peace offerings unto Yahweh: [9] then shall he offer with the bullock a meal offering of three tenth parts [of an ephah] of fine flour mingled with half an hin of oil. [10] And thou shalt offer for the drink offering half an hin of wine, for an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto Yahweh. [11] [g]Thus shall it be done for each bullock, or for each ram, or for each of the he-lambs, or of the kids. [12] According to the number that ye shall prepare, [g]so shall ye do to every one according to their number. [13] All that are [i]homeborn shall do these things [g]after this manner, in offering an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto Yahweh. [14] [L]And if a stranger sojourn with you, or whosoever be among you [j]throughout your generations, and will offer an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto Yahweh; as ye do, so he shall do. [15] For the [h]assembly, there shall be one [i]statute for you, and for the [k]stranger that [k]sojourneth [with you], a statute [l]for ever [j]throughout your generations: [j]as ye are, [j]so shall the stranger be before Yahweh. [16] One [k]law and one [i]ordinance shall be for you, and for the [k]stranger that sojourneth with you.

a 185[a]
b 101
c 55[c]
d 94[a]
e 117
f 172
g 111[c]
h 160[1]
i 34
j 76[b]
k 145[b]
l 62[c]

[a] Lev 14[34]
[b] Lev 1[2]
[c] Lev 2[1]
[d] Lev 2[4]
[e] Ex 29[40]
[f] Lev 1[5]
[g] Ex 29[35] ℌ
14ff *Lᵓᵃw*
[h] Ex 16[3]
[i] Cp 213
[j] Lev 7[7] ℌ
[k] Ex 12[49]

14[44] As in 10[33], probably a redactional expansion.

15[1] The group of regulations in 15 comprises very varied subjects, introduced without reference to time or place. A series of laws concerning offerings [1-31], is followed by a brief narrative illustrating the penalty for working on the sabbath [32-36], and this in its turn makes way for a law of fringes [37-41]. The sacrificial and other formulae connect it at once with **P**, but the want of sequence suggests that the materials may have been drawn from different sources, and may owe their present place to the compiler who collected priestly *toroth* of diverse ages. Thus the opening section [1-16] seems to be supplemental to Lev 2; details of the drink offering unnamed in Lev 1-7 being added to the directions concerning the meal offering which is to accompany the burnt offering. But it may be expanded from an earlier draft: the opening formula [2b] already appears in P[h] Lev 19[23] 23[10] 25[2]; the inclusion of the 'homeborn and the stranger' [13-16] recalls Lev 17[8 10 13 15], and with the combination of 'statute' and 'ordinance' (ℌ = judgement) [15]. cp 213. The entry of the second person [5] after the third [4] may perhaps indicate imperfect assimilation of material.

[3 8] **M** Or, *in making a special vow.*

JE | P[t] | P[g] | P[s]

17–21 *L*7m*o* 8c*i*
l Ct 2 ℌ
m Lev 1[33] 20[22]*
n Ezek 44[30]
o Lev 2[4]

22–31 *L*7s*e*
p Lev 4[13]* Hiph Deut 27[18]*
q Lev 22[27]
r ℌ *eyes* Lev 4[13]
s Ct Lev 4[14]
t Cp 8–11 Lev 5[10]
u Lev 4[20]
v Lev 5[18]
29*t* *L*2a*x*
w Ex 14[8]
x Ct Ex 12[19] Lev 17[15] ℌ
y ℌ*
z Gen 25[34]*
a' Ezr 9[14]† cp Gen 17[14]
b' Cp Lev 20[9]
32–36 *L*9b*q*
c' Ex 5[7] 12*
d' Lev 24[12]
e' Lev 24[16]
f' Cp 1[19a]N
g' ℌ *say unto* 2 18
38–41 *L*11*l*r*m*f

17 NL*And Yahweh* [a]*spake unto Moses, saying,* 18 *Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them,* [l]When ye come into the land [m]whither [d]I bring you, 19 then it shall be, that, when ye eat of the bread of the land, ye shall [m]offer up an heave offering unto Yahweh. 20 Of the [n]first of your [M]dough ye shall offer up a [c]cake for an heave offering: as ye do the heave offering of the threshing-floor, so shall ye heave it. 21 Of the [n]first of your dough ye shall give unto Yahweh an heave offering [j]throughout your generations.

22 NLAnd when ye shall [p]err, and not observe all these commandments, which Yahweh hath spoken unto Moses, 23 even all that Yahweh hath commanded you by the [n]hand of Moses, from the day that Yahweh gave commandment, and [q]onward [j]throughout your generations: 24 then it shall be, if it be done [M]unwittingly, without the [r]knowledge of the [o]congregation, that all the congregation shall offer one young [s]bullock for a burnt offering, for a sweet savour unto Yahweh, with the meal offering thereof, and the drink offering thereof, [t]according to the ordinance, and one [s]he-goat for a sin offering. 25 And the priest shall make [p]atonement for all the [o]congregation of the children of Israel, and they shall be [u]forgiven; for it was an error, and they have brought their oblation, an offering made by fire unto Yahweh, and their sin offering before Yahweh, for their error: 26 and all the [o]congregation of the children of Israel shall be [u]forgiven, and the [k]stranger that sojourneth among them; for in respect of all the people it was done [q]unwittingly. 27 And if one [r]person sin [q]unwittingly, then he shall offer a she-goat of the [s]first year for a sin offering. 28 And the priest shall make [p]atonement for the [r]soul that [v]erreth, when he sinneth [q]unwittingly, before Yahweh, to make [p]atonement for him; and he shall be [u]forgiven. 29 [L]Ye shall have [k]one law for him that doeth aught [q]unwittingly, for him that is [l]homeborn among the children of Israel, and for the [k]stranger that sojourneth among them. 30 But the [r]soul that doeth aught with an [w]high hand, [x]whether he be [l]homeborn or a stranger, the same [y]blasphemeth Yahweh; and that soul shall be [t]cut off from among his people. 31 Because he hath [z]despised the word of Yahweh, and hath [a'u]broken his command-ment[a']; that soul shall utterly be [t]cut off, his iniquity shall be [b']upon him.

22 NLAnd while the children of Israel were in the wilderness, they found a man [e']gathering sticks upon the sabbath day. 33 And they that found him gathering sticks brought him unto Moses and Aaron, and unto all the [o]congregation. 34 And they [d']put him in ward, because it had not been declared what should be done to him. 35 And Yahweh said unto Moses, The man shall [e']surely be put to death: all the [o]congregation shall [v]stone him with stones [w]without the camp. 36 And all the [o]congregation brought him [w]without the camp, and [v]stoned him with stones, and he died; [f']as Yahweh commanded Moses.

37 N*And Yahweh* [a]*spake unto Moses, saying,* 38 *Speak unto the children of Israel, and* [g']*bid them* [L]that they make them [M]fringes in the borders of their garments [j]throughout their generations, and that they put upon the fringe of each border

m 85
n 18[0a]
o 45[1]
p 25[a]
q 168
r 146
s 119[b]
t 5[c a]
u 46[a]
v 152
w 120[b]

15[17] The demand for firstfruits of dough cakes [17–21] is not specified in 18[10] though it may be included in it. The language is not altogether in the mould of P; no other law opens with 'in your coming' ct [2]; nor does the phrase 'eat the bread of the land' recur. The usage (though not necessarily the written law) seems to have been known to Ezekiel 44[30]; and the phrase 'whither I bring you' [18] recalls P[h]. The paragraph may, like [1–16], have had an older base.

[20] **M** Or, *coarse meal.*—Ezek 44[30] Neh 10[38]†.

[22] In its present form the law for atonement for 'error' [22–31] seems to depend on [1–16], as the meal offering and drink offering are to be offered 'according to the ordinance' [24], which points back (for a bullock) to [8–10]. But the entire section is plainly related to Lev 4 5[1–13]: in substance it seems earlier than 4 and later than 5[1–13] (see *Laws* 7*se*). In [29.] the homeborn and the stranger are associated as in P[h]; and the language of [31], though peculiar, is not inconsistent with this ultimate derivation; 'despise' only in Gen 25[34] J; 'his iniquity shall be upon him' cp his 'blood' Lev 20[9].

[24] **M** Or, *in error.*

[32] The narrative in [32–36] has a close parallel in Lev 24[12]. where older legislative material seemed incorporated in a later story: cp the secondary phrase 'as Yahweh commanded Moses' [36b].

[37] The compiler's formula [2 18] is here finally attached to the law of fringes [38b–41] cp Deut 22[12]. The peculiar opening 'and they shall make' followed by the change to the second person 'and it shall be unto you' [39] points to the employment of some older material. This seems to be drawn [40.] from P[h]. The parallel with Ezek 6[9] in [39] supports this, and the term for 'heart' 20[1] further confirms it.

[38] **M** Or, *tassels in the corners.*

J	E	P[h]	P[g]	P[s]
		a [h']cord of [i']blue: [39] and it shall [x]be unto you for a fringe, that ye may look upon it, and remember all the commandments of Yahweh, and do them; and that ye [M]go not about after your own [j']heart and your own [j']eyes, after which ye use to go a [k']whoring: [40] that ye may remember and do all my commandments, and [y]be holy unto your God. [41] [z]I am Yahweh your God, [l']which brought you out of the land of Egypt, to [a']be your God: I am Yahweh your God.	x 27 y 202 z 203 a' 26
			16[1a] [NL]Now Korah, [1b] [N]the son of Izhar, the son of Kohath, the son of Levi,	
		1[c] [T]And Dathan and Abiram, the sons of Eliab, sons of Reuben, ..[1d]and On, the son of Peleth, took... [2a] rose up before Moses, ...		
			[2b] [N]with certain of the children of Israel, two hundred and fifty [a]princes of the [b]congregation, [a]called to the [b]assembly, [N]men of renown: [3] and they [c]assembled themselves together [c]against Moses and against Aaron, and said unto them, [M]Ye take too much upon you, seeing all	a 131 b 45 c 24

h' Ex 28[28]
i' Ex 25[4]
j' Ezek 6[9]
k' Cp Lev 17[7]
l' Lev 19[36]
1-50 Israel
a 1[16]
b ℌ = *meeting* cp 105
c 14[2] Ex 16[2]

15[39] **M** ℌ *spy not out.*—Cp 150.

16[1a] With the revolt of Korah is inwoven another narrative in which Dathan and Abiram are the leaders. The reasons for this division are found in divergent presentations of fact, marked in their turn by diversities of linguistic usage. (1) On the one hand, Korah heads two hundred and fifty men [1a 2b 17] in a movement against the religious leadership of Moses and Aaron; on the other, Dathan and Abiram [12..] make a protest against the secular authority of Moses alone [2a]. (2) The test of the pretensions of Korah and his followers takes place at the sanctuary [6. 16. 18–24a] whence fire comes forth and devours the two hundred and fifty; while the disobedience of Dathan and Abiram is punished at their tents [25..]. The clearest proof of the dual sources perhaps lies in the fact that the compiler, anxious to weld into one the fates of two sets of rebels, has inadvertently killed Korah's followers twice over cp [32b] and [35]. The episode of Korah revolves round the institutions of **P**, the congregation, the Dwelling, the priesthood. The story of Dathan and Abiram, where Moses acts with the elders as civil officers, bears the familiar phraseological marks of **JE**. Only the latter incident seems to have been known to **D** Deut 11[6].

1b Closer examination of the Korah narrative reveals that within the bounds of **P** two distinct views have been combined. (1) The two hundred and fifty princes of the congregation at whose head Korah stands, are not all Levites, for their description as 'called to the assembly,' implies that they had secular functions, and the explanation of the daughters of Zelophehad 27[3] (that their father was in no way involved in the insurrection) proves that the rising was not confined to the sacred order. The opposition described in [3] is based on the principle that all the congregation is holy, and consequently the religious authority assumed by Moses and Aaron, and vested by them in the tribe of Levi, is an invasion of the general rights. The reply of Moses affirms that Yahweh will himself show whom he has chosen to come near him; and the sequel in 17 establishes the divine selection of the tribe of Levi as against the remaining eleven. But (2) Korah and his followers are addressed as Levites [8] and charged with aspiring to the priesthood; they have been already dedicated to the service of the Dwelling, and claim a practical equality with Aaron and his family [9–11]. The answer to this pretension is supplied in [35–40] where the priesthood is strictly confined to the posterity of Aaron. In the one case, therefore, a laity, ideally holy, attempts to break down the exclusive privileges of a consecrated tribe: in the other, the lower clergy endeavour to assert their rights to the functions of the higher. Now it would be natural to expect that the leader of the first movement should be himself a layman. Wellh (*Ccmp* 108) pointed out that the Korah of [3–5] was no Levite, and conjectured that he belonged to Judah. In the genealogies of the Chronicler, beside the Levite Korah, there figures another Korah among the descendants of Caleb 1 Chron 2[43], who is here incorporated in the tribe of Judah. If it were possible that the story were originally told of him, it would be easy to understand how the later editors should have transferred him into the sacred tribe, and provided him with the necessary ancestry (cp Bacon).

1c So ℌ. **T** *with.* The story of the secular revolt of Dathan and Abiram begins at this point, and is independent of Korah and his company. There is, however, good reason to believe that the elements incongruous with **P** are themselves not all of one piece. Thus in [12–15] the speeches imply different points of view. In [12 14b] Dathan and Abiram defy the authority of Moses on the ground that he has failed to fulfil his promise, and he replies by entreating Yahweh to pay no attention to their offering. The basis of [15] is clearly some religious act, culminating in sacrifice, and having affinity rather with Korah's protest than with the rebellion of Dathan and Abiram. The evidence of language confirms the view that [12–15] is not homogeneous, a strong **J** element revealing itself, and the doublets in [31–33] thus receive a natural explanation. In view of these conditions, and of the large dependence of **D** on **E** (cp *Introd* i 71.. 173), it seems natural to assign Dathan and Abiram to **E**. There remains, then, On the son of Peleth. He has clearly no place in **P**, where Korah is the sole leader (cp 'shall *one man* sin' 22). Köhler conjectured that the text originally ran 'sons of Eliab, son of Pallu, son of Reuben' (Ex 6[14]), and this has been widely adopted (e g by Kuenen and Dillmann). But Bacon has suggested that the Korah of **P**'s first draft was taken over from **J**, where Caleb and his family [1bN] were regarded as Kenizzites. The text may then have run 'Now Korah the son of Kenaz and On the son of Peleth took ..' (Bacon). The words as they stand, however, are unintelligible, for the object has been lost (if ויקח be correct, and does not represent an original ויקם). *RV* supplies *men*: but it is possible that the first form of the story described the taking of the *offering* which gave occasion to the indignant remonstrance of Moses in [15].

2b The order in ℌ runs 'and two hundred and fifty men of the children of Israel, princes' &c: it does not seem possible, therefore, to assign the words 'with certain of the children of Israel' to **E** (Bacon).

2c This expression is not identical with that in Gen 6[4]; the grammatical analogy seems rather to point to 13[32].

3a **M** ℌ *It is enough for you.*—Cp Deut 1[6] 2[3] 3[26] and [7N].

J	JE	E	P^t	P^g	P^s	
			the [b]congregation are holy, every one of them, [N]and Yahweh is [d]among them: wherefore then [d]lift ye up yourselves above the [e]assembly of Yahweh[c]? [4] And when Moses heard it, he [e]fell upon his face: [5] and he [f]spake unto Korah and unto all [N]*his fcompany*, saying, In the morning Yahweh will shew who are his, and who is holy, and [N]will [g]cause him to come near unto him: even him whom he shall [g]choose will he cause to come near unto him. [6] This do; take you [h]censers, Korah, and all *his fcompany*; [7] and put fire therein, and put [h]incense upon them before Yahweh to-morrow: and it shall be that the man whom Yahweh doth [g]choose, he [shall be] holy: [N]ye take too much upon you, ye sons of Levi.	d 22 e 67 f 185 g 118 h 95
			[8] And Moses said unto Korah, Hear [i]now, ye sons of Levi: [9] [[N]seemeth it but] a small thing unto you, that the God of Israel [j]hath [i]separated you from the [b]congregation of Israel, to [g]bring you near to himself; to [j]do the service of the [k]Dwelling of Yahweh, and to stand before the congregation to [k]minister unto them; [10] and that he hath [g]brought thee near, and all thy brethren the sons of Levi with thee? and seek ye the [l]priesthood also? [11] [l]Therefore thou and all thy [f]company are [m]gathered together against Yahweh: and Aaron, what is he that ye [m]murmur against him?	i 53 j 140[b] k 54 l 129[b] m 114
	[12] And Moses sent to [n]call Dathan and Abiram, the sons of Eliab; and they said, [n]We will not come up: ..[13]is it a [o]small thing that thou hast [o]brought us up [N]out of a land [p]flowing with milk and honey, to [p]kill us in the wilderness, but thou					n 139 o 136 p 34

d 23^{24} 24^{7*}
e 20^{4} Deut 23^{1-8} Mic 2^{5}†
f 6 11 16 40 ℌ =*congregation*
g 7 17^{5}
h Lev 10^{1}
i Josh 22^{26} cp JE186
j 8^{14}.. ct 18^{1}..
k 3^{7}.
l Ex 6^{6} Num 20^{12} 25^{12}
m 14^{35}
n Cp 14b
o Gen 30^{15}
p Ex 17^{3} cp 14^{11}

16^{3b} Dillm and Bacon ascribe these words to **J** ('perhaps rightly,' Addis). But **J**'s phrase to depict the divine Presence in Israel is בקרב 'in the midst' JE58 (cp JE130 'be with'), never בתוך 'among,' which is peculiar to **P** in this connexion.

P^g The ℌ term here is עֵדָה, invariably restricted elsewhere in P^g to the 'congregation' of the whole people conceived as the church-nation. It is in the highest degree unlikely that P^g should abandon his regular usage to apply it to the limited group of Korah's associates. From 19^{21}. it is clear that Korah was supported by 'all the congregation,' i e the entire lay community, and that was probably the reading here. P^s with his looser style of language distinguishes a 'congregation of Israel' [9] and a 'congregation of Korah' [11], and this usage was introduced into P^g when the secondary additions were made to the narrative. The censers for 'all the congregation' are put in charge of their representatives, the two hundred and fifty princes.

[5b] **M** Or, *whom he will cause to come near.*

[7] This phrase does not fit the context, for Korah and the princes were not all Levites cp [1aN]. It was probably originally addressed to Moses and Aaron, and may have followed [3], being afterwards transposed to secure a point of contact with [8].

[9] ℌ 'Is it too' little for you' Is 7^{13} Ezek 34^{18} Job 15^{11} cp Josh 22^{17}.

[13] As the text stands Egypt is here described as a 'land flowing with milk and honey,' a designation otherwise reserved for Canaan. ℌ reads *into*. If this be preferred, the complaint is that the plea of bringing them into a land of plenty has only involved them in death in the wilderness. [14a] will then be inappropriate as repetition, and if assigned to **E** would make a better connexion with [14b]. According to the analysis here adopted **E** does not elsewhere use the phrase cp JE34, but it is possible that one or two passages assigned on this basis to **J** may really belong to **E**, e g 13^{27}.

J	JE	E	P^t	P^g	P^s	
q ℌ* cp Ex 2[14]	must needs [q]make thyself [q]also a prince over us? [14a] Moreover thou hast not brought us into a land [p]flowing with milk and honey.					q 126
r 20[17] 21[22] cp Ex 22[5 v]	...[14b] nor given us inheritance of [r]fields and [r]vineyards: wilt thou [m]put out the eyes of these men? [n]we will not come up.					
s Cp [P]214 *t* Gen 4[4a] *u* Gen 19[7]	[15] And Moses was very [r]wroth, and said unto Yahweh, [s]Respect not thou their [t]offering: I have not taken one ass from them, neither have I [m]hurt one of them.					r 233
v Cp 7				[16] And Moses said unto Korah, Be thou and all thy [f]congregation [v]before Yahweh, thou, and they, and Aaron, to-morrow: [17] and [w]take ye every man his censer, and put incense upon them, and [s]bring ye before Yahweh every man his censer, two hundred and fifty censers; thou also, and Aaron, each his censer.		
w Cp 6				[18] And they [w]took every man his censer, and put fire in them, and laid incense thereon, and stood at the [s]door of the tent of meeting with Moses and Aaron. [19] And Korah [c]assembled all the [b]congregation against them unto the [s]door of the tent of meeting: and the [t]glory of Yahweh appeared unto all the congregation.		s 111[b] t 79
x Cp 45 ct Ex 33[5]* *y* 27[16] *z* Ex 16[20]				[20] And Yahweh [f]spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, saying, [21] [i]Separate yourselves from among this [b]congregation that I may consume them in a [x]moment. [22] And they [e]fell upon their faces, and said, O God, the [y]God of the spirits of all flesh, shall one man sin, and wilt thou be [z]wroth with all the [b]congregation? [23] And Yahweh [f]spake unto Moses, saying, [24] Speak unto the congregation, saying, Get you up from about the Dwelling [N]*of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram.*		
a' Cp [JE]128 25 [L]4a *i*	[25] And Moses [a']rose up and went unto Dathan and Abiram; and [L]the [u]elders of Israel followed him.					u 151
b' Gen 19[2] ℌ =*turn aside*	...[26b] *b'*Depart, [v]I pray you, from the tents of these [w]wicked men, and			[26a] And he [f]spake unto the [b]congregation, saying[N], ...		v 186 w 231

16[14] **M** ℌ *bore out.*—Cp Judg 16[21]: here used figuratively.

[24] The words 'of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram' cp [27a] are plainly a harmonistic addition. There is but one Dwelling in **P**, that of Yahweh, where the congregation are gathered together at the entrance to the sanctuary [19]. They are then directed to retire to avoid being consumed by the fire which is about to devour the two hundred and fifty princes [35].

[26a] The command which Moses has been enjoined to transmit to the congregation [24a], has been replaced by a passage addressed to the people under obviously different circumstances, full of marks of **J**. The fulfilment is recorded in [27a], and its consequence in [35].

J	JE	E	P^t	P^g	P^s	
	touch [x]nothing of theirs, lest ye be					x 124
c′ Gen 18[23. 19]15 17	c′consumed in all their sins.					
				27a So they gat them up from the Dwelling *of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram,* on every side.		
		27b And Dathan and Abiram came out, and [y]stood at the door of their tents.				y 215b
		..27c and their wives, [N]and their sons, and their [z]little ones.				z 52
d′ Gen 24[14 42]33 Ex 7[17]		28 And Moses said, d′Hereby ye shall know that				
e′ Ex 3[10 4]13 28 5[22]		Yahweh hath e′sent me to f′do all				
f′ Gen 20[9] Ex 23[12] ℌ		these f′works; for [I have] not [done				
g′ Cp 24[13]		them] of mine own g′mind. 29 If				
		these men die the common death of all men, [N]or if they be visited after				
		the visitation of all men; then Yahweh hath not sent me. 30 But if				
		Yahweh [M]make a new thing, and				
h′ Gen 4[11]		the h′ground open her mouth, and				
		swallow them up, [N]with [x]all that				
i′ Gen 37[35]		appertain unto them, and they i′go				
		down alive into [M]the pit; then ye				
		shall understand that these men				
j′ 14[11 23]		have j′despised Yahweh. 31 And				
		a′it came to pass, as he made an end				a′ 127c
		of speaking all these words, that the				
		k′ground clave asunder that was				
		under them.				
k′ Ct 30 cp Deut 11[6]		32a And the k′earth opened her mouth,				
		and swallowed them up, and their				
l′ Gen 42[19 33 45]18		l′households,				
				...32b [N]*and all the men that appertained unto Korah, and all their* b′*goods.*		b′ 155
		33a So they, and [x]all that appertained				
		to them, i′went down alive into [M]the				
		pit.				
		33b and the k′earth closed upon them.				
m′ 17[12]				33c *and they* m′*perished* n′*from among the*		
n′ Cp 21 47 19[20] ℌ				*assembly.*		
		34 And all Israel that were round				
		about them fled at the cry of them:				
		for they said, Lest the k′earth				
		swallow us up.				
o′ Lev 10[2]				35 And o′fire came forth from Yahweh,		
p′ Cp 2b 6. 18				and devoured the p′two hundred and		
				fifty men that offered the incense.		
36 [17[1] in ℌ] 36–40 [L]10d′		36 [NL]And Yahweh [r]spake unto Moses, saying, 37 Speak unto c′Eleazar the son of Aaron the priest, that he take up the [h]censers out of the burning, and scatter thou the fire yonder; [N]for they d′are holy;				c′ 12 d′ 86

16[27c] The unusual introduction of 'sons' into the phrase 'wives and little ones,' cp [JE]52, suggests that 'their sons' has been added from **E** cp 32.

29 ℌ *and.* The duplicate may possibly be incorporated from **E**, cp Ex 32[34].

30a **M** ℌ *create a creation.*—Cp Ex 34[10].

30b ℌ adds 'and their households and their tents.'

30c 33a **M** ℌ *Sheol.*

32b As Korah is mentioned along with Dathan and Abiram in [1], the harmonist endeavours to include their followers in a common fate cp 33c. But the doom of the two hundred and fifty princes is related independently in 35.

36 This paragraph, cp 40, coheres with the secondary representation 8–11, in which a body of Levites claimed the full rights of the Aaronic priesthood.

37 ℌ ℭ ℒ indicate that this clause should be combined with the following, 'for the censers . . . are holy.' Cp Dillm, Kautzsch, Addis.

JE | P[t] | P[g] | P[s]

[38] even the censers of [M]these sinners against their own [M]lives, and let them be made [q']beaten [r']plates for a [s']covering of the altar: for they [g]offered them before Yahweh, therefore they [d']are holy: and they shall [e']be a sign unto the children of Israel. [39] And Eleazar the priest took the brasen censers, which they that were burnt had offered; and they [t']beat them out for a [s']covering of the altar: [40] to be a [f']memorial unto the children of Israel, to the end that no [g']stranger, which is not of the [u']seed of Aaron, come near to [h']burn incense before Yahweh; that he be not as Korah, and as his [i']company: as Yahweh spake unto him [l']by the hand of Moses.

[41] But on the morrow all the [b]congregation of the children of Israel [m]murmured against Moses and against Aaron, saying, Ye have killed the people of Yahweh. [42] And it came to pass, when the [b]congregation was [c]assembled against Moses and against Aaron, that they [v']looked toward the tent of meeting: and, behold, the cloud [w']covered it, and the [t]glory of Yahweh appeared. [43] And Moses and Aaron came to the front of the tent of meeting. [44] And Yahweh [f]spake unto Moses[N], saying, [45] [x']Get you up from among this congregation, that I may consume them in a [x]moment. And they [e]fell upon their faces. [46] And Moses said unto Aaron, Take thy [h]censer, and put fire therein from off the altar, and lay incense thereon, and carry it quickly unto the [b]congregation, and make [j']atonement for them: for there is [k']wrath gone out from Yahweh; the [l']plague is begun. [47] And Aaron took as Moses spake, and ran into the [n']midst of the assembly; and, behold, the [l']plague was begun among the people: and he put on the incense, and made [j']atonement for the people. [48] And he stood between the dead and the living: and the [m']plague was stayed. [49] Now they that died by the [m']plague were fourteen thousand and seven hundred, [n']besides them that died about the matter of Korah. [50] And Aaron returned unto Moses unto the [s]door of the tent of meeting: and the [m']plague was stayed.

17[1] [L]And Yahweh [a]spake unto Moses, saying, [2] Speak unto the children of Israel, and take of them rods, one for each [b]fathers' house, of all their [c]princes according to their fathers' houses, twelve rods: write thou every man's name upon his rod. [3] And thou shalt write Aaron's name upon the rod of Levi: for there shall be one rod for each head of their [b]fathers' houses. [4] And thou shalt [a]lay them up in the tent of meeting before the [d]testimony, [b]where I [e]meet with you. [5] And it shall come to pass, that the man whom I shall [c]choose, his rod shall [d]bud: and I will make to [e]cease from me the [f]murmurings of the children of Israel, which they murmur against you. [6] And Moses spake unto the children of Israel, and all their [c]princes gave him rods, for each prince one, according to their [b]fathers' houses, even twelve rods: and the rod of Aaron was among their rods. [7] And Moses [a]laid up the rods before Yahweh in the [g]tent of the testimony. [8] And it came to pass on the morrow, that Moses went into the [g]tent of the testimony; and, behold, the rod of Aaron for the house of Levi was [d]budded, and put forth buds, and [f]bloomed [g]blossoms, and bare ripe almonds. [9] And Moses brought out all the rods from before Yahweh unto all the children of Israel: and they looked, and took every man his rod. [10] And Yahweh said unto Moses, Put back the rod of Aaron before the [d]testimony, to be [h]kept [i]for a token against the [h]children of rebellion; that thou mayest make an end of their [f]murmurings against me [j]that they die not. [11] [k]Thus did Moses: as Yahweh commanded him, so did he.

[12] [N]And the children of Israel [a]spake unto Moses, saying, Behold, we [l]perish, we [f]are undone, we are all undone. [13] Every one [j]that cometh

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q' Ex 39[3]
r' 𝔊† cp Gen 1[6] Ex 39[3] 𝔊
s' Ex 38[17 19] Is 30[22]†
t' Ex 39[3*]
u' Lev 21[21] 22[4]
v' Ex 16[10]
w' 9[15]
x' Cp 24
1 [17[16] in 𝔊]
1-11 [L]Ιιιίlz
a 7 Ex 16[33].
b Ex 25[22]
c 16[5]
d Gen 40[10]
e Gen 8[1]
f 𝔊*
g Cp Ex 28[36] 𝔊
h Cp Ezek 2[8]
i 𝔊=*perish* 16[33]
j Cp 153[b]

e' 27
f' 113
g' 153
h' 37
i' 180[c]
j' 25
k' 178
l' 125[a]
m' 125[b]
n' 31
a 185[a]
b 66
c 131
d 161
e 111[a]
f 114[b]
g 161[c]
h 39[a]
i 142
j 52[a]
k 189[a]
l 51

16[38a] **M** Or, *these men who have sinned at the cost of their lives.*
[38b] **M** Or, *souls.*
[41] 𝔊 adds 'and Aaron,' perhaps to explain the following plurals: or have the words accidentally fallen out of 𝔊?

17[12] This passage may be an editorial introduction to the law which follows 18[1–7], derived possibly from an early source of P, and here appended to the Korah incident.

JE | P[t] | P[g] | P[s]

near, that cometh near unto the [m]Dwelling of Yahweh, [M]dieth: shall we perish all of us? m 54[b]

1-7 L[IIIa?]
a 27. 11 19 cp 162

18[1] [L]And Yahweh said unto [N]Aaron, [a]Thou and thy sons and thy [a]fathers' house [b]with thee shall [c]bear the iniquity of the [d]sanctuary: and thou and thy sons with thee shall bear the iniquity of your [e]priesthood. a 66 b 176 c 28[a]

b Cp D[112]
c 3[6]

[2] And thy brethren also, the [f]tribe of Levi, the [b]tribe of thy father, [c]bring thou near with thee, that they may be [M]joined unto thee, and [c]minister unto thee: but [a]thou and thy sons with thee shall be before the [g]tent of the testimony. d 91 e 129[b] f 165 g 161[e]

d 3[8]
e Lev 9[7].
f 3[31]

[3] And they shall [h]keep thy charge, and the [d]charge of all the Tent: only they shall not [e]come nigh unto the [f]vessels of the [f]sanctuary and unto the altar, [j]that they die not, neither they, nor ye. h 39[b] i 88[c]

[4] And they shall be joined unto thee, and [h]keep the charge of the tent of meeting, for all the [k]service of the Tent: and a [l]stranger shall not come nigh unto you. j 52 k 140[a] l 153[a]

[5] And ye shall [h]keep the charge of the [i]sanctuary, and the charge of the altar: that there be [m]wrath no more upon the children of Israel. m 178[a]

g 3[12]
h 3[9]

[6] And [n]I, behold, I have [o]taken your brethren the Levites from among the children of Israel: to you they are a gift, [h]given unto Yahweh, to [k]do the service of the tent of meeting. n 94[b]

i 3[10]
Lev 16[12]

[7] And [a]thou and thy sons with thee shall [i]keep your [e]priesthood for every thing of the altar, and for that [j]within the [o]veil; and ye shall serve: I give you the priesthood as a [k]service of gift: [i]and the [p]stranger that cometh nigh shall be put to death. o 171 p 153[b]

8-32 L[IIIJg]
k 32 Lev 22[2]

[8] [L]And Yahweh spake unto Aaron, And [n]I, behold, I have given thee the [h]charge of mine heave offerings, [q]even all the [r]hallowed [k]things of the children of Israel, unto [a]thee have I given them [M]by reason of the [l]anointing, and [a]to thy sons, as a [s]due for ever. q 21[a] r 88[a]

l Cp Lev 7[35] ℌ
9 L[7mishg]g

[9] [L]This shall be thine of the [r]most holy things, [reserved] from the fire: every [t]oblation of theirs, [q]even every [m]meal offering of theirs, and every [m]sin offering of theirs, and every [m]guilt offering of theirs, which they shall render unto me, shall be [r]most holy for [a]thee and for thy sons. s 62[c] t 118[b]

m Ezek 44[29]

[10] As the [r]most holy things shalt thou eat thereof: [u]every male shall eat thereof; it shall be [v]holy unto thee. u 107[b] v 90[a]

n Gen 34[12]*

[11] And this is thine; the heave offering of their [n]gift, [q]even all the wave offerings of the children of Israel: I have given them unto [a]thee, and to thy sons and to thy [o]daughters with thee, as a [s]due for ever: every one that is [w]clean in thy house shall eat thereof. w 42[b]

o 19 Lev 10[14]

12f. L[18ci]
p Ct D[30]
q Ex 23[19]

[12] [L]All the [M]best of the [p]oil, and all the [M]best of the vintage, and of the corn, the [q]firstfruits of them which they give unto Yahweh, to thee have I given them.

14 L[18hc]
r Lev 27[28] Ezek 44[29]

[13] The firstripe fruits of all that is in their land, which they bring unto Yahweh, shall be thine; every one that is [w]clean in thy house shall eat thereof.

15-18 L[18a:bg]
s Ex 13[2]
t Cp Lev 27[26].

[14] [L]Every thing [r]devoted in Israel shall be thine. x 21[b]

[15] [L]Every thing that [s]openeth the womb, of [x]all flesh which they [y]offer unto Yahweh, [z]both of man and beast, shall be [t]thine: nevertheless the firstborn of man shalt thou surely redeem, and the firstling of [a']unclean beasts shalt thou redeem. y 118[a] z 35 a' 167[b]

[16] [M]And those that are to be

17[13] **M** Or, *shall die.*

18[1] The choice of the tribe of Levi by Yahweh gives occasion for a fresh enunciation of the duties of the priesthood and the inferior functions of the Levites [1-7], to which is attached an enumeration of the dues assigned for the maintenance both of the higher and lower clergy [8-32]. The language is throughout that of P[g], though it is also not without affinity to P[h] cp 'bear iniquity or sin' [1 22. 32], 'profane' [32]. But the whole passage is marked by peculiarities both of form and substance. The laws in [1..8..20..] are addressed to Aaron (so only Lev 10[8]; elsewhere instructions for Aaron are imparted through Moses, e g Lev 8[2] 16[2] 21[1] Num 6[23] 8[2]): and the customary formula 'spake . . . saying' is not employed [1 8 20], ct [25]. Unusual phrases will be found in [2] 'be joined' 'tribe of thy father,' [19] 'covenant of salt,' [21 31] 'in return for.' More significant is the general tenor of the group of laws. The regulations in [2-7] by which the Levites are set apart for the service of the sanctuary, seem to define their functions for the first time, and altogether ignore the arrangements of [3[6-10]]. This is confirmed by [22], according to which the right of immediate approach to the sanctuary, formerly possessed by the whole people, is apparently for the first time withdrawn. The language of [20] is further inconsistent with the subsequent assignment of the Levitical cities [35[1-8]], but agrees with that of Deut 10[9] 18[1]., while [24] actually quotes a prior provision for the Levites, such as D indicates. It is noteworthy that there is no reference to the Dwelling as in 3; 'tent of the testimony' [2] harmonizes with 17[7]., but may be due to late editing, like the word 'tribe' שבט P[165]. The references to the sanctuary [3 5] and even to the veil [7] are not inconsistent with the possibility that before the account of the Dwelling took shape in Ex 25.., there was a prior account of the construction of the Tent of Meeting. The early character of this section is also indicated by the allusion to 'the altar' [7] ct Ex 30[1]... On the priority of [15-18] before Lev 27[26].. cp Kuenen, *Hex* 30, and for [20-32] before Lev 27[32]., *ibid* 311. For the supplemental character of [25-32] cp [25N].

[2] **M** See Gen 29[34].

[8] **M** Or, *for a portion.*—ℌ Ex 29[29] 40[15]†. [12ab] **M** ℌ *fat.*

[16] **M** Or, *And as to their redemption-money, from a month old shalt thou redeem them.*

JE | P[t] | P[g] | P[s]

[u] 3[46]
[v] Ex 30[13]
[w] Ex 29[27]
[x] 2 Chron 13[5]† cp Lev 2[13]
20 L[11]k*c*
[y] Deut 10[9] 18[1]. Ezek 44[28]
21-24 L[8]d*d*
z Cp [8]
[a'] Lev 27[30].. ct Deut 14[22].. [29]
[b'] [31] ℌ†
25-32 L[8]e
[c'] Cp Deut 14[22].
[d'] Ex 22[29]
[e'] ℌ†
[f'] Lev 19[7] 22[9]
1-22 L[6]b*m* 7r
a 31[21]†

[u]redeemed of them from a month [b']old shalt thou redeem, according to thine [c']estimation, for the money of five shekels, after the [v]shekel of the sanctuary (the same is twenty gerahs). [17] But the firstling of an ox, or the firstling of a sheep, or the firstling of a goat, thou shalt not redeem; they are [r]holy: thou shalt [d']sprinkle their blood upon the altar, and shalt [e']burn their fat for an offering made by fire, for a sweet savour unto Yahweh. [18] And the flesh of them shall be thine, as the [w]wave breast and as the right thigh, it shall be thine. [19] All the heave offerings of the holy things, which the children of Israel [f']offer unto Yahweh, have I given [a]thee, and thy sons and thy [o]daughters with thee, as a [s]due for ever: it is a [x]covenant of salt for ever before Yahweh unto thee and to thy [a]seed with thee. [20] And Yahweh said unto Aaron, [L]Thou shalt have no inheritance in their land, neither shalt thou have any portion among them: [y]I am thy portion and thine inheritance [g']among the children of Israel.

[21] [L]And unto the children of Levi, [z]behold, I have given all the [a']tithe in Israel for an inheritance, in [b']return for their [k]service which they serve, even the service of the tent of meeting. [22] And henceforth the children of Israel shall not [e]come nigh the tent of meeting, lest they [c]bear sin, and die. [23] But the Levites shall do the [k]service of the tent of meeting, and they shall [c]bear their iniquity: it shall be a [s]statute for ever throughout your [h']generations, and among the children of Israel they shall have no inheritance. [24] For the tithe of the children of Israel, which they [f']offer as an heave offering unto Yahweh, I have given to the Levites for an inheritance: therefore I have said unto them, Among the children of Israel they shall have no inheritance.

[25] [NL]And Yahweh [i']spake unto Moses, saying, [26] Moreover thou shalt speak unto the Levites, and say unto them, When ye take of the children of Israel the tithe which I have given you from them [j']for your inheritance, then ye shall [f']offer up an heave offering of it for Yahweh, a tithe of the tithe. [27] And your heave offering shall be reckoned unto you, as though it were the [c']corn of the threshing-floor, and as the [d']fulness of the winepress. [28] Thus ye also shall [f']offer an heave offering unto Yahweh of all your tithes, which ye receive of the children of Israel; and thereof ye shall give Yahweh's heave offering to [k']Aaron the priest. [29] Out of all your gifts ye shall [f']offer every heave offering of Yahweh, of all the [M]best thereof, even the [e']hallowed part thereof out of it. [30] Therefore thou shalt say unto them, When ye [f']heave the [M]best thereof from it, then it shall be [T]reckoned unto the Levites as the increase of the threshing-floor, and as the increase of the winepress. [31] And ye shall eat it in every place, ye and your households: for it is your reward in [b']return for your [k]service in the tent of meeting. [32] And ye shall [c]bear no sin [f']by reason of it, when ye have [f]heaved from it the [M]best thereof: and ye shall not [l']profane the [r]holy things of the children of Israel, [Mj]that ye die not.

19 [1] [NL]And Yahweh [a]spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, [N]saying, [2] [b]This is the [a]statute of the law[a] which Yahweh hath commanded, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel, that they bring thee a red heifer [Mc]without spot, wherein is no [d]blemish, [and] upon which never came

[b'] 11[9a]
[c'] 61
[d'] 148
[e'] 37
[f'] 85
[g'] 22
[h'] 76[b]
[i'] 185[a]
[j'] 96[c]
[k'] 12[a]
[l'] 210[b]
a 185[a]
b 188[b]
c 123
d 194

18[25] The change to Moses and the appearance of the usual formula, suggests the incorporation of fresh material. This is confirmed by the curious opening 'and to the Levites thou shalt speak and say' &c, implying some previous utterance.

[29] [30a] [32a] **M** ℌ *fat.* [30b] ℌ as in [27]. **T** *counted.*

[32b] **M** Or, *neither shall ye die.*

19[1] The ritual described in 19[1-13] may perhaps rest on ancient usage, but the literary form of the ordinance seems to belong to the secondary passages of P. Uncleanness by the dead has been repeatedly implied in previous legislation Lev 21[1].. [10]. Num 5[2] 6[9] 9[10]: why have the rules for purification been so long postponed? The law would have been more in place in connexion with Lev 11-15, dealing with the contraction of ceremonial impurity. Its detached position here suggests that it was not comprised in the materials on which that group was founded. Moreover it appears to be quite independent of Lev 5[2. 6] where a guilt offering is demanded on purification; and no incident is narrated as its occasion, after the manner of P[g]. The phraseology, though full of familiar phrases, shows a few peculiarities: 'statute of the law' [2] 31[21]†; 'Eleazar the priest' [4]; 'water of separation' [9]; the explanation of 'dead' [11] by 'any soul of a man'; 'purify himself' [12. 20] cp 8[21] 31[19. 23] ct Job 41[17]† צמיד סהיל [15], where perhaps סהיל is a gloss; 'cut off from the midst of the assembly' [20].

[2] **M** Or, *perfect.*

JE | P[t] | P[g] | P[s]

[b]yoke: [3] and ye shall give her unto [e]Eleazar the priest, and he shall bring her forth [f]without the camp, and one shall [g]slay her before his face: [4] and [e]Eleazar the priest shall [c]take of her blood with his finger[c], and [h]sprinkle of her blood toward the [d]front of the tent of meeting [e]seven times: [5] and one shall burn the heifer in his sight; her skin, and her flesh, and her blood, with her dung, shall he burn: [6] and the priest shall take [f]cedar wood, and hyssop, and scarlet, and cast it into the midst of the burning of the heifer. [7] Then the priest shall [i]wash his clothes, and he shall [j]bathe his flesh in water, and afterward he shall come into the camp, and the priest shall be [g]unclean until the even. [8] And he that burneth her shall [i]wash his clothes in water, and [j]bathe his flesh in water, and shall be [g]unclean until the even. [9] And a man that is clean shall gather up the ashes of the heifer, and [h]lay them up without the camp in a [i]clean place, and it shall be [k]kept for the [l]congregation of the children of Israel for a [j]water of [Mm]separation: it is a sin offering. [10] And he that gathereth the ashes of the heifer shall [i]wash his clothes, and be [g]unclean until the even: and it shall be unto the children of Israel, and unto the [n]stranger that sojourneth among them, for a [o]statute for ever. [11] He that toucheth the [k]dead body of any man shall be unclean seven days: [12] the same shall [p]purify himself therewith on the third day, [M]and on the seventh day he shall be clean: but if he [p]purify not himself the third day, [M]then the seventh day he shall not be clean. [13] Whosoever toucheth the [k]dead body of any man that is dead, and [p]purifieth not himself, [l]defileth the [q]Dwelling of Yahweh; and that soul shall be [r]cut off from Israel: because the water of [m]separation was not [s]sprinkled upon him, he shall be unclean; his [t]uncleanness is yet upon him.

[14] [Nb]This is the law [u]when a man dieth in a tent: every one that cometh into the tent, and every one that is in the tent, shall be unclean seven days. [15] And every open vessel, which hath no covering bound upon it, is unclean. [16] And whosoever in the [m]open field toucheth one that is [n]slain with a sword, or a dead body, or a bone of a man, or a grave, shall be unclean seven days. [17] And for the unclean they shall take of the ashes of the burning of the sin offering, and [Mo]running water shall be put thereto in a vessel: [18] and a clean person shall take hyssop, and [p]dip it in the water, and [h]sprinkle it upon the tent, and upon all the vessels, and upon the persons that were there, and upon him that touched the bone, or the [n]slain, or the dead, or the grave: [19] and the clean person shall [h]sprinkle upon the unclean on the third day, and on the seventh day: and on the seventh day he shall [v]purify him; and he shall [i]wash his clothes, and [j]bathe himself in water, and shall be clean at even. [20] But the man that shall be unclean, and shall not [p]purify himself, that soul shall be [r]cut off [g]from the midst of the assembly, because he hath [l]defiled the [w]sanctuary of Yahweh: the [j]water of separation hath not been sprinkled upon him; he is unclean. [21] And it shall [o]be a perpetual statute unto [x]them: and he that [h]sprinkleth the [j]water of [m]separation shall [i]wash his clothes; and he that toucheth the water of separation shall be [g]unclean until even. [22] And whatsoever the unclean person toucheth shall be unclean; and the [x]soul that toucheth it shall be unclean until even.

20[1a] [N]And the children of Israel, even the whole [a]congregation, came into the wilderness of [b]Zin in the [c]first month[N].

b Ct Deut 21[3]
c Lev 4[25]
d Ex 26[35] 40[24] Josh 15[7] 18[17]
e Lev 4[6 17]
f Lev 14[4]
g Lev 11[25] 14[46] 15[5]
h 17[4]
i Lev 10[14]
j Cp 8[7]
k Ct 6[6] ℌ
l Lev 15[31]
m Lev 14[7]
n 18[3] 31[19]
o Lev 14[5]
p Lev 4[6]
q Cp 16[33c]

e 12[b]
f 120[a]
g 100
h 149
i 173
j 174[a]
k 39[a]
l 45[a]
m 139
n 145[b]
o 27
p 143[b]
q 54[b]
r 50[a]
s 148
t 167[c]
u 190[b]
v 143[a]
w 91
x 146[a]
a 45
b 9
c 183

19[9] **M** Or, *impurity*.
12[a] **M** Or, *and on the seventh day*, so *shall he be clean*.
12[b] **M** Or, *and*.

14 Another set of regulations for purification after defilement through the dead, founded on similar conceptions, yet hardly in actual succession to the foregoing. It seems less like an addition than an independent ordinance on a similar basis; it is accordingly referred by its title to the group of Priestly Teaching cp *Introd* XIII 9 i 152.

17 **M** ℌ *living*.

21 As in [10]. But Sam 𝔊 𝔖 Targ-Jon and some ℌ MSS read 'you' (Dillm).

20[1a] The narrative in [1–13] is derived principally, as the margins show, from **P**. But fragments of other material seem to be blended with it. In [16] 'the people' as contrasted with 'the whole congregation' suggests another source; the allusion to Kadesh points to [14]..., and the mention of Miriam seems best attributed to **E**. In the Meribah incident [2–13] it is probable

	J	JE	E	P[t]	P[g]	P[s]	
a 14 16 22 13[26]		1[b] And the people abode in [a]Kadesh;					
b 12[1] cp Gen 35[8]		and [b]Miriam died there, and was buried there.					
				2 And there was no water for the [a]congregation: and they [d]assembled themselves together against [c]Moses and against Aaron,			d 24
c 16[3]							
d Ct [13] cp Ex 17[2]		..[3a] And the people [d]strove with Moses,...					
				3b and [N]spake, saying, Would God that we had [e]died when our brethren [e]died [c]before Yahweh! 4 And why have ye brought the [f]assembly of Yahweh into [g]this wilderness, that we should die there, [N]*we and our cattle?*			e 51
e 16[35] 46[-]							
f 16[3]							
g Ex 16[3]							
h Ex 17[3]		5 And [z]why [N]have ye [h]made us to					
i 16[14]		[f]come up out of Egypt, to [i]bring us in unto this evil place? it is no place of seed, or of figs, or of vines, or of pomegranates; neither is there					f 136
j Cp Ex 17[1]		any [j]water to drink.					
				6 And Moses and Aaron went from the presence of the [k]assembly unto the [g]door of the tent of meeting, and [h]fell upon their faces: and the [i]glory of Yahweh appeared unto them. 7 And Yahweh [j]spake unto Moses, saying, 8[a] Take the [l]rod, and [d]assemble the [a]congregation, thou, and Aaron thy brother,			g 111[b] h 67 i 79 j 185
k 10[7]							
l 9 17[10] Ex 7[9]							
		...[8b] and speak [N]ye unto the rock before their eyes, that it give forth its water;...					
m Cp Deut 8[15]				8c and [N]thou shalt [m]bring forth to them water out of the rock: so [N]thou shalt give the [a]congregation *and their cattle* drink. 9 And Moses took the [l]rod from before Yahweh, as he commanded him. 10 And			

that editorial redaction has been at work to soften the guilt of Moses and Aaron. As the text stands, the nature of their sin [12] is not apparent. It is elsewhere described as 'rebellion' [24] 27[14], which led Nöldeke to conjecture that [10b] in its original form was addressed by Yahweh to the two leaders. The solution propounded by Cornill, *ZATW* xi 27, supposes that Yahweh first instructed them to *speak* to the rock, which would then immediately yield its water. Their unwillingness to undertake this great act of faith and demonstrate Yahweh's deity ('hallow' him) to the murmuring nation led to the command to employ the agency of the sacred rod, laid up in the sanctuary [9]. This view is highly plausible, but it assumes a large amount of reconstruction. The text, therefore, follows the arrangement of Bacon. Both critics agree in assigning [3a] and [5] to **J**, and Bacon proposes to allot to the same source the clause in [8b] which appears inconsistent with the use of the rod. The grounds for ascribing [3a] and [5] to **J** are briefly (1) that the strife is on the part of 'the people' (ct 'the congregation,' 'the assembly,' the 'children of Israel'), 'with Moses,' ct 'with Yahweh' [13] (and 'Moses and Aaron' [2 6 10]), cp Ex 17[2] **E**; (2) that the language of [5] resembles that of **JE**; (3) that the Meribah story of **E** has been already related in Ex 17.

20[1a'] The omission of the year is at first sight strange, considering the precision of **P**'s customary usage. The last previous date specified the second year 10[11]. In the itinerary in 33, the wilderness of Zin (identified with Kadesh) is the last stage before Mount Hor which is reached in the fortieth year [36-38], cp below [22b]. But according to **JE**, Kadesh had been occupied by the tribes long before 13[26] and the futile attempt to enter Canaan by the south had been made from there, cp Deut 1[19 46]. The representation of **P**, therefore, which put the arrival at Kadesh near the end of the wanderings, could only be combined with **JE** by omitting the year. The suggestion of Ewald, *Hist of Israel*[3] ii 194[4], to omit Kadesh in 13[26] has not been generally accepted, and he himself observes that **D** already knew it there. Nöldeke first pointed out why the omission must be attributed to **R** (*Untersuchungen* 83; cp Dillm and Addis).

[3b] The phraseology of this clause is peculiar, ℌ 'and said saying.' The inf לֵאמֹר is often joined to the verb אמר, cp [P]18[5d], but in immediate sequence (as here) it occurs only 2 Sam 5[1] 20[18] Jer 29[24] Ezek 12[27] (𝔊 33[10 24] Zech 2[4] (cp Cornill, *ZATW* xi 22). The next phrase ולו 'and would that...' shows that some words must have been removed (the usage in Josh 7[7] 2 Sam 18[12]+ is different), so that the whole passage has probably been curtailed. For 'would that' cp 14[2] Gen 17[18] 23[13].

[4] The introduction of 'cattle' [4 8c 11] is not after the manner of **P**, which does not elsewhere refer to the flocks and herds and other animals accompanying the Israelites on the march, until Num 32. The formula in Ex 16[3] ignores them. The word occurs in Gen 45[17] Ex 22[5*], and is probably a redactor's gloss, cp Cornill, *ZATW* xi 25. [5a] ℌ as in [4]. **T** *wherefore.*

[5b] The word is written as in Ex 17[3], and may be equally well read 'hast thou brought us up,' addressed to Moses alone.

[8b] A harmonizing plural. [8c] 𝔊 'ye shall...'

J	JE	E	P^t	P^g	P^s
			Moses and Aaron [d]gathered the [k]assembly together before the rock, and he said unto them, Hear [N]now, ye [n]rebels; shall we bring you forth water out of this rock? [11] And Moses lifted up his hand, and smote the rock with [N]*his* rod twice: and water came forth abundantly, and the congregation drank, *and their cattle.* [12] And Yahweh said unto Moses and Aaron[N], [c]Because ye [p]believed not in me, to [k]sanctify me in the [q]eyes of the children of Israel, therefore ye shall not bring this [k]assembly into the [r]land which I have given them. [13] [l]These are the waters of [M]Meribah; because the children of Israel [s]strove with Yahweh, and he [M]was sanctified in them.		k 86[d] l 188
	[14] [N]And Moses sent [t]messengers from [a]Kadesh unto the king of Edom, [m]Thus saith thy [u]brother Israel, [n]Thou knowest all the [v]travail that hath [w]befallen us: [15] how our fathers [x]went down into Egypt, and we dwelt in Egypt a [y]long time; and the Egyptians [z]evil entreated us, and our fathers: [16] and when we [c]cried unto Yahweh, he heard our voice, and sent an [a']angel, and brought us forth out of Egypt: and, behold, we are in [a]Kadesh, a city in the uttermost of thy [b']border: [17] let us pass, [p]I pray thee, through thy land: we will not pass through [c']field or through [c']vineyard, neither will we drink of the water of the wells: we will go along the [d']king's [high] way, we will not [e']turn aside to the right hand nor to the left, until we have passed thy border. [18] And Edom said unto him, Thou shalt not pass through me, lest I come out with the sword [q]against thee.		m 222[b] n 174 o 141 p 186 q 183
	..[19N]And the children of Israel said unto him, We will go up by the [f']high way: and if we drink of thy water, I and my [r]cattle, then will I give the [g']price thereof: let me [s]only, without [doing] any thing [else], pass through on my feet. [20] And he said, Thou shalt not pass through. And Edom came out [q]against him with [t]much people, and with a [h']strong hand:		r 18 s 189 t 78
	[21a] [T]And Edom [u]refused to [v]give Israel passage through his [b']border. [21b] [T]and Israel [i']turned away from him.		u 197 v 119[a]
	[22a] And they journeyed from [a]Kadesh[N]		
	[22b] And the children of Israel, even the whole [a]congregation, came unto mount Hor. [23] And Yahweh spake unto Moses and Aaron in mount Hor, by the border of the [w]land of Edom, saying, [24] Aaron shall be		w 4[b]

n Cp 24 27[14]
o Lev 26[43] P*
p Ct 24
q Cp 27 Ezek 36[23] 38[16]
r 24 cp Ex 6[8]
s Ct 3[a] Ex 17[2 7]
t 21[21]
u Cp Deut 23[7] 24
v Ex 18[8*]
w ℌ=*come upon* Ex 18[8]
x Josh 24[5]
y ℌ=*many days* Gen 21[34] Josh 24[7]
z Josh 24[20]
a' Ex 14[19] 23[20]
b' 17 21 21[13] 22
c' 21[22] 16[14]
d' Ct 19 cp 21[22]
e' Cp 21[22] 22[26]
f' ℌ*
g' Prov 31[10] Neh 13[16]†
h' Ex 3[19] 6[1] 13[9] 32[11]
i' Ct 17 cp 22[33] Gen 38[1]

20[10] ℌ 'hear me,' שמעוני for נא שמע, cp Gen 23[8]*. As **P** does not use נא, cp [JE]186, the reading of ℌ seems preferable.

11 ℌ 'the rod,' cp [8a]. In **P** the rod is assigned to Aaron, Num 17[10] cp Ex 7[9 19] &c. The pronoun, therefore, is harmonistic.

12 As it is not apparent from the previous narrative how Moses and Aaron failed in faith, it may be inferred that the story has been abbreviated by R^p presumably in order to remove any shadow from the founders of the theocracy and the priesthood. The following words may have been substituted for the stronger charge in [24] (cp Addis): **P** does not employ the word 'believe,' cp [JE]34.

13b **M** Or, *shewed himself holy.*

14–18 This passage is obviously cognate with 21[21]... The parallels (cp [14]. especially) are in favour of **E**. **J** must have contained a duplicate story of the application to Edom, the issue of which is related in [19]. The parallels to [17b] in 21[22] suggest that the clause 'we will not turn aside to the right hand nor to the left' may be derived from **J** cp 22[26].

[18a] **M** That is, *strife.*

19 The phraseology of [19] points to a new source; 'children of Israel' ct [14] (perhaps harmonizing, note the plurals 'we' and the sing 'I'); 'high way' ct 'king's way' [17] 21[22]; 'I and my cattle,' 'without a word,' 'pass through on my feet.' In [20] ct 'come out with much people and a strong hand' with [18]. But [20] converts the return message of hostile refusal [18] [21a] into an actual armed resistance against the whole people, the result of which was that Israel turned away to take a more circuitous route. But in [22a] (continued in 21[4b]) they are still at Kadesh, where they had awaited the reply to the request forwarded by Moses: they could not, therefore, have already started. The reference to the 'strong hand' [20] seems to connect [19. 21b] with **J**.

[21a] So ℌ. **T** *thus.*

[21b] So ℌ. **T** *wherefore.*

22 The narrative is continued in 21[4b].

J E P[t] P[g] P[s]

[x]gathered unto his people: for he shall not enter into the [r]land which I have given unto the children of Israel, because ye [n]rebelled against my word at the [j']waters of Meribah. [25] [L]Take Aaron and [r]Eleazar his son, and bring them up unto mount Hor: [26] and strip Aaron of his garments, and put them upon [r]Eleazar his son: and Aaron shall be [x]gathered [unto his people], and shall die there. [27] And Moses did as Yahweh commanded: and they went up into mount Hor in the [q]sight of all the [a]congregation. [28] And Moses stripped Aaron of his garments, and put them upon [r]Eleazar his son; and Aaron [k']died there in the top of the mount: and Moses and Eleazar came down from the mount. [29] And when all the [a]congregation saw that Aaron [e]was dead, they [l']wept for Aaron thirty days, [even] [x]all the [z]house of Israel.

21[1] [x]And the Canaanite, [x]the king of [a]Arad, which dwelt in the [b]South, heard tell that Israel came by the way [M]of Atharim; and he [a]fought [c]against Israel, and took some of them captive. [2] And Israel [d]vowed a vow unto Yahweh, and said, If thou wilt indeed deliver this people into my hand, then I will [r]devote their cities. [3] And Yahweh [b]hearkened to the voice of Israel, and delivered up the Canaanites; and they [r]devoted [e]them and their cities: and the name of the place was called [M]Hormah.

[4a] [x]And they journeyed from [f]mount Hor . . .

[4b] [x]by the [g]way to the Red Sea, to [h]compass the land of Edom: and the soul of the people [M]was much [i]discouraged [M]because of the way. [5] And the people [j]spake against God, and against Moses, Wherefore have [x]ye [c]brought us up out of Egypt to die in the wilderness? for there is no bread, and there is [k]no water; and our soul loatheth this [M]light bread. [6] And Yahweh sent [l]fiery [d]serpents among the people, and they bit the people; and much people of Israel died. [7] And the people came to Moses, and said, We have [m]sinned, because we have [j]spoken against Yahweh, and against thee; [e]pray unto Yahweh, that he [n]take away the serpents from us. And Moses [e]prayed for the people. [8] And Yahweh said unto Moses, Make thee a [l]fiery serpent, and set it upon a [o]standard: and it shall come to pass, that every one that is bitten, when he seeth it, shall live. [9] And Moses made a serpent of brass, and set it upon the standard: and it came to pass, that if a serpent had bitten any man, when he [r]looked unto the serpent of brass, he lived.

[10] And the [p]children of Israel journeyed, and pitched in [q]Oboth. [11a] And they journeyed from Oboth, and pitched at [r]Iye-abarim.

[s]...[11b] [x]in the wilderness which is before Moab, toward the [s]sunrising.

j' Cp 13 25-29 LXX*f* b*e*
k' 33[38]- ct Deut 10[6]
l' Deut 34[8]
a Cp Josh 12[14] Judg 1[16]
b Cp 14[43] ct 13[29]
c Cp 23
d Gen 28[20] 31[13] Judg 11[30]
e ℌ Gen 32[1] Ex 18[20]* cp Gen 19[8] Ex 20[25] Num 32[41]
f 20[22] 33[41]
g 14[25]
h Cp Deut 2[1] Judg 11[18]
i Cp Judg 10[16] 16[16]
j 12[1]
k Ex 17[1a]
l 8 Deut 8[15]*
m 14[40]
n Ex 23[25]
o Ex 17[15] ℌ
p 20[22] 22[1]
q 33[43]
r 33[44]
s Cp Judg 11[18] ℌ

x 75 y 12[b] z 11[b] a 156 b 44[b] c 136 d 206 e 113 f 179

20[29] Standing at the end of the sentence, these words may be an amplifying gloss.

21[1a] The incident of the defeat at Hormah interrupts E's narrative of the march from Kadesh 'by the way to the Red Sea' 20[22a] 21[4b] cp Deut 1[40] 2[1]. It has accordingly been customary to assign it to J, and in deference to the practical unanimity of critical opinion it is so treated in the text. But there are difficulties in this view. (1) According to the narrative in Judg 1[17] (commonly ascribed to J) the name Hormah was given on a very different occasion, after a defeat inflicted by Judah and Simeon on the Canaanites: is it likely, as is usually assumed, that the same document provided for it a double origin? (2) Phraseological indications, 'fought against Israel,' 'vowed a vow,' the peculiar form אתהם 3, are all in favour of E. Can this be based on the missing sequel of E 14[40] for which it was necessary to find another connexion? It may be objected (1) that the incident is not recognized in Deut 1[41–45]; (2) that E does not locate the Canaanites in the Negeb, but in the Arabah in the east, and along the maritime lowlands on the west 13[29] cp Josh 11[3]. Yet in 14[25] Canaanites are recognized in the territory which Israel was to have entered from Kadesh, apparently according to E. Each view seems embarrassed by inconsistencies, and though it is possible that 13[29] is redactional, the silence of D is a serious obstacle, so that critical assurance is impossible.

1[b] The identification of the national name Canaanite with the king of Arad is so awkward as to make it probable that these words are a late gloss, cp Moore, *Judges* p 36.

1[c] **M** Or, *of the spies*. 2 3[a] So **M** ℌ. **T** *utterly destroy*.

3[b] **M** From the same root as *herem*, a devoted thing.

4[a] The march from mount Hor is the sequel of the death of Aaron 20[22b–29]; but the language of 4[b–9] has nothing in common with P. 4[b] is, in fact, the continuation of the advance from Kadesh 20[22a], and the parallels for the story of the brasen serpent clearly point to E.

4[b] The continuation in E of the march from Kadesh 20[22a].

4[c] **M** Or, *was impatient*. ℌ *was shortened*.—Cp Judg 10[16] 16[16].

4[d] **M** Or, *in*.

5[a] ℌ as in 20[5], perhaps to be read *hast thou brought us up*, 𝔊 Sam *hast thou brought us out*.

5[b] **M** Or, *vile*.—ℌ†.

11[b] As this description is not identical with that in Num 33[44]

J E JE J E P[g]

12 From [t]thence they journeyed, and pitched in the valley of [u]Zered.
13 From thence they journeyed, and [v]pitched on the other side of Arnon, which is in the [w]wilderness, that cometh out of the [x]border of the Amorites: for Arnon is the border of Moab, between Moab and the Amorites. 14 [s]Wherefore it is said in the [y]book of the Wars of Yahweh[y] g 85
Vaheb [M]in Suphah,
And the valleys of Arnon,
15 And the slope of the valleys
That inclineth toward the dwelling of Ar,
And leaneth upon the border of Moab.
16 [N]And from thence [they journeyed] to [M]Beer: that is the well [z]whereof Yahweh said unto Moses, [a']Gather the people together, and I will give them water.
17 Then [b']sang Israel this song:
Spring up, O well; sing ye unto it:
18 The well, which the [h]princes [c']digged, h 191
Which the nobles of the people [d']delved,
[M]With the [e']sceptre, [and] with their [f']staves.
And from the wilderness [they journeyed] to [g']Mattanah: 19 and from Mattanah to [g']Nahaliel: and from Nahaliel to [h']Bamoth: 20 and from Bamoth to the valley that is in the [i']field of Moab, to the [j']top of Pisgah, which [l]looketh down upon [N]the desert. i 54
21 [N]And Israel sent [k']messengers unto Sihon king of the Amorites, saying, 22 Let me [l']pass through thy land: we will not [l']turn aside into [l']field, or into vineyard; we will not [l']drink of the water of the wells: we will go by the [l']king's [high] way, [l']until we have passed thy border.
23 And Sihon would not [l]suffer Israel to [m']pass through his border: but Sihon [n']gathered all his people together, and went out [k]against Israel into the [w]wilderness, and came to Jahaz: and he [a]fought [c]against Israel. j 118 k 183
24a And Israel [o']smote him with the edge of the sword[o'], and [p']possessed his land from Arnon unto Jabbok.
..24b [N]even unto the children of Ammon: for the border of the children of Ammon was [q']strong. 25 And Israel took all these cities: and Israel [r']dwelt in all the cities of the Amorites, in Heshbon, and in all the [M]towns thereof. 26 [N]For Heshbon was the city of Sihon the king of the Amorites, who had fought against the former king of Moab, and taken all his land out of his hand, even unto Arnon.
27 [s]Wherefore they that [s']speak in proverbs[s'] say,
Come ye to Heshbon,
Let the city of Sihon be built and established:
28 For a fire is gone out of Heshbon,
A flame from the city of Sihon:
It hath devoured Ar of Moab,
The [l]lords of [M]the high places of Arnon. l 107

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but agrees with that in Judg 11[18] (apparently founded on **E**), it is probable that the narrative of **E** is here resumed. The formula in [12]. differs from that of **P** but coincides with the fragment embedded in Deut 10[6]..

21[14] **M** Or, *in storm.*

16a Again a fresh formula ct [10 12] cp [18b]: the parallels in [17 20] point clearly to **J**. The geographical data of [20] show that the people are still in Moab, whereas in [13] they have already crossed the Arnon which formed its northern boundary cp [23].

16b **M** That is, *A well.* [18] **M** Or, *By* order of *the lawgiver.*

[20] **M** Or, *Jeshimon.*—23[28] Deut 32[10]*.

[21] This section repeats for Sihon the message addressed in 20[14].. to the king of Edom. The issue is the same [23] cp 20[21b]; but as the people are already encamped upon his territory, an encounter is inevitable. The scene of the conflict is the 'wilderness' reached in [13].

24b The recital in Judg 11[19-22], after following **E** through the conquest of Sihon and his Amorites, makes no mention of the children of Ammon, and there is reason to think that [24b 25 32] are incorporated from a separate narrative. In [24b] 𝔊 reads *the border of the children of Ammon was Jazer* (יאזר for עז) cp [32]. In [25] the statement that 'Israel took all these cities' implies a conquest of towns of which nothing is said in the preceding text; while [25b] is a doublet of [31]. [32] seems clearly to belong to the same document as [25] (cp 'towns') and probably preceded it. [25] **M** 𝔖 *daughters.*

[26] This verse has the aspect of an explanatory addition connecting the poem on the fall of Heshbon with the mention of its occupation by Israel in [25] **J**. It is possible that the whole poem [27-30] is an editorial incorporation, and was no part of the original **E** (in which case [14]. may be attributed to similar insertion). Then the true sequel of [24a] is found in [31] 'and Israel dwelt in the land of the Amorites.' For corrections of the text of the poem cp Dillm, *in loc*, and Meyer, *ZATW* 1881 (who expounds a very different theory).

[28] **M** Or, *Bamoth.*

J	E	JE	J	E	P[g]

[29] Woe to thee, Moab!
Thou art undone, O people of Chemosh:
He hath given his sons as fugitives,
And his daughters into captivity,
Unto Sihon king of the Amorites.
[30] We have shot at them; Heshbon is perished even unto Dibon,
And we have laid waste even unto Nophah,
[N]Which [reacheth] unto Medeba.
[31] [N]Thus Israel [r]dwelt in the land of the Amorites.

t' Judg 1[23]
u' 32[39] 41 Josh 6[20c] 19[47] Judg 1[8] 18
v' 𝔊 = *dispossessed* 32[39] Josh 15[14] Judg 1[19] 27..

[32] And Moses [t]sent to spy out Jazer, and they [u]took the towns thereof, and [v]drove out the Amorites that were there.
[33] [N]And they turned and went up by the way of Bashan: and Og the king of Bashan went out against them, he and all his people, to battle at Edrei. [34] And Yahweh said unto Moses, Fear him not: for I have delivered him into thy hand, and all his people, and his land; and thou shalt do to him as thou didst unto Sihon king of the Amorites, which dwelt at Heshbon. [35] So they smote him, and his sons, and all his people, until there was none left him remaining: and they possessed his land.

a 21[10]

22[1] And the [a]children of Israel journeyed, and pitched in the [s]plains of Moab beyond the Jordan at Jericho. | a | 2

b Deut 1[17] 18[22] 32[27]*

[2] [N]And Balak the son of Zippor saw all that Israel had done to the Amorites. [3a] And Moab was sore [b]afraid of the people, because they were many.
[3b] And Moab [N]was distressed because of the children of Israel. [4] And Moab

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21[30] **M** Some ancient authorities have, *Fire* reached *unto*.
[31] 𝔊 *and*. This verse is parallel with [25], but while **J** specifies the conquest of the cities, **E** relates the occupation of the land.
[33] So far as literary form goes, this section is clearly based on Deut 3[1]·· and is due to **R**[d]. Whether **E** mentioned the conquest of Og is doubtful in view of the silence of **22**[2] Josh 24[8] Judg 11[19–22]. Cp Deut 3[1N].

22[2] The story of Balak and Balaam 22[2–24] shows no sign of deriving any of its materials from **P** whose allusions 31[8] [16] 25[6–18] Josh 13[21]· imply a wholly different view of Balaam's relations with Israel (though it may have been suggested by some features in **J**). The narrative is not, however, all of one piece. (i) The episode of the encounter with the angel of Yahweh 22[22–35] is plainly incongruous with the context. In [20] Balaam is divinely directed to accompany the princes of Moab, and in [21] he departs with them the next morning. But in [22] 'Elohim' is displeased with him for starting; he travels apparently only with two attendants; and the story closes [35] at the point already reached in [21]. As the general phenomena of [22–35] point clearly to **J**, an immediate presumption is established in favour of **E**'s authorship of the passage directly preceding, and this is confirmed by the nocturnal communication from Elohim [20] which is quite in **E**'s manner*. Are we then to suppose (with Kuenen) that the episode of the speaking ass is a detached fragment of **J** incorporated by **E**? Dillmann is surely right in objecting that the author of [20]· would not thus have stultified himself. It is more natural to regard this rather as the work of **R**, and to inquire if there are no other traces of diversity of source. (ii) These are not wanting. Thus (1) there seem to be doublets in [3], 'Moab was sore afraid,' and 'Moab was distressed.' (2) The messengers of [5a] 24[12] are variously described as 'elders of Moab' [7] (and 'of Midian' [4 7]), and as 'princes' [8 13–15 35 40] 23[6] [17]. (3) Their destination is, on the one hand, Pethor by the Euphrates [5], and on the other, 'the land of the children of his people' עמו, or 'of Ammon' יצמון, Sam 𝔖 𝔔 and even some Hebrew MSS. With this latter view may be compared the representation in [24] where Balaam and his two servants travel, not across the desert, but among vineyards with walled enclosures. (4) The language of 24[1]· shows some notable differences compared with 23, especially in the reference to the 'spirit of God' [1] ct 23[5] [16], and to enchantments cp 22[7] (23[23]). So (5) the poems in 24[3] [15] are introduced by a personal identification hardly needed after 23[7], and marked by phraseology suggestive of another hand [4] [16]. The analysis thus yields the following parallels:

J	E
Moab's distress 22[3b].	Moab's fear 22[3a].
Messengers sent to Balaam, elders of Moab (and Midian) 22[4 5 7] 24[12]·.	Princes of Moab sent to summon Balaam 22[8–16] [19–21] 40 23[6] [17].
To the land of the children of Ammon (?) [5c] cp 23··.	To Pethor in the East 22[5b] 23[7].
Balaam sets out with his servants and Yahweh is wroth with him for going, the angel of Yahweh appearing to him by day 22[22]··.	Elohim by night commands Balaam to go, and he sets out with the princes of Moab 22[20]·.
Balaam does not practise enchantment 22[7] 24[1], but speaks under the influence of the spirit of God 24[2].	Balaam speaks the word that Elohim puts in his mouth 22[38] 23[5 12 16] cp Ex 4[15].

Further linguistic marks will be found in the margins: in some verses the authorship must be still doubtful, as the two narratives travel over so much common ground, and the parallels founded on expressions used only once elsewhere cannot be regarded as decisive, even when the phrase shows a strongly marked character, such as 'cover the eye of the earth' 22[5c]. A curious indication of this is seen in the use of the unusual word קבב for 'curse' in both documents 22[11 17] 23[8 11 13 25 27] 24[10]†, implying, perhaps, a common redaction. The occasional signs of the harmonist's work are noted as they occur. It may be also mentioned that the versions show great confusion in the use of the divine names, due largely, it would seem, to uncertainty as to the appropriateness of the employment of 'Yahweh' by a non-Israelite. Allusions to the narrative of **E** will be found in Josh 24[9]·. The sources of the story are of course beyond the critic's reach: but it may be noted that there seem to have been other traditions in circulation about Balaam beside those embodied in Num 22–24 cp Deut 23[4]. Josh 24[9]·; he is presented still more unfavourably in Josh 13[22]. [3b] **M** Or, *abhorred*.—Cp Ex 1[12].

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* Kalisch, *Bible Studies* i (1877) 51, refused to recognize any such distribution, or to ascribe the 'Balaam book' to either **J** or **E**. He supposed it to be a fragment of a larger work (such as the lost books of Nathan and Gad &c), accounting for some of its peculiar phenomena by hypotheses of interpolation. But this view has not found any support.

J E JE J E P

said unto the [c]elders of [N]Midian, Now shall [N]this multitude [d]lick up all that is round about us, as the ox licketh up the [e]grass of the field. And Balak the son of Zippor was king of Moab [f]at that time. [5a] And he [g]sent messengers unto Balaam the son of Beor,

. . .[5b] to Pethor, which is by the [h]River, . . .

...[5c] to the land of the children of [N]his people, to [i]call him, saying, [j]Behold, there is a people come out from Egypt: behold, they cover the [N]face of the earth, and they abide over against me: [6] [k]come now therefore, I pray thee, [b]curse me this people; for they are too [c]mighty for me: [d]peradventure I shall prevail, that we may smite them, and that I may drive them out of the land: for I know that he whom thou [l]blessest is blessed, and he whom thou [b]cursest is cursed. [7] And the elders of Moab and the [c]elders of Midian departed with the [m]rewards of [L]divination[m] in their hand; and they came unto Balaam, and [n]spake unto him the words of Balak:

[8] And he said unto them, Lodge [o]here this night, and I will [p]bring you word again, as Yahweh shall speak unto me: and the princes of Moab abode with Balaam. [9] And God [q]came unto Balaam, and said, What [r]men are these with thee? [10] And Balaam said unto God, [s]Balak the son of Zippor, king of Moab, hath sent unto me, [N][saying], . . .

[11] [j]Behold, the people that is come out of Egypt, it covereth the face of the earth: now, [k]come [t]curse me them; [d]peradventure I shall be able to fight against them, and shall drive them out.

[12] And God said unto Balaam, Thou shalt not go [u]with them; thou shalt not [b]curse the people: for they are blessed. [13] And Balaam [v]rose up in the morning, and said unto the princes of Balak, Get you into your land: for [N]Yahweh refuseth to [e]give me leave to [w]go with you. [14] And the princes of Moab rose up, and they went unto Balak, and said, Balaam refuseth to [w]come with us. [15] And Balak sent yet again princes, more, and more honourable than they. [16] And they came to Balaam, and said to him, Thus saith Balak the son of Zippor, Let nothing, I pray thee, [x]hinder thee from [w]coming unto me:

...[17] For I will [y]promote thee unto very great honour, and whatsoever thou sayest unto me I will do: [k]come therefore, I pray thee, [t]curse me this people. [18] [L]And Balaam answered and said unto the [z]servants of Balak, [a']If Balak would give me his house full of [b']silver and gold, I cannot [c']go beyond the word of Yahweh my God, to [d']do less or more.

. . .[19] Now therefore, I pray you, [e']tarry ye also here this night, that I may know what Yahweh will speak unto me more. [20] And God [q]came unto Balaam at night, and said unto him, If the [r]men be come to [i]call thee, rise up, go with them; but only the word which I speak unto thee, that shalt thou [f']do. [21] And Balaam [v]rose up in the morning, and [g']saddled his ass, and went with the princes of Moab.

[22] And [N]God's anger was kindled because he went: and the [f]angel of Yahweh placed himself in the way for an [h']adversary against him. Now he was [i']riding upon his ass, and his two servants were with him. [23] And the ass saw the angel of Yahweh standing in the way, with his sword [j']drawn in his hand: and the ass [k']turned aside out of the way, and went into the field: and Balaam smote the ass, to turn her into the way. [24] Then the angel of Yahweh stood in a [l']hollow way between the vineyards,

c Cp 7
d ℌ* cp 1 Kings 18[38]
e ℌ=*green thing* Ex 10[15c]
f Gen 38[1]
g 24[12] Gen 32[3] cp Num 20[14]
h Gen 31[21] Ex 23[31] Josh 24[2. 14].
i Cp 20 37 16[12] Josh 24[9]
j Cp 11
k 11 17 cp 23[7] 13 24[14] ℌ
l 24[9] Gen 12[3] 27[29]
m 23[23] Deut 18[10] ℌ*
7 Σ𝔏 τ
n 11[24] ℌ
o Gen 22[5]
p 13[26]
q Gen 20[3] 31[24]
r Cp 20
s Cp 2
t 17 23[8] 13 25 27 24[10] cp Lev 24[11] Prov Job†
u Deut 29[17] ℌ* cp Num 21[3]
v 21 Gen 24[54] ct ℌ JE200
w ℌ 14 16 Ex 3[19*] cp JE119[a]
x Cp 24[11] Gen 30[2*]
y 37 24[11]
18–20 I11[c]
z Cp Gen 50[7]
a' 24[13]
b' Gen 13[2]
c' ℌ=*transgress* 14[41]
d' Cp 24[13]
e' ℌ=*abide* 8
f' 23[26]
g' Gen 22[3]
h' Cp 32*
i' 30 Gen 24[61]
j' 31 Josh 5[13*]
k' 26 33 20[21]
l' ℌ†

b 24
c 59
d 64
e 118
f 4

22[4a] As the 'elders of Midian' are only named in [4 7] and then disappear, Wellhausen and Kuenen regard their introduction as due to an attempt on the part of R[P] to combine the Balaam story of **JE** with **P**'s account of the subsequent war with Midian 31[8 16]. Dillmann, on the other hand, followed by Bacon, sees here an original element of **J**, founded on a tradition resembling that utilized by **P**. In support of this it is pointed out that **J** has at an earlier stage located a defeat of Midian in the 'field of Moab' Gen 36[35], thus associating the two nationalities in geographical neighbourhood.

[4b] **M** ℌ *the assembly*.—Cp [P]24[b]. The language is somewhat peculiar: the appearance of this word here is surprising in the mouth of Moab: for 'grass' cp also Gen 1[30] 9[3].

[5c] Sam 𝔖 𝔏 and some ℌ MSS, *Ammon*.

[5d] **M** ℌ *eye*.—Cp 11 Ex 10[5] 15†.

[10] The insertion of the message without any connecting word may perhaps be due to the fusion of two documents.

[13] 𝔊 *God*. Some uncertainty attaches to the use of the divine names, which may have been editorially altered.

[22] Sam *Yahweh*. ℌ is probably a harmonist's alteration cp 20. In [22–35] 𝔊 reads 'angel of God' save in [31b 34]; no doubt an intentional change out of reverence for 'Yahweh.'

J E JE J E P

a [m']fence being on this side, and a fence on that side. [25] And the ass saw
the angel of Yahweh, and she [n']thrust herself unto the wall, and [m']crushed
Balaam's foot against the wall: and he smote her again. [26] And the angel
of Yahweh went further, and stood in a narrow place, where was no way
to [k']turn either to the right hand or to the left. [27] And the ass saw the
angel of Yahweh, and she lay down under Balaam: and Balaam's anger
was kindled, and he smote the ass with his [o']staff. [28] And Yahweh opened
the mouth of the ass, and she said unto Balaam, What have I done unto
thee, that thou hast smitten me [p']these three times? [29] And Balaam said
unto the ass, Because thou hast [q']mocked me: I would [g]there were a sword g 84
in mine hand, for now I had killed thee. [30] And the ass said unto Balaam,
Am not I thine ass, upon which thou hast [i']ridden [r']all thy life long unto
this day? was I ever wont to do so unto thee? And he said, Nay. [31] Then
Yahweh opened the eyes of Balaam, and he saw the angel of Yahweh
standing in the way, with his sword drawn in his hand: and he [h]bowed h 12[b]
his head, and fell on his face. [32] And the angel of Yahweh said unto him,
Wherefore hast thou smitten thine ass [p']these three times? behold, I am
come forth for an [k']adversary, because thy way is [N]perverse [s']before me:
[33] and the ass saw me, and [k']turned aside before me [p']these three times:
[N]unless she had turned aside from me, surely now I had even slain thee,
and [t']saved her alive. [34] And Balaam said unto the angel of Yahweh, I have
sinned; for I knew not that thou stoodest in the way against me: now
therefore, if it [u']displease thee, I will get me back again. [35] And the angel
of Yahweh said unto Balaam, Go [N]with the men: but only the word that I shall
speak unto thee, that thou shalt speak. So Balaam went with the princes of Balak.
[36a] And when Balak heard that Balaam was come, he [v']went out to meet
him unto the [w']City of Moab, which is on the border of Arnon,
. . .[36b] [N]which is in the [x']utmost part of the border. [37a] [N]And Balak said unto
Balaam, Did I not earnestly [y']send unto thee to call thee? wherefore
camest thou not unto me?
...[37b] am I not able [z']indeed to [y]promote thee to honour?
[38] And Balaam said unto Balak, Lo, I am come unto thee: have I now any
power at all to speak any thing? the word that God [a'']putteth in my
mouth, that shall I speak.
[39] And Balaam went with Balak, and they came unto [b'']Kiriath-huzoth. . .
[40] [L]And Balak sacrificed [c'']oxen and sheep, and sent to Balaam, and to the
princes that were with him. [41] And it came to pass in the morning, that
Balak took Balaam, and brought him up into [M]the high places of Baal, and
he saw from thence the [x']utmost part of the people. **23**[1] [L]And Balaam said
unto Balak, [a]Build me here seven altars, and prepare me here seven
bullocks and seven rams. [2] And Balak did as Balaam had spoken; and
[N]*Balak and Balaam* [b]offered on every altar a bullock and a ram. [3] And Balaam
said unto Balak, Stand by thy burnt offering, and I will go; [a]peradventure a 64
[c]Yahweh will come to meet me: and whatsoever he sheweth me I will
tell thee. And he went to a [d]bare height. [4] And God met Balaam: and
he said unto him, I have [e]prepared the seven altars, and I have [b]offered up
a bullock and a ram on every altar. [5] And [c]Yahweh [f]put a word in
Balaam's mouth, and said, Return unto Balak, and thus thou shalt speak.
[6] And he returned unto him, and, lo, he stood by his burnt offering, he,
and all the princes of Moab. [7] [N]And he [g]took up his parable[g], and said,

m' ℌ*
n' Cp Ex 3[9] 22[20] 23[9] ℌ*
o' Gen 32[10]
p' 32. 24[10] 14[22]
q' Cp Ex 10[2M]*
r' Gen 48[15]†
s' Gen 33[12]
t' Cp Gen 19[19]
u' Cp 11[10b] ℌ
v' Ex 18[7]
w' Ct 21[28]
x' 20[16]
y' Cp 5 Josh 24[9]
z' Gen 18[13]*
a'' 23[5] 12 16 Ex 4[15]*
b'' †
40 L7p*a*
c'' Ct **33**
1-7 &c L7b/10d*k*
a Cp 4 14
b Gen 22[13] JE**11**0
c 𝔊 *God* 5 12 15. 26
d ℌ*
e ℌ=*laid* Gen 22[9]
f 12 16 22[38]
g 18 24[3] 15 20. 23 Job 27[1] 29[1]†

22[32] **M** ℌ *headlong.*—Job 16[11]†.

[33] ℌ=*peradventure* [6]. For אולי the versions seem to have read לולי 'unless.'

[35] The narrative is here brought back by **R** to the point reached in [20]. [36b] Apparently a doublet of the preceding.

[37] It is possible that some dislocation of **E** has been caused here by the combination of the two colloquies in **J** and **E**. From [40] it might be inferred that Balaam had not yet joined the king. Similarly [39] is hardly part of the story of [40].

[41] **M** Or, *Bamoth-baal.*—Ct 21[19].

23[2] 𝔊 omits *Balak and Balaam*, the subject being simply 'he' and the verb singular as in [14 30]. The sequel of [2] seems to have been transposed into [4] (so Bacon), where Balak's report to Balaam is put into Balaam's own mouth, interrupting the natural succession 'Elohim met Balaam, and put a word in Balaam's mouth' cp [16].

[7a] The recurrence of this formula in the introduction of the oracles both in **E** and **J** is a curious literary phenomenon, as it occurs nowhere else save in Job 27[1] 29[1]. Did each document use it independently, or did one derive it from the other, or is

J	E	JE	J	E	P	
		From [h]Aram hath Balak brought me,				
		The king of Moab from the mountains of the East:				
		[i]Come, curse me Jacob,				
		And come, [N]defy Israel.				
		8 How shall I [j]curse, whom [k]God hath not cursed?				
		And how shall I defy, whom [l]Yahweh hath not defied?				
		9 For from the [m]top of the rocks I see him,				
		And from the hills I [n]behold him:				
		Lo, it is a people that [o]dwell alone[o],				
		And shall not be [p]reckoned among the nations.				
		10 Who can [q]count the dust of Jacob,				
		[N]Or number the [r]fourth part of Israel?				
		Let [N]me die the death of the righteous,				
		And let my last end be like his!				
		11 And Balak said unto Balaam, What hast thou done unto me? I took thee to [j]curse mine enemies, and, behold, thou hast blessed them altogether.				
		12 And he answered and said, Must I not take heed to speak that which [c]Yahweh [f]putteth in my mouth? 13 And Balak said unto him, [s]Come, I pray thee, with me unto another place, from whence thou mayest see them; [N]*thou shalt see* [t]*but the* [u]*utmost part of them, and shalt not see them all:* and [j]curse me them from thence. 14 And he took him into the field of [v]Zophim, to the top of [w]Pisgah, and [a]built seven altars, and [b]offered up a bullock and a ram on every altar. 15 And he said unto Balak, Stand here by thy burnt offering, while I meet [[c]Yahweh] [x]yonder. 16 And [c]Yahweh met Balaam, and [f]put a word in his mouth, and said, Return unto Balak, and thus shalt thou speak. 17 And he came to him, and, lo, he stood by his burnt offering, and the princes of Moab with him. And Balak said unto him, What hath Yahweh spoken? 18 And he [g]took up his parable, and said,				
		Rise up, Balak, and hear;				
		Hearken unto me, thou son of Zippor:				
		19 God is not a man, that he should lie;				
		Neither the son of man, that he should [b]repent:				b 20[b]
		Hath he said, and shall he not do it?				
		Or hath he spoken, and shall he not make it good?				
		20 Behold, I have received [commandment] to bless:				
		And he hath blessed, and I cannot reverse it.				
		21 He hath not beheld iniquity in Jacob,				
		Neither hath he seen [y]perverseness in Israel:				
		Yahweh his God is [c]with him,				c 13[0]
		And the shout of a king is among them.				
		22 [N]God bringeth them forth out of Egypt;				
		He hath as it were the [M]strength of the [M]wild-ox.				
		23 Surely there is no [z]enchantment [M]with Jacob,				
		Neither is there any [a']divination [M]with Israel:				
		[M]Now shall it be [M]said of Jacob and of Israel,				
		What hath God [b']wrought!				

h Cp 22[5b]
i 22[6]
j 11 13 27 22[11]
k Ⓖ *Yahweh*
l Ⓖ *God*
m Cp 22[41]
n 24[17*]
o Mic 7[14] Ps 4[8†]
p ℌ Hithpa†
q Gen 13[16*]
r 2 Kings 6[25†]
s Cp 22[6]
t 22[35]
u 22[41]
v †
w Cp 28[N] 21[20]
x Cp Gen 22[5]
y Cp Gen 41[51*]
z 24[1] cp Gen 30[27] 44[5] 15
a' 22[7]
b' Ex 15[17] Deut 32[27*]

it due to a common redaction? (It is somewhat singular that both here and in Job it should be employed of a non-Israelite.) The origin of the poems is in like manner a difficult problem. From what sources did J and E derive them? From the days of Ewald it has been generally admitted that the last three *m[e]shalîm* 24[20–24] are later supplements (cp Dillm, *NDJ* 138; and for the interpretation of the allusions, *ib* 162–7, Cornill, *Einl* 70). It is at least conceivable that the others belong also to the reproductive style of after-times. In 23[22] the identity with 24[8] can only be explained by some form of mutual dependence. As 23[23] seems to prepare for 24[1] (cp Dillm), it appears most natural to regard 23[22]. as founded on 24, though both J and E may have drawn from a common source. Phrases recalling the language of Gen 27 and 49 are noted in the margin, as well as some parallels with other poems: the designation 'Most High' 24[16] is chiefly common in literature after the Exile (cp Cheyne, *Book of Psalms* 18).

23[7b] **M** ℌ *be wroth against.*—[z] Mic 6[10] *al.*

10[a] **M** ℌ *Or, by number, the &c.* 10[b] **M** ℌ *my soul.*

13 Apparently an insertion by **R**. In 22[41] Balaam is conducted to Bamoth-baal from which he views only 'the uttermost part of the people.' Balak, disappointed in the result, proposes to visit another point of view from which he 'may see them,' i e plainly the whole encampment without hindrance. But this would anticipate the climax in 24[2], and the limitation of 22[41] is accordingly editorially renewed.

22[a] Cp 24[8] and 23[7aN].

22[b] **M** Or, *horns.*—Cp 24[8] Ps 95[4] Job 22[25]†.

22[c] **M** Or, *ox antelope,* ℌ *reem.*—Cp Deut 33[17*].

23[ab] **M** Or, *against.*

23[c] **M** Or, *At the due season.*

23[d] **M** Or *told to . . . what God hath wrought.*

J	E	JE	J	E	P	

[24] Behold, the people riseth up as a [c']lioness,
And as a [d']lion doth he lift himself up:
He shall not lie down until he eat of the [e']prey,
And drink the blood of the slain.

[25] And Balak said unto Balaam, [d]Neither curse them at all, [d]nor bless them at all. [26] But Balaam answered and said unto Balak, Told not I thee, saying, All that [c]Yahweh speaketh, that I must [f']do?

[27] [N]*And Balak said unto Balaam, [g]Come now, I will take thee unto another place; [h]peradventure it will [g']please God that thou mayest [j]curse me them from thence.*

[28] And Balak took Balaam unto the top of [N]Peor, that [h']looketh down upon [M]the desert.

[29] *And Balaam said unto Balak, [a]Build me here seven altars, and prepare me here seven bullocks and seven rams.* [30] *And Balak did as Balaam had said, and [b]offered up a bullock and a ram on every altar.*

24[1] [L]And [T]Balaam saw that it [a]pleased Yahweh to bless Israel, and he went not, [b]as at the other times, to meet with [c]enchantments, but he set his face toward the wilderness. [2] And Balaam lifted up his eyes, and he saw Israel dwelling [d]according to their tribes; and the [e]spirit of God came upon him. [3] And he [f]took up his parable, and said,

Balaam the son of Beor [N][g]saith,
And the man whose eye [M]was closed [g]saith:
[4] He [g]saith, which heareth the [h]words of God[N],
Which [i]seeth the [j]vision of the [k]Almighty,
Falling down, and [l]having his eyes open:
[5] [m]How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob,
Thy [n]tabernacles, O Israel!
[6] As valleys are they spread forth,
As [o]gardens by the river side,
As [p]lign-aloes which Yahweh hath [q]planted,
As cedar trees beside the waters.
[7] Water shall [r]flow from his [s]buckets,
And his seed shall be in many waters,
And his king shall be higher than Agag,
And his kingdom shall be exalted.
[8] [t]God bringeth him forth out of Egypt;
He hath as it were the [M]strength of the [N]wild-ox:
He shall eat up the nations his adversaries,
And shall [u]break their bones in pieces,
And [v]smite [them] through with his arrows.
[9] [N]He [w]couched, he lay down as a lion,
And as a lioness; who shall rouse him up?
[a]Blessed be [x]every one that blesseth thee, | a 10[c]
And [b]cursed be every one that curseth thee. | b 24
[10] And Balak's anger was kindled against Balaam, and he [y]smote his hands[y] together: and Balak said unto Balaam, I called thee to [y]curse mine enemies, and, behold, thou hast altogether blessed them [N]these three times. [11] Therefore now flee thou to thy [c]place: I thought to [z]promote thee unto great honour; but, lo, Yahweh hath [a']kept thee back from honour. [12] And Balaam said unto Balak, Spake I not also to thy [b']messengers which thou | c 65

23[27] The language of Balak [25] implies that he relinquishes his project. But in approaching the parallel narrative of J, it was necessary to account for a third effort, and R therefore reproduces the preparatory arrangements of E [27 29]. cp [13].

[28a] No mountain named Peor is known in the Old Testament. Bacon supposes that the name has been editorially substituted for Pisgah which had been already employed [14] by E. The same description of the view is attached to Pisgah in 21[10] (J). Both narratives, therefore, place the scene of Balaam's blessing on the same summit. [28b] **M** Or, *Jeshimon.*

24[1] So ℌ. **T** *And when Balaam saw . . . he went not.* Dillmann ascribes this verse to R.

[3a] ℌ usually of Deity: of man only [3. 15.] 2 Sam 23[1] Prov 30[1]. For the peculiar position of the word cp Ps 36[1] 110[1].

[3b] **M** Or, *is opened.*—[15]†.

[4] The analogy of [16] suggests the addition of the clause 'and knoweth the knowledge of the Most High.' [8ab] **M** See 23[22].

[9] This verse seems derived from Gen 49[9] 27[29], and has consequently been suspected as an addition. But cp 23[7aN].

[10] Apparently due to the harmonist. Cp 23[11 25 27].

J E JE J E P

sentest unto me, saying, [13] [c']If Balak would give me his house full of silver
and gold, I cannot go beyond the word of Yahweh[c'], to do either good or
bad [d']of mine own mind; what Yahweh speaketh, [e']that will I speak?
[14] And now, behold, I go unto my people: [f']come, [and] I will [g']advertise
thee what this people shall do to thy people in the [h']latter days. [15] And he
[f]took up his parable, and said,
Balaam the son of Beor [f]saith,
And the man whose eye [M]was closed [g]saith:
[16] He [g]saith, which heareth the [h]words of God,
And knoweth the knowledge of the [i']Most High,
Which seeth the vision of the Almighty,
Falling down, and [l]having his eyes open:
[17] I see him, but not now:
I [j']behold him, but not nigh:
[L]There shall come forth a star out of Jacob,
And a [k']sceptre shall rise out of Israel,
And shall [v]smite through the [l']corners of Moab,
And [m']break down all the sons [M]of tumult.
[18] [N]And Edom shall be a [n']possession,
Seir also shall be a [n']possession, [which were] his enemies;
While Israel doeth valiantly.
[19] And out of Jacob shall one have dominion,
And shall destroy the remnant from the city.
[20] And he looked on [N]Amalek, and [f]took up his parable and said,
Amalek was the first of the nations;
But his [o']latter end shall come to destruction.
[21] And he looked on the Kenite, and [f]took up his parable, and said,
[p']Strong is thy [q']dwelling place,
And thy [r']nest is set in the rock.
[22] Nevertheless [M]Kain shall be wasted,
[M]Until Asshur shall carry thee away captive.
[23] [N]And he [f]took up his parable, and said,
Alas, who shall live when God [N]doeth this?
[24] But ships [shall come] from the coast of Kittim,
And they shall afflict Asshur, and shall afflict Eber,
And he also shall come to destruction.
[25] And Balaam rose up, and went and returned to his [c]place: and Balak
also went his way.

25[1a] [N]And Israel [a]abode in [b]Shittim,
[1b] [L]And the people began to [c]commit whoredom with the daughters of Moab:
[2] [L]for they called the people unto the [c]sacrifices of their gods; and the
people did [c]eat, and [d]bowed down to their gods.
[3a] and Israel [M]joined himself unto [M]Baal-peor.
[3b] And the anger of Yahweh was kindled against Israel. [4] And Yahweh said
unto Moses, Take all the [e]chiefs of the people, and [f]hang them up unto Yahweh
[g]before the sun, that the [h]fierce anger[h] of Yahweh may [i]turn away from Israel.
[5] And Moses said unto the [j]judges of Israel, Slay ye every one his men
that have joined themselves unto Baal-peor.

c' 22[18]
d' 16[28]
e' Cp 22[35]
f' 22[6]
g' Ex 18[19*]
h' Gen 49[1]
i' Gen 14[18]. Deut 32[8*]
j' 23[9]
17 L4kc
k' 21[18]
l' Jer 48[45]
m' Is 22[5]
n' ℌ†
o' Cp 23[10]
p' Gen 49[24]
q' Gen 27[39]
r' Jer 49[16] cp Obad 4
a 20[1b] 21[31] ℌ
b Josh 2[1]
1b LIeb
c Cp Ex 34[15]
2. L5abk
d ℌ=*worship* Ex 34[14]
e ℌ=*heads* Deut 33[5] cp 5[23]
f 2 Sam 21[6 9]
g 2 Sam 12[12]
h 32[14] Ex 32[12]
i Cp Gen 27[45]
j Ex 18[21]..

24[15] **M** Or, *is opened.*
[17] **M** Or, *of Sheth.*
[18] Kalisch proposes to regard [18–24] as supplemental, *Bibl Stud* i 263...; he refers [24] to the relations of Assyria and Cyprus in the seventh century, under Assurbanipal.
[20] The three concluding oracles seem irrelevant here, being concerned neither with Israel nor Moab [14]. Cp 23[7a N]. It has been thought that they were added to bring the cycle up to seven. Some interpreters have found a reference to the Macedonian power in [24]. But cp Cheyne, *Expos Times* June 1899 399.
[22a] **M** Or, *the Kenites.*—Cp Judg 1[16] 4[11].
[22b] **M** Or, *How long? Asshur &c.*—Cp 2 Kings 15[29].
[23a] (ℌ inserts, *And he looked upon Og.*
[23b] **M** Or, *establisheth him.*

25[1] The narrative of the Moabite idolatry [1–5] is plainly composite, for its statements are curiously duplicated. On the one hand, Israel, encamped in Shittim, becomes devoted to the Baal of Peor, and punishment on the guilty worshippers is meted out by Moses through the judicial organization [1a 3a 5]. On the other, the people are seduced by the women of Moab into unchastity and false worship of their gods; the divine wrath is kindled, and Moses is commanded to avert it by the sacrificial doom of the heads of the people [2 3b 4]. The close correspondence of [2] with Ex 34[15] makes it certain that this account is derived from **J**; the reference to the judges [5] confirms the belief that the other element must be drawn from **E**.
[3a] **M** Or, *yoked.*—[3 5] Ps 106[28].
[3b] **M** Or, *the Baal of Peor.* See 23[28].

	JE	P^t	P^g	P^s	
6-9 *L*1*e*p		…[6] [NL]And, behold, one of the children of Israel came and brought unto his brethren a Midianitish woman in the sight of Moses, and in the sight of			
k 1^2		^{k}all the ^{a}congregation of the children of Israel, while they were weeping at the ^{b}door of the tent of meeting. [7] And when ^{c}Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron the priest, saw it, he rose up from the midst		a 45 b 12^e c 111^b	
l ℌ* Judg 5^8		of the ^{a}congregation, and took a ^{l}spear in his hand; [8] and he went after the			
m ℌ* Judg 9^{54}		man of Israel into the ^{m}pavilion, and ^{m}thrust both of them through, the man			
n ℌ†		of Israel, and the woman through her ^{n}belly. So the ^{d}plague was ^{o}stayed		d 125^b	
o 16^{48}		from the children of Israel. [9] And those that died by the ^{d}plague were twenty and four thousand.			
10-13 *L*11*a*p		[10] ^{L}And Yahweh ^{e}spake unto Moses, saying, [11] ^{c}Phinehas, the son of		e 185	
p Jer 18^{20}		Eleazar, the son of Aaron the priest, hath ^{p}turned my wrath away from the children of Israel, in that he was jealous with my jealousy among them, so that I consumed not the children of Israel in my jealousy. [12] Where-			
q Gen 9^{9}..		fore say, ^{q}Behold, I give unto him my ^{r}covenant of peace: [13] and it shall be			
r Ezek 34^{25} 37^{26} Is 54^{10}		unto ^{f}him, and to his seed after him, the covenant of an ^{s}everlasting priest-		f 162	
		hood; because he was jealous for his God, and ^{h}made atonement for the		g 62 h 25^a	
		children of Israel. [14] Now the name of the man of Israel that was slain, who was slain with the Midianitish woman, was Zimri, the son of Salu,			
		a ^{i}prince of a ^{j}fathers' house among the Simeonites. [15] And the name		i 131	
		of the Midianitish woman that was slain was Cozbi, the daughter of Zur;		j 66	
s Gen 25^{16} cp Ps 117^1†		he was head of the ^{s}people ^{N}of a ^{j}fathers' house in Midian.			
16.. *L*4*n*d		[16] [NL]And Yahweh ^{e}spake unto Moses, saying, [17] ^{t}Vex the Midianites, and			
t 10^9 Ex 23^{22}		smite them: [18] for they ^{t}vex you with their wiles, wherewith they have			
u Cp Gen 37^{18}*		^{u}beguiled you ^{v}*in the matter of Peor, and* in the matter of Cozbi, the daughter			
v 31^{16}		of the ^{i}prince of Midian, their sister, which was slain on the day of the ^{d}plague *in the matter of Peor.*			
1-5^5 *L*4*tu*^{2}		**26**[1] [NL]And it came to pass after the ^{a}plague, that Yahweh spake unto Moses			
a 25^8.		and unto ^{a}Eleazar the ^{b}son of Aaron the priest, saying, [2] ^{c}Take the ^{b}sum		a 12^b	
b 20^{28}		of all the ^{c}congregation of the children of Israel, from twenty years ^{d}old		b 84^c c 45^a	
c 1^{2}..		and upward, by their ^{f}fathers' houses, all that are ^{g}able to go forth to war		d 119^a e 169^b	
		in Israel. [3] And Moses and ^{a}Eleazar the priest ^{h}spake with them in the		f 66	
		^{i}plains of Moab by the Jordan at Jericho, saying, [4] [Take the sum of the		g 16 h 185^a	
		people] from twenty years ^{d}old and ^{e}upward; ^{N}as Yahweh commanded		i 2^a	

25⁶ To the story of the Moabite apostasy the compiler has attached an account of an incident in which Phinehas slays a Simeonite prince and a Midianitish woman. But the opening of it is lost. From 8^b it appears that a plague was raging, thousands have already perished 9, and the congregation is assembled in lamentation at the sanctuary. This plague does not correspond to either form of penalty inflicted in 4 and 5: and improper connexions with Midianite women do not belong to the plains of Moab. The language at once identifies the source of the narrative with **P**. A late harmonistic allusion in 31^{16} connects the worship of the Baal of Peor with the Midianite woman under the insidious advice of Balaam, and it is possible that the missing beginning assigned this cause for the plague, and was set aside by R^P in favour of the extract from **JE**.

8 **M** Or, *alcove*.

15 The word rendered 'people' seems to be a rare name for certain Arab clans, explained by the more familiar title 'fathers' house,' cp Ges-Brown, *Hebr Lex*.

16 The allusions in 18 to 'the matter of Peor' are certainly due to the compiler. But it is probable that the command to retaliate upon the Midianites is an after-thought, preparing the way for the later recital of the war with Midian in 31. The main narrative passes on to the second census, for which fresh instructions are given 26^{1}..; the vengeance on Midian is not yet in sight.

26[1] The second census obviously belongs like the first 1^{2}.. to **P**; but it is doubtful whether it formed part of P^g. On the whole, it seems better referred to P^s. The opening appears to be much curtailed. In 3 it is not clear who are designated by 'with them.' The first words of 4 are lost; and Dillm on grammatical grounds rejects the Massoretic punctuation of 4^b, so that the clause 'as Yahweh commanded Moses' stands by itself, and the phrase 'and the children of Israel which came forth out of the land of Egypt' is left suspended at the beginning of the enumeration. This, however, does not cohere with the explanation in 64.. These phenomena show that the incorporation of the passage has not been effected without mutilation. A comparison with 1 points in the same direction. (1) The introductory formula seems to be of a secondary character cp 1^{1N}. (2) The order of the tribes corresponds with that of 1 (itself secondary) save for the inversion of Manasseh and Ephraim. (3) The lists of tribal clans in the main agree with those in Gen 46^{8}.. P^s, though occasional divergences (see Benjamin 38..) show that fresh material might be utilized. (4) The document contains sundry annotations, additions, and explanations, after the manner of a later editor, though some of these seem to be supplemental insertions cp 9-10 11 58 58b-61 (where the connexion is very loose) 64.. (5) The introduction of the division of the land 52-56 seems premature; the name of the land, even, is not mentioned, much less its conquest, or even the passage of the Jordan, ct 33^{51}.. 34^{2}..; moreover, according to 27^{12}.. Deut 32^{49}.., Moses was not permitted to cross the Jordan and could not be the instrument of the distribution. On 54^a cp 33^{54N}. (6) The phrase 'as Yahweh commanded Moses' 4 is characteristic of P^s cp 189^c, and the description of the plains of Moab 3 63 as 'by' the Jordan cp 31^{12} 33$^{48-50}$ 35^1 36^{13} suggests a different hand from that of 22^1. The view that the existing narrative belongs to P^s does not exclude the conjecture that, like 1, it may have been based on an earlier and simpler form.

4 The phrase 'as Yahweh commanded Moses' never includes any other object elsewhere, and the structure of the following clause implies that it begins a new sentence cp 1^{1N}.

JE	P[t]	P[g]	P[s]	
		Moses and the children of Israel, which came forth out of the land of Egypt.		
d 1[20] Gen 46[8] Ex 6[14]		[5] [d]Reuben, the firstborn of Israel: the sons of Reuben; [of] Hanoch, the [j]family of the Hanochites: of Pallu, the family of the Palluites: [6] of Hezron, the family of the Hezronites: of Carmi, the family of the Carmites.		j 65
		[7] [k]These are the families of the Reubenites: and [l]they that were numbered of them were forty and three thousand and seven hundred and thirty.		k 188[a] l 115[b]
		[8] [N]And the sons of Pallu; Eliab. [9] And the sons of Eliab; Nemuel, and Dathan, and Abiram. [m]These are that Dathan and Abiram, which were		m 188[c]
e 16[2] *f* Hiph Ps 60 title† *g* 16[5] *h* 16[32] *i* 16[35]		[e]called of the congregation, who [f]strove against Moses and against Aaron in the [g]company of Korah, when they strove against Yahweh: [10] and the [h]earth opened her mouth, and swallowed them up together with Korah, when that company died; what time the [i]fire devoured two hundred and fifty men, and they [n]became a [j]sign. [11] [N]*Notwithstanding the sons of Korah died not.*		n 27
j Ct 2[18] Ex 17[15] 𝔊* *k* Gen 46[10] Ex 6[15]		[12] The sons of [k]Simeon [o]after their families: of [M]Nemuel, the family of the Nemuelites: of Jamin, the family of the Jaminites: of [M]Jachin, the family of the Jachinites: [13] of [M]Zerah, the family of the Zerahites: of Shaul, the family of the Shaulites. [14] These are the families of the Simeonites, twenty and two thousand and two hundred.		o 65[b]
l Gen 46[16]		[15] The sons of [l]Gad after their families: of [M]Zephon, the family of the Zephonites: of Haggi, the family of the Haggites: of Shuni, the family of the Shunites: [16] of [M]Ozni, the family of the Oznites: of Eri, the family of the Erites: [17] of [M]Arod, the family of the Arodites: of Areli, the family of the Arelites. [18] These are the families of the sons of Gad [p]according to those that were numbered of them, forty thousand and five hundred.		p 18[3]
m Gen 46[12]		[19] The sons of [m]Judah, Er and Onan: and Er and Onan died in the [q]land of Canaan. [20] And the sons of Judah after their families were; of		q 4[a]
		Shelah, the family of the Shelanites: of Perez, the family of the Perezites: of Zerah, the family of the Zerahites. [21] And the sons of Perez were; of Hezron, the family of the Hezronites: of Hamul, the family of the Hamulites. [22] These are the families of Judah according to those that were numbered of them, threescore and sixteen thousand and five hundred.		
n Gen 46[13]		[23] The sons of [n]Issachar after their families: [of] Tola, the family of the Tolaites: of Puvah, the family of the Punites: [24] of [M]Jashub, the family of the Jashubites: of Shimron, the family of the Shimronites. [25] These are the families of Issachar according to those that were numbered of them, threescore and four thousand and three hundred.		
o Gen 46[14]		[26] The sons of [o]Zebulun after their families: of Sered, the family of the Seredites: of Elon, the family of the Elonites: of Jahleel, the family of the Jahleelites. [27] These are the families of the Zebulunites according to those that were numbered of them, threescore thousand and five hundred.		
p Gen 46[20]		[28] The sons of [p]Joseph after their families: Manasseh and Ephraim. [29] The sons of Manasseh: of Machir, the family of the Machirites: and Machir [r]begat Gilead: of Gilead, the family of the Gileadites. [30] These		r 30
		are the sons of Gilead: [of] [M]Iezer, the family of the Iezerites: of Helek, the family of the Helekites: [31] and [of] Asriel, the family of the Asrielites: and [of] Shechem, the family of the Shechemites: [32] and [of] Shemida, the family of the Shemidaites: and [of] Hepher, the family of the Hepherites. [33] And Zelophehad the son of Hepher had no sons, but daughters: and the names of the daughters of Zelophehad were Mahlah, and Noah, Hoglah, Milcah, and Tirzah. [34] These are the families of Manasseh: and they that were numbered of them were fifty and two thousand and seven hundred.		

26[8] The references in 8–10 rest on 16 in its present composite form. If this census-list belongs to P[g], this passage must be regarded as a later insertion.

11 A separate addition to account for the survival of families tracing descent from Korah.

12[a] **M** In Gen 46[10] Ex 6[15] *Jemuel.*

12[b] **M** In 1 Chron 4[24] *Jarib.*

13 **M** In Gen 46[10] *Zohar.*

15 **M** In Gen 46[16] *Ziphion.*

16 **M** In Gen 46[16] *Ezbon.*

17 **M** In Gen 46[16] *Arodi.*

24 **M** In Gen 46[13] *Iob.*

30 **M** In Josh 17[2] *Abiezer.* See Judg 6[11 24 34].

JE | P[t] | P[g] | P[s]

[35] These are the sons of Ephraim after their families: of Shuthelah, the family of the Shuthelahites: of [M]Becher, the family of the Becherites: of Tahan, the family of the Tahanites. [36] And these are the sons of Shuthelah: of Eran, the family of the Eranites. [37] These are the families of the sons of Ephraim according to those that were numbered of them, thirty and two thousand and five hundred. These are the sons of Joseph after their families.

q Gen 46[21] [38] The sons of [q]Benjamin after their families: of Bela, the family of the Belaites: of Ashbel, the family of the Ashbelites: of [M]Ahiram, the family of the Ahiramites: [39] of [M]Shephupham, the family of the Shuphamites: of Hupham, the family of the Huphamites. [40] And the sons of Bela were [M]Ard and Naaman: [of Ard], the family of the Ardites: of Naaman, the family of the Naamites. [41] These are the sons of Benjamin after their families: and they that were numbered of them were forty and five thousand and six hundred.

r Gen 46[23] [42] These are the sons of [r]Dan after their families: of [M]Shuham, the family of the Shuhamites. These are the families of Dan after their families. [43] All the families of the Shuhamites, according to those that were numbered of them, were threescore and four thousand and four hundred.

s Gen 46[17] [44] The sons of [s]Asher after their families: of Imnah, the family of the Imnites: of Ishvi, the family of the Ishvites: of Beriah, the family of the Beriites. [45] Of the sons of Beriah: of Heber, the family of the Heberites: of Malchiel, the family of the Malchielites. [46] And the name of the daughter of Asher was Serah. [47] These are the families of the sons of Asher according to those that were numbered of them, fifty and three thousand and four hundred.

t Gen 46[24] [48] The sons of [t]Naphtali after their families: of Jahzeel, the family of the Jahzeelites: of Guni, the family of the Gunites: [49] of Jezer, the family of the Jezerites: of Shillem, the family of the Shillemites. [50] These are the families of Naphtali according to their families: and they that were numbered of them were forty and five thousand and four hundred.

[51] These are they that were numbered of the children of Israel, six hundred thousand and a thousand seven hundred and thirty.

52-56 *L* 4u*e* [52] [L]And Yahweh [h]spake unto Moses, saying, [53] Unto these the land shall be divided [s]for an inheritance according to the number of names. [54] To

u 33[54] the [u]more thou shalt give the more inheritance, and to the fewer thou shalt give the less inheritance: to every one [t]according to those that were numbered of him shall his inheritance be given. [55] Notwithstanding the land shall be divided by lot: [u]according to the names of the [v]tribes of their fathers they shall inherit. [56] [t]According to the lot shall their inheritance be divided between the more and the fewer.

57-62 *L* 4p*b* [57] [L]And these are they that were numbered of the Levites after their families: of Gershon, the family of the Gershonites: of Kohath, the family of the Kohathites: of Merari, the family of the Merarites. [58] [N]*These are the families of Levi: the family of the Libnites, the family of the Hebronites, the family of the Mahlites, the family of the Mushites, the family of the Korahites.* And Kohath [r]begat Amram.

v Ex 6[20] [59] And the name of Amram's wife was [v]Jochebed, the daughter of Levi, who was born to Levi in Egypt: and she bare unto Amram Aaron and

w Ex 6[23] Moses, and Miriam their sister. [60] And unto Aaron were born [w]Nadab

x Lev 10[1.] and Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar. [61] And Nadab and Abihu [x]died, when they offered strange fire before Yahweh. [62] And they that were numbered

y 3[15] of them were twenty and three thousand, [w]every male from a [y]month old and upward: for they [x]were not numbered among the children of Israel, because there was no inheritance given them among the children of Israel.

[63] These are they that were numbered by Moses and Eleazar the priest;

s 96[c]
t 19[b]
u 18[m]
v 165
w 107[b]
x 115[c]

26[35] **M** In 1 Chron 7[20] *Bered.*
38 **M** In Gen 46[21] *Ehi* in 1 Chron 8[1] *Aharah.*
39 **M** In Gen 46[21] *Muppim, and Huppim.*
40 **M** In 1 Chron 8[3] *Addar.* 42 **M** In Gen 46[23] *Hushim.*

58 This enumeration of the Levitical clans seems to be a fragment thrust in by a compiler unwilling to leave anything on one side. Its source is unknown, and its statements neither fit the context nor agree with other lists 3[18]. and Ex 6[17]..

JE	P^t	P^g	P^s	
		who numbered the children of Israel in the [l]plains of Moab by the Jordan		
		at Jericho. [64] But among these there was not a man of [z]them that were		
		numbered by Moses and Aaron the priest; who numbered the children		
		of Israel in the [y]wilderness of Sinai. [65] For Yahweh had said of them,	y	7
		[a']They shall surely die in the wilderness. And there was not left a man of		
		them, save Caleb the son of Jephunneh, and Joshua the son of Nun.		
		27[1] [NL]Then drew near the daughters of [a]Zelophehad, the son of Hepher,		
		the son of Gilead, the son of Machir, the son of Manasseh, of the [a]families	a	65
		of Manasseh the son of Joseph: and [b]these are the names of his daughters;	b	188[a]
		Mahlah, Noah, and Hoglah, and Milcah, and Tirzah. [2] And they stood		
		before Moses, and before [c]Eleazar the priest, and before the [d]princes and all	c	12[b]
		the [e]congregation, at the [f]door of the tent of meeting, saying, [3] Our father	d	131
		died in the wilderness, and he was not among the [e]company of them that	e	45
		[b]gathered themselves together against Yahweh in the company of [c]Korah:	f	111[b]
		but he [d]died in his own sin; and he had no sons. [4] Why should the name		
		of our father be [e]taken away from among his [a]family, because he had no		
		son? Give unto us a [g]possession among the brethren of our father. [5] And	g	127[b]
		Moses [f]brought their cause before Yahweh. [6] And Yahweh [h]spake unto	h	185[a]
		Moses, saying, [7] The daughters of Zelophehad [f]speak right': thou shalt		
		surely give them a [g]possession of an inheritance among their father's		
		brethren; and thou shalt cause the inheritance of their father to pass unto		
		them. [8] And thou shalt [h]speak unto the children of Israel, saying, [i]If	i	190[c]
		a man die, and have no son, then ye shall cause his inheritance to pass unto		
		his daughter. [9] And if he have no daughter, then ye shall give his		
		inheritance unto his brethren. [10] And if he have no brethren, then ye		
		shall give his inheritance unto his father's brethren. [11] And if his father		
		have no brethren, then ye shall give his inheritance unto his [j]kinsman that	j	101
		is next to him of his family, and he shall [k]possess it: and it shall [k]be unto	k	27
		the children of Israel a [i]statute of judgement[i], [j]as Yahweh commanded	l	189[c]
		Moses.		
		[12] [N]And Yahweh said unto Moses, Get thee up into this mountain of		
		[k]Abarim, and behold the land which I have given unto the children		
		of Israel. [13] And when thou hast seen it, thou also shalt be [m]gathered	m	75
		unto thy people, as [l]Aaron thy brother was gathered: [14] because ye [n]rebelled		
		against my word in the wilderness of [n]Zin, in the strife of the [e]congregation,	n	9
		[M]to [o]sanctify me at the waters before their eyes. ([o]These are the waters	o	86[d]
		of [m]Meribah of Kadesh in the wilderness of Zin.)		
		[15] [L]And Moses [h]spake unto Yahweh, saying, [16] Let Yahweh, the [n]God of		
		the spirits of all flesh, appoint a man over the congregation, [17] which may		
		[o]go out before them, and which may come in before them, and which may		
		[p]lead them out, and which may bring them in; that the congregation		
		of Yahweh be not as sheep which have no shepherd. [18] And Yahweh said		
		unto Moses, Take thee Joshua the son of Nun, a man in whom is the [q]spirit,		
		and [p]lay thine hand upon him; [19] and [q]set him before [c]Eleazar the priest,	p	102
		and before all the [e]congregation; and [r]give him a charge in their sight.	q	141
		[20] And thou shalt put of thine [s]honour upon him, that all the [e]congregation		

27[1] The petition of the daughters of Zelophehad [1–11] is closely connected with 26 cp [33]. Its theme has the same aspect as that of 26[52]. . cp 26[1N]. Phraseologically the passage follows the usage of P_1, but it shows occasional and noteworthy peculiarities, e g [5] 'brought their cause (𝔊 *judgement*) before Yahweh' †; [7] 'speak right' 36[5] nowhere else in P; [11] 'possess' 36[3], ירש for אהז (F127), elsewhere in P only Gen 28[4] Lev 20[24] P^h (allied with J) 25[46] P^s Num 33[53] P^s (all save Lev 25[46] after 'give') ct [b]81; 'a statute of judgement' 35[29]†; 'as Yahweh commanded Moses' 189[c], which sounds especially incongruous at the close of the answer of Yahweh [6–11]. On the other hand the plea in [3] that Zelophehad was not among the princes associated with Korah points to dependence on the earlier form of P's narrative 16[2–7] before Korah and his followers were converted into Levites.

[12] This passage is obviously connected with Deut 32[48]. ., but the relation of the two has been variously estimated. Did the same author reproduce his own words in another connexion? Or, if they are not both from the same hand, which is the original and which the copy? The phraseology of Deut 32[48–52] bears every characteristic mark of P^g, and does not appear like an expansion of [12–14]. On the other hand, (1) the opening of [12] lacks P's customary formula of the divine address; (2) the prohibition in Deut 32[52b] is omitted, so that the occasion for the appointment of Joshua as leader is not so clearly emphasized; (3) the explanation in [14b] seems due to an annotator. The view of Dillmann is therefore adopted here, according to which Deut 32[48–52] once stood before Num 27[15]. When D was incorporated before the record of the death of Moses, the long separation of the event from this passage led to the transfer of the divine command to its present position in Deut 32[48]. ., and the vacant place was filled in Num 27[12–14] by an editorial abstract.

[14] M See 20[12]. .

JE | P[t] | P[g] | P[s]

of the children of Israel may [t]obey. [21] [L]And he shall stand before [c]Eleazar the priest, who shall inquire for him by the judgement of the [u]Urim before Yahweh: at his word shall they [o]go out, and [r]at his word they shall come in, both he, and all the children of Israel with him, even all the [e]congregation. [22] And Moses [s]did as Yahweh commanded him: and he took Joshua, and [q]set him before [c]Eleazar the priest, and before all the [e]congregation: [23] and he [p]laid his hands upon him, and [r]gave him a charge, as Yahweh spake [t]by the hand of Moses[N].

t ℌ=*hearken* Deut 34[9]
21 L[11]b[f]
u Ex 28[30]
r 19[c]
s 18[9b]
t 18[0c]

28· 7e*f* 9a*f*
a Lev 24[2]
b Lev 1[2]

28[1] [NL]And Yahweh [a]spake unto Moses, saying, [2] [a]Command the children of Israel, and say unto them, My [b]oblation, my [M]food for my offerings made by fire, of a sweet savour unto me, shall ye observe to offer unto me in [c]their [b]due season. [3] [ML]And thou shalt say unto them, [c]This is the offering made by fire which ye shall offer unto Yahweh; he-lambs of the first year without blemish, two day by day, for a continual burnt offering. [4] The one lamb shalt thou [d]offer in the morning, and the other lamb shalt thou offer [M]at even; [5] and the tenth part of an ephah of fine flour for a meal offering, mingled with the fourth part of an hin of beaten oil. [6] It is a continual burnt offering, which was [d]ordained in mount [e]Sinai for a sweet savour, an offering made by fire unto Yahweh. [7] [L]And the drink offering thereof shall be the fourth part of an hin for the one lamb: in the [f]holy place shalt thou pour out a [N]drink offering of [e]strong drink unto Yahweh. [8] And the other lamb shalt thou [d]offer [g]at even: as the meal offering of the morning, and as the drink offering thereof, thou shalt [d]offer it, an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto Yahweh.

a 18[5a]
b 11[1c]
c 18[8b]
d 11[7]
e 7
f 88[1]
g 32

c ℭ *my set feasts* cp Lev 23[2]
3-8 L7d*c*
d ℌ *made* cp Ex 38[24]
7 L7w*e*
e 6[3] Lev 10[9]

9. L9b*p*
f Lev 23[3]

[9] [L]And on the [f]sabbath day two he-lambs of the first year without blemish, and two tenth parts [of an ephah] of fine flour for a meal offering, mingled with oil, and the drink offering thereof: [10] [c]this is the burnt offering of every sabbath, [h]beside the continual burnt offering, and the drink offering thereof.

h 31

11-15 L9c*b*
g 10[10]†

[11] [L]And in the [g]beginnings of your months[g] ye shall offer a burnt offering unto Yahweh; two young bullocks, and one ram, seven he-lambs of the first year without blemish; [12] and three tenth parts [of an ephah] of fine flour for a meal offering, mingled with oil, for each bullock; and two tenth parts of fine flour for a meal offering, mingled with oil, for the one ram; [13] and a several tenth part of fine flour mingled with oil for a meal offering unto every lamb; for a burnt offering of a sweet savour, an offering made by fire unto Yahweh. [14] [L]And their drink offerings shall be half an hin of wine for a bullock, and the third part of an hin for the ram, and the fourth part of an hin for a lamb: [c]this is the burnt offering of every month [i]throughout the months of the year. [15] And one he-goat for a sin offering unto Yahweh; it shall be offered [h]beside the continual burnt offering, and the drink offering thereof.

14 L7w*e*
i 18[6]

16 L9d*h*
h Lev 23[5]
17-25 L9e*i*
i Lev 23[6]
j Lev 23[7]

[16] [L]And in the [h]first month, on the fourteenth day of the month, is Yahweh's passover. [17] [L]And on the [i]fifteenth day of this month shall be a feast: seven days shall unleavened bread be eaten. [18] In the [j]first day shall be an holy convocation; ye shall do no servile work: [19] but ye shall

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27[23] It might have been expected that the narrative of the death of Moses would follow at this point, like that of Aaron after the investiture of Eleazar 20[23–29]. On the reasons for regarding the materials in 28–36 as secondary additions see the notes to the successive sections, and cp *Introd* xiii 10*a* i 154.

28[1] The catalogue of sacrifices in 28–29 is a summary of the dues required for the service of the altar. Its terminology harmonizes in the main with that of Lev 1–7; and its annual order is modelled on that of Lev 23. But it seems to belong to the secondary materials of P, for (1) it occurs in the midst of a group of other secondary passages; (2) it is widely separated from other ritual detail, and had P[g] contained any such list it would have been natural to look for it in connexion with the calendar in Lev 23 (why should the feasts be ordained in the first year of the wanderings, and the accompanying offerings only in the last?); (3) it incorporates the new moon festivals 28[11–15] unrecognized in Lev 23 cp Num 10[10]; (4) it lays unusual stress on the great autumn feast 29[12–38], though the ancient title is ignored; (5) it contains some delicate phraseological variations, e g 'my food for my fire-offerings' 'observe to offer' 28[2], 'ordained in Mount Sinai' 28[6], 'drink offering of strong drink' 28[7], the drink offering (here very prominent) being unnamed in Lev 1–7 (cp Lev 23[13 18 37]), 'day of the firstfruits' 28[26], 'according unto their ordinance' 29[6 33] cp 18 21 24 27 30 37.

[2] M ℌ *bread.*—Cp Lev 3[11].

[3] M See Ex 29[38–42].—The reference in [6] seems clearly to depend on the law in Exodus; but it is possible that that law has been itself worked over with reference to this passage (cp Lev 23[18]).

[4] M ℌ *between the two evenings.*—P32.

[7] Elsewhere in *Hex* only in the sense of 'strong drink' Lev 10[9] Num 6[3] Deut 14[26] 29[6]*.

JE | P[t] | P[g] | P[s]

[k] Lev 23[8]

[k]offer an offering made by fire, a burnt offering unto Yahweh; two young bullocks, and one ram, and seven he-lambs of the first year: they shall be unto you without blemish: [20] and their meal offering, fine flour mingled with oil: three tenth parts shall ye offer for a bullock, and two tenth parts for the ram; [21] a several tenth part shalt thou [d]offer for every lamb of the seven lambs; [22] and one he-goat for a sin offering, to make atonement for you. [23] Ye shall offer these [h]beside the burnt offering of the morning, which is for a continual burnt offering. [24] After this manner ye shall [d]offer daily, for seven days, the [M]food of the offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto Yahweh: it shall be offered beside the continual burnt offering, and the drink offering thereof. [25] And on the [k]seventh day ye shall have an holy convocation; ye shall do no servile work.

26-31 [L] g f[f]
[l] ℌ †
[m] Lev 23[16]
[n] Ex 34[22]
[o] Lev 23[21]
[p] Cp Lev 23[18]

[26] [L]Also in the [l]day of the firstfruits[l], when ye offer a [m]new meal offering unto Yahweh in your [feast of] [n]weeks, ye shall have an [c]holy convocation; ye shall do no servile work: [27] but ye shall offer a burnt offering for a sweet savour unto Yahweh; [p]two young bullocks, one ram, seven he-lambs of the first year; [28] and their meal offering, fine flour mingled with oil, three tenth parts for each bullock, two tenth parts for the one ram, [29] a several tenth part for every lamb of the seven lambs; [30] one he-goat, to make atonement for you. [31] [h]Beside the continual burnt offering, and the meal offering thereof, ye shall [d]offer them (they shall be unto you without blemish), and their drink offerings.

1-6 [L] g g[b]
[a] Lev 23[24]

29[1] [L]And in the [a]seventh month, on the first day of the month, ye shall have an holy convocation; ye shall do no servile work: it is a day of blowing of trumpets unto you. [2] And ye shall [a]offer a burnt offering for a 117
a sweet savour unto Yahweh; one young bullock, one ram, seven he-lambs of the first year without blemish: [3] and their meal offering, fine flour mingled with oil, three tenth parts for the bullock, two tenth parts for the ram, [4] and one tenth part for every lamb of the seven lambs; [5] and one he-goat for a sin-offering, to make atonement for you: [6] [b]beside the burnt b 31
offering of the [b]new moon, and the meal offering thereof, and the continual burnt offering and the meal offering thereof, and their drink offerings, [c]according unto their ordinance, for a sweet savour, an offering made by fire unto Yahweh.

[b] ℌ *month* 28[11]

[c] 33 cp 18 Lev 5[10]

7-11 [L] g h[d]
[d] Lev 23[27]
[e] Lev 23[28]

[7] [L]And on the [d]tenth day of this seventh month ye shall have an holy convocation; and ye shall afflict your souls; ye shall [e]do no manner of work: [8] but ye shall offer a burnt offering unto Yahweh for a sweet savour; one young bullock, one ram, seven he-lambs of the first year; they shall be unto you without blemish: [9] and their meal offering, fine flour mingled with oil, three tenth parts for the bullock, two tenth parts for the one ram, [10] a several tenth part for every lamb of the seven lambs: [11] one he-goat for a sin offering; [b]beside the sin offering of atonement, and the continual burnt offering, and the meal offering thereof, and their drink offerings.

12-38 [L] g i[g]
[f] Lev 23[39]

[12] [L]And on the [f]fifteenth day of the seventh month ye shall have an holy convocation; ye shall do no servile work, and ye shall keep a feast unto Yahweh seven days: [13] and ye shall offer a burnt offering, an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto Yahweh; thirteen young bullocks, two rams, fourteen he-lambs of the first year; they shall be without blemish: [14] and their meal offering, fine flour mingled with oil, three tenth parts for every bullock of the thirteen bullocks, two tenth parts for each ram of the two rams, [15] and a several tenth part for every lamb of the fourteen lambs: [16] and one he-goat for a sin offering; [b]beside the continual burnt offering, the meal offering thereof, and the drink offering thereof.

[17] And on the [N]second day [ye shall offer] twelve young bullocks, two rams, fourteen he-lambs of the first year without blemish: [18] and their

28[24] M ℌ *bread.*

29[17] For the repetitions in these paragraphs cp 7[18] 2–4.

JE | P[t] | P[s] | P[s]

meal offering and their drink offerings for the bullocks, for the rams, and
g 21 24 27 30 37 Lev 5[10] for the lambs, according to their number, [g]after the ordinance: [19] and one he-goat for a sin offering; beside the continual burnt offering, and the meal offering thereof, and their drink offerings.

[20] And on the third day eleven bullocks, two rams, fourteen he-lambs of the first year without blemish; [21] and their meal offering and their drink offerings for the bullocks, for the rams, and for the lambs, according to their number, after the ordinance: [22] and one he-goat for a sin offering; beside the continual burnt offering, and the meal offering thereof, and the drink offering thereof.

[23] And on the fourth day ten bullocks, two rams, fourteen he-lambs of the first year without blemish: [24] their meal offering and their drink offerings for the bullocks, for the rams, and for the lambs, according to their number, after the ordinance: [25] and one he-goat for a sin offering; beside the continual burnt offering, the meal offering thereof, and the drink offering thereof.

[26] And on the fifth day nine bullocks, two rams, fourteen he-lambs of the first year without blemish: [27] and their meal offering and their drink offerings for the bullocks, for the rams, and for the lambs, according to their number, after the ordinance: [28] and one he-goat for a sin offering; beside the continual burnt offering, and the meal offering thereof, and the drink offering thereof.

[29] And on the sixth day eight bullocks, two rams, fourteen he-lambs of the first year without blemish: [30] and their meal offering and their drink offerings for the bullocks, for the rams, and for the lambs, according to their number, after the ordinance: [31] and one he-goat for a sin offering; beside the continual burnt offering, the meal offering thereof, and the drink offerings thereof.

[32] And on the seventh day seven bullocks, two rams, fourteen he-lambs of the first year without blemish: [33] and their meal offering and their drink offerings for the bullocks, for the rams, and for the lambs, according
h 𝔊 *their* to their number, [c]after [h]the ordinance: [34] and one he-goat for a sin offering; beside the continual burnt offering, the meal offering thereof, and the drink offering thereof.

i Lev 23[36] [35] On the [i]eighth day ye shall have a [M]solemn assembly: ye shall do no servile work: [36] but ye shall offer a burnt offering, an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto Yahweh: one bullock, one ram, seven he-lambs of the first year without blemish: [37] their meal offering and their drink offerings for the bullock, for the ram, and for the lambs, shall be according to their number, after the ordinance: [38] and one he-goat for a sin offering; beside the continual burnt offering, and the meal offering thereof, and the drink offering thereof.

39 *L*8f*dg* [39] [L]These ye shall offer unto Yahweh in your [c]set feasts, beside your vows, and your freewill offerings, for your burnt offerings, and for your meal offerings, and for your drink offerings, and for your peace offerings. c III[c]

40 [30[1] in 𝔊] [40] [j]And Moses told the children of Israel according to all that Yahweh commanded Moses.

j 𝔊 30[1]
1–16 *L*8f*e*
a 1 Kings 8[1] 2 Chron 5[2]† cp 32[28] Josh 14[1] 21[1]
b 2–5 8 10–14 𝔊†
c Cp 12 32[24] Deut (8[3]) 23[23]*

30[1] [NL]And Moses [a]spake unto the [d]heads of the [b]tribes[a] of the children of Israel, [a]saying, [c]This is the thing which Yahweh hath commanded. [2] [d]When a man voweth a vow unto Yahweh, or sweareth an oath to bind his soul with a [b]bond, he shall not [M]break his word; he shall do according to all that [c]proceedeth out of his mouth. [3] Also [d]when a woman voweth a vow unto Yahweh, and bindeth herself by a bond, being

a 185[a]
b 165
c 188[b]
d 190[c]

29[35] **M** See Lev 23[36].

30[1] The law of vows here set forth is not connected directly with previous specific ordinances Lev 27 Num 6, but it regulates their general force. It plainly belongs to the collection of **P**, but does not appear to be from the hand of **P**[s]. The style of the law, with its successive cases, indicates the advance of legal distinctions characteristic of **P**[s], and with this the phraseological indications correspond. The formula 'heads of the tribes' appears elsewhere only in the later Levitical additions in 1 Kings 8[1] (cp 𝔊) and the parallel in 2 Chron 5[2]. Other expressions like 'bind with a bond' 'break his word' [2], 'rash utterance' [6], are only found here; while 'afflict the soul' [13] is employed in a sense not quite harmonious with **P**'s customary usage. The phrase 'bear her iniquity' [15] (where Sam 𝔊 read 'his iniquity') shows some affinity with **P**[h] cp 193; and it is possible that this law may have been amplified from a briefer and earlier form.

[2] **M** 𝔊 *profane.*—In this connexion † cp Ezek 39[7].

JE | P[t] | P[g] | P[s]

in her father's house, in her youth; [4] and her father heareth her vow, and her bond wherewith she hath bound her soul, and her father holdeth his peace at her: then all her vows shall stand, and every bond wherewith she hath bound her soul shall stand. [5] But if her father [d]disallow her in the day that he heareth; none of her vows, or of her bonds wherewith she hath bound her soul, shall stand: and Yahweh shall forgive her, because her father [d]disallowed her. [6] And if she be [married] to a husband, while her vows are upon her, or the [e]rash utterance[e] of her lips, wherewith she hath bound her soul; [7] and her husband hear it, and hold his peace at her in the day that he heareth it: then her vows shall stand, and her bonds wherewith she hath bound her soul shall stand. [8] But if her husband [d]disallow her in the day that he heareth it; then he shall [f]make void her vow which is upon her, and the [e]rash utterance of her lips, wherewith she hath bound her soul: and Yahweh shall forgive her. [9] But the vow of a widow, or of her that is [g]divorced, [even] every thing wherewith she hath bound her soul, shall stand against her. [10] And if she vowed in her husband's house, or bound her soul by a bond with an oath, [11] and her husband heard it, and held his peace at her, and [d]disallowed her not; then all her vows shall stand, and every bond wherewith she bound her soul shall stand. [12] But if her husband [f]made them null and void in the day that he heard them; then whatsoever proceeded out of her lips concerning her vows, or concerning the bond of her soul, shall not stand: her husband hath made them void; and Yahweh shall forgive her. [13] Every vow, and every binding oath to [e]afflict the soul, her husband may establish it, or her husband may [f]make it void. [14] But if her husband altogether hold his peace at her from day to day; then he establisheth all her vows, or all her bonds, which are upon her: he hath established them, because he held his peace at her in the day that he heard them. [15] But if he shall [f]make them null and void after that he hath heard them; then he shall [f]bear her iniquity. [16] [g]These are the statutes, which Yahweh commanded Moses, between a man and his wife, between a father and his daughter, being in her youth, in her father's house.

31[1] [NL]And Yahweh [a]spake unto Moses, saying, [2] [a]Avenge the children of Israel of the Midianites: [b]afterward shalt thou be [b]gathered unto thy people. [3] And Moses [a]spake unto the people, saying, [c]Arm ye men from among you for the [c]war, that they may go against Midian, to execute [d]Yahweh's vengeance[d] on Midian. [4] Of every [d]tribe a thousand, throughout all the tribes of Israel, shall ye send to the [c]war. [5] So there were [e]delivered, out of the [f]thousands of Israel, a thousand of every tribe, twelve thousand armed for [c]war. [6] And Moses sent them, a thousand of every [d]tribe, to the [c]war, them and [g]Phinehas the son of Eleazar the priest, to the war, with the vessels of the [h]sanctuary and the [f]trumpets for the alarm in his hand. [7] And they [i]warred against Midian, [j]as Yahweh commanded Moses; and they [g]slew [k]every male. [8] And they [g]slew the kings of Midian with the rest of their [h]slain; [i]Evi, and Rekem, and [j]Zur, and Hur, and Reba, the five kings of Midian: Balaam also the son of Beor they [g]slew with the sword. [9] And the children of Israel [k]took captive the women of Midian and their [k]little ones; and all their [l]cattle, and all their [m]flocks, and all their [k]goods, they [k]took for a prey. [10] And all their cities in the [l]places wherein they dwelt[l], and all their [n]encampments, they [o]burnt with fire. [11] And they took all the spoil, and all the [p]prey, [m]both of man and of beast. [12] And they brought the captives, and the [p]prey, and the spoil, unto Moses, and unto [n]Eleazar the priest, and unto the [o]congregation of the children of Israel, unto the camp at the [p]plains of Moab, which are by the [q]Jordan at Jericho.

[13] And Moses, and [n]Eleazar the priest, and all the [q]princes of the [o]congregation, went forth to [r]meet them [r]without the camp. [14] And Moses was

d 8 11 ct 32[7] 9 Ps 33[10] 141[5]†
e 8 ℌ†
f 12. 15 15[31] Gen 17[14] Lev 26[15] 44 Deut 31[16] 20*
g Lev 21[7]
1-54 Z4m[f]
a ℌ*
b Cp 27[12].
c 32[17] 20 Niph*
d Jer 50[15] 28 51[11] cp Jer 11[20] 20[12] Ezek 25[14] 17†
e Cp 16†
f 10[9]
g Gen 34[25]
h Josh 13[22]
i Josh 13[21]
j 25[15]
k Gen 34[29]
l ℌ=*beasts* 11 Gen 34[23] cp 36[6] Num 32[26]
m ℌ=*cattle* Gen 34[23]
n Gen 25[16]
o Josh 6[24]
p 12 26. 32 Is 49[24].†
q 22[1]
r Cp JE183 Ex 18[7] Num 22[36]

e	20
f	28[1]
g	188[a]
a	185[a]
b	75
c	92[b]
d	165
e	18[r]
f	163
g	12[2]
h	88[c]
i	92[c]
j	189[c]
k	107[b]
l	55[c]
m	108[b]
n	12[b]
o	45
p	2
q	131
r	120[a]

31[1] The inclusion of 31 in P is amply justified by the margins. But various reasons, both of matter and style, unmistakably indicate its secondary character, apart from the question whether the author intended to lay down any permanent law for the distribution of booty in war (ct Deut 13[15]. . 20[14]. .). (1) The vengeance to be inflicted on Midian is awkwardly placed after the instructions for Moses' death and the appointment of his successor 27[12–23]: Joshua is ignored, and Phinehas apparently takes the command [6]: the reference in [2] may be due to R (Dillm), but it may also be a sign of the author's own adaptation to the previous narrative. (2) The Midianites are led by five kings [3], among them being Zur, who, however, in 25[15] is only 'head of a fathers' house.' (3) The introduction of Eleazar as legislator [21]. ., qualifying the commands of Moses, has no parallel in P. (4) The writer seems to have been acquainted with P's story in Gen 34 cp [7 9], but he uses other terms, e g 'spoil' [11] cp Gen 49[27] Ex 15[9] Deut 13[17] *al*, 'both man and beast' [11]. (5) The general phraseology shows a considerable freedom; thus 'go to meet' [13], 'thy servants' [49] (unknown to P), belong specially to J (do they imply an older basis in JE for the present narrative?): other expressions, e g [16 20 54] have their nearest parallels in Chronicles; a considerable number occur nowhere else, e g 'were delivered' [5], 'sent to the war' [6], 'were to the children of Israel for . . .' [16], 'skilled in war' [27], 'tribute' [28], 'people of the war' [32], 'half' [36]: and others, 'as Yahweh commanded Moses' [7 31 47], 'purify yourselves' [19. 23], 'water of separation' [23], are characteristic of P[s]. The general effect of the narrative as a type of religious behaviour is not without analogies to that of Abraham in Gen 14[20].

JE | P[t] | P[g] | P[s]

[s] wroth with the [s]officers of the host, the [t]captains of thousands and the captains of hundreds, which came from the [u]service of the war[u]. [15] [L]And Moses said unto them, Have ye [v]saved all the [t]women alive? [16] Behold, these [w]caused the children of Israel, through the counsel of Balaam, to [N]commit [u]trespass against Yahweh [N]in the [x]matter of Peor, and so the [y]plague was among the [o]congregation of Yahweh. [17] [z]Now therefore [g]kill [k]every male among the [a']little ones, and kill every woman that hath known man by [b']lying with him. [18] But all the women children, that have not known man by [b']lying with him, [c']keep alive for yourselves. [19] And encamp ye [r]without the camp seven days: whosoever hath [g]killed any [v]person, and whosoever hath touched any [h]slain, [w]purify yourselves on the third day and on the [d']seventh day, ye and your captives. [20] And as to every garment, and all that is [e']made of skin, and all work of [f']goats' [hair], and all things made of wood, ye shall [w]purify yourselves. [21] And [n]Eleazar the priest said unto the men of war which [g']went to the battle[g'], [x]This is the statute of the law which Yahweh hath commanded Moses: [22] howbeit the gold, and the silver, the brass, the iron, the [h']tin, and the lead, [23] every thing that may abide the fire, ye shall make to go through the fire, and it shall be [y]clean; nevertheless it shall be [w]purified with the water of [M]separation: and all that abideth not the fire ye shall make to go through the water. [24] And ye shall [z]wash your clothes on the [d']seventh day, and ye shall be [y]clean, and [i']afterward ye shall come into the camp.

[25] And Yahweh [a]spake unto Moses, saying, [26] [a']Take the sum of the [p]prey that was taken, [m]both of man and of beast, thou, and [n]Eleazar the priest, and the [b']heads of the fathers' [houses] of the [o]congregation: [27] and divide the [p]prey into two parts; between the men [j']skilled in war[j'], that [k']went out to [c]battle, and all the [o]congregation: [28] and [c']levy a [l']tribute unto Yahweh of the men of war that went out to battle: one [v]soul of five hundred, [both] of the persons, and of the beeves, and of the asses, and of the flocks: [29] [N]take it of their [d']half, and give it unto [n]Eleazar the priest, for Yahweh's [e']heave offering. [30] And of the children of Israel's [d']half, thou shalt take one [m']drawn out of every fifty, of the persons, of the beeves, of the asses, and of the flocks, [even] of all the [l]cattle, and give them unto the Levites, which [m']keep the [f]charge of the [g']Dwelling of Yahweh. [31] And Moses and [n]Eleazar the priest did [j]as Yahweh commanded Moses. [32] Now the [p]prey, over and above the booty which the [c']men of [c]war took, was six hundred thousand and seventy thousand and five thousand sheep, [33] and threescore and twelve thousand beeves, [34] and threescore and one thousand asses, [35] and thirty and two thousand [v]persons in all, of the women that had not known man by [b']lying with him. [36] And the [p']half, which was the portion of them that went out [q']to war, was in number three hundred thousand and thirty thousand and seven thousand and five hundred sheep: [37] and Yahweh's [l']tribute of the sheep was six hundred and threescore and fifteen. [38] And the beeves were thirty and six thousand; of which Yahweh's [l']tribute was threescore and twelve. [39] And the asses were thirty thousand and five hundred; of which Yahweh's [l']tribute was threescore and one. [40] And the persons were sixteen thousand; of whom Yahweh's [l']tribute was thirty and two persons. [41] And Moses gave the [l']tribute, which was Yahweh's [e']heave offering, unto [n]Eleazar the priest, [j]as Yahweh commanded Moses. [42] And of the children of Israel's [d']half, which Moses divided off from the men that [l]warred, [43] (now the [o]congregation's [p']half was three hundred thousand and thirty thousand, seven thousand and five hundred sheep, [44] and thirty and six thousand beeves, [45] and thirty thousand and five hundred asses, [46] and sixteen thousand [v]persons;) [47] even of the children of Israel's [d']half, Moses took one [m']drawn out of every fifty, both

s 48 ct P115 ℌ
t Cp Ex 18[25]
u Ct Is 13[4]
1 Chron 7[4] 12[37]†
15-18 [L]Jg*b*
v Gen 7[3]
w ℌ cp 2 Chron 28[23]
x 25[18]
y 25[8]
z Ct JE187
a' Cp 9
b' 18 35 Judg 21[11]. cp Lev 18[22] 20[13]
c' Gen 6[19].
d' 19[16] 19
e' Lev 13[49] ℌ
f' Ex 25[4]
g' 32[6] 1 Chron 19[7]†
h' Ezek 22[18] 20 27[12] ct Is 1[25]†
i' 19[7]
j' ℌ† cp Jer 2[8]
k' Ct 1[3] ℌ 4[3]
l' 37.† cp Ex 12[4] ℌ
m' 47 1 Chron 24[6]†
n' 47 1[53]
o' ℌ=*people of the host*† ct 28
p' 43 ℌ†
q' ℌ Deut 24[5]

31[16a] ℌ למסר, the same word as in [5]; probably a corruption of the text for למעל, cp Dillm, *NDJ* 191.

[16b] This reference may be an editorial insertion (Dillm).

[23] **M** Or, *impurity*.—Cp 19[9 13 20].

[29] ℌ *ye shall take*. The unexpected plural interrupts the sequence of the singular, 'levy' [28], 'and give' [29]: the clause seems needless, and may be a later editorial amplification, cp [53] (so Dillm).

JE	P^t	P^g	P^s
		of man and of beast, and gave them unto the Levites, which $^{n'}$kept the $^{f'}$charge of the $^{g'}$Dwelling of Yahweh; ^{j}as Yahweh commanded Moses.	
		48 And the ^{s}officers which were over the thousands of the host, the captains of thousands, and the captains of hundreds, came near unto Moses: 49 and	
r' Cp JE73		they said unto Moses, Thy $^{r'}$servants have $^{a'}$taken the sum of the men of	
s' ℌ=*hand* 4^{28} 2 Sam 10^{10} 18^{2}		war which are under our $^{s'}$charge, and there $^{t'}$lacketh not one man of us.	
t' Judg 21^{3}		50 And we have $^{h'}$brought Yahweh's $^{l'}$oblation, what every man hath gotten,	h′ 118^{a}
u' 2 Sam 1^{10}†		of jewels of gold, $^{u'}$ankle chains, and $^{v'}$bracelets, $^{w'}$signet-rings, $^{x'}$earrings,	i′ 118^{b}
v' Gen 24^{22}		and ^{M}armlets, to $^{j'}$make atonement for our souls before Yahweh. 51 And	j′ 25^{a}
w' Ex 35^{22}		Moses and ^{n}Eleazar the priest took the gold of them, even all wrought	
x' Ezek 16^{12}†		jewels. 52 And all the gold of the $^{e'}$heave offering that they $^{c'}$offered up	
		to Yahweh, of the captains of thousands, and of the captains of hundreds,	
y' Ct 28 32 42 ℌ		was sixteen thousand seven hundred and fifty shekels. 53 (^{M}[For] the $^{y'}$men	
		of ^{c}war had taken booty, every man for himself.) 54 And Moses and	
z' 1 Chron 13^{1}†		^{n}Eleazar the priest took the gold of the $^{z'}$captains of thousands and of	
		hundreds$^{z'}$, and brought it into the tent of meeting, for a $^{k'}$memorial for	k′ 112^{a}
		the children of Israel before Yahweh.	
		32^{1} ^{N}Now the children of ^{N}Reuben and the children of Gad had a very	
a JE59		^{a}great multitude of ^{b}cattle: and when they saw the land of ^{c}Jazer, and the	
b JE18		land of Gilead, that, behold, the place was a place for ^{b}cattle; 2 the children	
c 21^{24} 32		of Gad and the children of Reuben came and ^{a}spake unto Moses, and to	a 185^{a}
		^{b}Eleazar the priest, and unto the ^{c}princes of the ^{d}congregation, saying,	b 12^{b}
		3 Ataroth, and Dibon, and Jazer, and ^{M}Nimrah, and Heshbon, and Elealeh,	c 131
		and ^{M}Sebam, and Nebo, and ^{M}Beon, 4 the land which Yahweh ^{N}smote before	d 45^{a}
d JE73		the ^{d}congregation of Israel, is a land for ^{b}cattle, and thy ^{d}servants have	
e JE31		cattle. 5 And they said, If we have ^{e}found grace in thy sight, let this land	
f ℌ Hoph Lev 11^{38} Num 26^{54}*		^{f}be given unto thy ^{d}servants for a ^{e}possession; bring us not over Jordan.	e 127^{b}
g 31^{21} ℌ=*battle*		6 And Moses said unto the children of Gad and to the children of Reuben,	
h 9 30^{5} ℌ ct Deut 1^{28}		Shall your brethren ^{g}go to the war^{g}, and shall ye sit here? 7 ^{N}And where-	
i D69^{c}		fore ^{h}discourage ye the heart of the children of Israel from going over into	
j JE222		the ^{i}land which Yahweh hath given them? 8 ^{J}Thus did your fathers, when	
k 34^{4} Deut 1^{19} ct 13^{26b}		I sent them from ^{k}Kadesh-barnea to ^{l}see the land. 9 For when they went	
l 13^{18a}			

31^{50} **M** Or, *necklaces*.—Ex 35^{22}†.

53 **M** See 32.—The absence of any syntactical combination (𝔊 adds *and*) makes it possible that this also is an annotator's addition cp 29 (so Dillm).

32^{1a} The narrative of the settlement of the tribes of Reuben and Gad (and the half tribe of Manasseh) 1–38 presents many conflicting phenomena. There is consequently considerable diversity of critical opinion, and similar indeterminateness of result (for recent discussions cp Bacon and Addis). The assignment of the East Jordan territories to Gad, Reuben, and half Manasseh, is recognized by **P** Num 34^{14}· and by **D** Deut 3$^{12–20}$, and it may be fairly assumed that their statements are based upon some earlier account. Such an account might naturally be sought in Num 32, where there are many marks of the style of **J**. But it becomes plain on closer examination that even the passages which display most affinity with **J** are in close (if not indissoluble) connexion with words otherwise peculiar to **P** cp 4. 18. &c. The evidence of this is exhibited in the margins, where occasional points of contact are also indicated with P^s in 31, cp 'go to the war' 6, 'be armed (arm themselves)' 17, 'flocks' and 'cattle' 26 (ct 1 24 ℌ) cp 31^{9}. In 7–15 the sequence of 6 and 16 is interrupted by a hortatory digression chiefly founded on passages in Num 14, and showing indications of acquaintance with both its elements **J** and **P**, together with touches from **D**. The signs of duality of source seem further confirmed by slight variations of detail. The order of the names Reuben and Gad changes in 2. The list of cities built by Gad and Reuben 34–38 does not quite accord with the enumeration in 4, and neither, again, agrees with Josh 13^{15}·· 24··. The gift which is conditional in 20·· 28··, is apparently made unreservedly in 33. Yet the phraseology of 33 is not without characteristics of **P** in its latter clauses, while the unexpected occurrence of the Deuteronomic שבט 'tribe' (instead of P's usual מטה) has its counterpart in the narrative in Josh 22. On the whole, therefore, it seems impossible to separate the element of **J** from that of a writer in the school of **P**, and the narrative 1–38 is accordingly ascribed to P^s who may be supposed to have freely worked up earlier materials of **J** and **P**. Under these circumstances it does not seem needful to assign 7–15 to a still later hand. The secondary and reflective character of the narrative is clear throughout, as (1) in the representation that the cities were built anew, implying their total previous destruction, whereas the older view described the Israelites as entering into cities which they had not builded Deut 6^{10}; (2) in the careful explanation 38 that the old idolatrous names were changed; (3) in the religious character of the march 'before Yahweh' 20·· (cp 4) contrasted with the customary expression 'before the children of Israel' 17 Deut 3^{18} Josh 1^{14}; and (4) in the prominence given to Eleazar the priest 28, to whom (with Joshua and the heads of the fathers) the ultimate decision is referred. In the sequel however Josh 13^{15}··, Eleazar and Joshua claim no share in the Trans-jordanic settlement, which is regarded as the work of Moses alone cp 33.

1b In the order of enumeration Reuben here stands first, as the elder (cp Gen 35^{23}). But in the rest of the story 2·· Gad takes precedence. In Sam, however, the priority of Reuben is maintained throughout, while in 𝔊 Gad takes the lead 2 6 33. It does not seem possible amid these variations to employ the difference as a clue to diversity of sources.

3a **M** In 36 *Beth-nimrah*.

3b **M** In 38 *Sibmah*.

3c **M** In 38 *Baal-meon*.

4 This phrase, repeatedly used of the divine action by the plagues in Egypt, is not employed elsewhere for conquest. Cp 20.

7 In this section, founded on Num 14, there are points of contact both in matter and form with **J** **P** and **D** (see the margins). But it does not seem necessary to separate it from the rest of the narrative: thus the imperfects in יתן 7 15 reappear in 20 23.

JE | P[t] | P[g] | P[s]

up unto the [m]valley of Eshcol, and [l]saw the land, they [h]discouraged the heart of the children of Israel, that they should [n]not go into the [i]land which Yahweh had given them. [10] And Yahweh's [c]anger was kindled in that [p]day, and he [q]sware, saying, [11] Surely none of the men that came up out of Egypt, from [r]twenty years [s]old and [g]upward, shall see the land f 119 which I [s]sware unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob; because they g 169[b] have not [t]wholly followed me: [12] [u]save [v]Caleb the son of Jephunneh the [w]Kenizzite, and Joshua the son of Nun: because they have [t]wholly followed Yahweh. [13] And Yahweh's [c]anger was kindled against Israel, and he h P70 made them [z]wander to and fro in the wilderness [y]forty years, until all the generation, that had [z]done evil in the sight of Yahweh, was [y]consumed. [14] And, behold, ye are risen up in your fathers' stead, an [a']increase of sinful men, to [b']augment yet the [c']fierce anger of Yahweh toward Israel. [15] For if ye [d']turn away from after him, he will [e']yet again leave them in the wilderness; and ye shall [f']destroy all this people. [16] [N]And they [g']came near unto him, and said, We will build [h']sheepfolds here for our [b]cattle, and cities for our [i']little ones: [17] but we ourselves will [j']be [N]ready armed to go before the children of Israel, [k']until we have [l']brought them unto their [m']place: and our [i']little ones shall dwell in the [n']fenced cities because of the inhabitants of the land. [18] We will not return unto our houses, until the children of Israel have [i]inherited every man his inheritance. [19] For i 96[b] we will not [j]inherit with them [o']on the other side Jordan, [p']and forward; j 96[a] because our inheritance is fallen to us on this side Jordan [q']eastward. [20] And Moses said unto them, If ye will do this thing; if ye will [j']arm yourselves to [t]go [r']before Yahweh to the war, [21] and every armed man of you will pass over Jordan [r']before Yahweh, until he hath [s']driven out his enemies from before him, [22] and the land be [t']subdued [r']before Yahweh: then afterward ye shall return, and be [u']guiltless towards Yahweh, and towards Israel; and this land shall [k]be unto you for a [e]possession before k 27 Yahweh. [23] But if ye will not do so, behold, ye have sinned against Yahweh: and be sure your sin will find you out. [24] Build you cities for your [i']little ones, and [h']folds for your sheep; and do that which hath [v']proceeded out of your mouth. [25] And the children of Gad and the children of Reuben [a]spake unto Moses, saying, Thy [d]servants will do as my [w']lord commandeth. [26] Our [i']little ones, our wives, our [Nx']flocks, and all our [x']cattle, shall be there in the cities of Gilead: [27] but thy [d]servants will pass over, every man that is [y']armed for [l]war, [r']before Yahweh to battle, as my l 92[a] [w']lord saith.

[28] So Moses gave charge concerning them to [b]Eleazar the priest, and to Joshua the son of Nun, and to the [m]heads of the fathers' [houses] of the m 84[a] [n]tribes of the children of Israel. [29] And Moses said unto them, If the n 165 children of Gad and the children of Reuben will pass with you over Jordan, every man that is [y']armed to battle, [r']before Yahweh, and the land shall be [t']subdued before you; then ye shall give them the land of Gilead for a [e]possession: [30] but if they will not pass over with you armed, they shall [o]have possessions [p]among you in the [q]land of Canaan. [31] And the children o 127[a] of Gad and the children of Reuben answered, saying, As Yahweh hath p 22 said unto thy [d]servants, so will we do. [32] We will pass over armed [r']before q 4 Yahweh into the [q]land of Canaan, and the [e]possession of our inheritance [shall remain] with us beyond Jordan. [33] [N]And [z']Moses gave unto them, even

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32[16] Many critics have regarded this as the junction with a fresh narrative which has been assigned to **E**. But the proposal in [16] must clearly have some antecedent. The remonstrance in [6] is sufficient to explain it. The approach of the speakers to Moses with further suggestion in the middle of the interview resembles the approach of Judah to Joseph Gen 44[18].

[17] For the peculiar form חמשים Knobel-Dillm propose חמושים 'armed' Ex 13[18] **E**, Josh 1[14] 4[12]. This reading would lend slightly additional linguistic weight to the ascription of [16]. to **E**. But it can also be equally well explained on the hypothesis of familiarity with the language of earlier documents.

[26] The word 'flocks' is the same as that translated 'cattle' 1 4 16. For the peculiar combination מקנה and בהמה cp 31[9].

[33] This verse is probably a harmonistic addition cp 34[14] Deut 3[12]. . Josh 13[15]. . The preceding narrative did not mention the half tribe of Manasseh, which is here included under **D**'s term שבט as in Josh 22[9]. In [34–38] which forms the natural sequence to [31]. the permission granted in [24] is carried into effect.

J E P[t] P[g] P[s]

to the children of Gad, and to the children of Reuben, and unto the half [a''] tribe of Manasseh the son of Joseph, the kingdom of Sihon king of the Amorites, and the kingdom of Og king of Bashan, the land, [r] according to the cities thereof with [their] [b''] borders, even the cities of the land round about. [34] And the children of Gad built Dibon, and Ataroth, and Aroer; [35] and Atroth-shophan, and Jazer, and Jogbehah; [36] and Beth-nimrah, and Beth-haran: [n'] fenced cities, and [h'] folds for sheep. [37] And the children of Reuben built Heshbon, and Elealeh, and Kiriathaim; [38] and Nebo, and Baal-meon, (their names [N] being changed,) and Sibmah: and gave other names unto the cities which they builded.

[39] [N] And the children of Machir the son of Manasseh went to Gilead, and [c''] took it, and [s'] dispossessed the [c''] Amorites which were therein. [40] [N] And [d''] Moses gave Gilead unto Machir the son of Manasseh; and he dwelt therein. [41] And [e''] Jair the son of Manasseh went and [f''] took the towns thereof, and called them [M] Havvoth-jair. [42] And Nobah went and [f''] took Kenath, and the [M] villages thereof, and called it Nobah, after his own name.

33[1] [Na] These are the [M] journeys of the children of Israel, [M] when they went forth out of the land of Egypt [b] by their hosts [a] under the hand of Moses and Aaron. [2] And Moses wrote their [b] goings out [b] according to their journeys [c] by the commandment of Yahweh: and these are their journeys [b] according to their goings out. [3] And they journeyed from [c] Rameses in the [d] first [d] month, on the fifteenth day of the first month; on the [c] morrow after the passover the children of Israel went out with an [f] high hand in the sight of all the Egyptians, [4] while the Egyptians were burying all their firstborn, which Yahweh had smitten among them: upon their [g] gods also Yahweh executed [e] judgements. [5] And the children of Israel journeyed from Rameses, and pitched in [h] Succoth. [6] And they journeyed from Succoth, and pitched in [i] Etham, which is in the edge of the wilderness. [7] And they journeyed from Etham, and [j] turned back unto [j] Pi-hahiroth, which is [l] before [j] Baal-zephon: and they pitched before [j] Migdol. [8] And they journeyed from [N] before Hahiroth, and passed through the [l] midst of the sea into the wilderness: and they went [l] three days' journey in the wilderness [N] *of Etham*, and pitched in [m] Marah. [9] And they journeyed from Marah, and came unto [n] Elim: and in Elim were twelve springs of water, and threescore and ten palm trees; and they pitched there. [10] And they journeyed from Elim, and [N] pitched by the Red Sea. [11] And they journeyed from the Red Sea,

a" Josh 22[9] ℌ cp [p]112
b" ℌ fem 34[2 12] Josh 18[20] 19[49] Deut 32[8*]
c" 21[32]
d" Deut 3[15]
e" Deut 3[14]
f" 21[32]
a 4[28]
b ℌ*
c Ex 12[37]
d Ex 12[2 17]
e Cp Lev 23[11]
f Ex 14[8]
g Ex 12[12]
h Ex 12[37]
i Ex 13[20]
j Ex 14[2 9]
k Ex 14[22]
l Ex 15[22]
m Ex 15[23]
n Ex 15[27]

r 18[b]
a 188[a]
b 18[f]
c 19[c]
d 183
e 99
f 64

32[38] This phrase is exposed to some grammatical difficulty. The same participle recurs only in Ex 28[11] 39[6 13] Ezek 41[24] with the meaning 'encompassed,' 'surrounded,' 'enclosed.' The Greek versions seem to have understood the cities to be 'walled,' and omit 'their names.' Dillm strikes out the words as a late gloss of apology for the idolatrous names Nebo and Baal-meon (or, if מיסבת be read as a singular, for the latter only).

39 The preceding narrative implies that the conquest of Gilead has been already effected [1–4]. The description of its subjugation by Manassite clans must therefore be derived from another source. It has some analogy with the account of the western settlement in Judges 1 now usually assigned to J. For a brief statement of theories concerning its relation to other traditions, cp G A Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land* 577 n. See further Josh 17[14N].

40 The difference of terminology ('Machir' for 'B'nê Machir') and the interruption of the sequence between [39] and [41] indicated by the phrase 'took their [i e the Amorites [39]] towns,' suggest that [40] is a harmonizer's addition cp Deut 3[15] prior to P who regards Machir as Manasseh's only son 26[29], and who did not intend to locate the whole tribe east of the Jordan.

41 **M** That is, *The towns of Jair.*—For another tradition about the name cp Judges 10[4]. 42 **M** ℌ *daughters.*—Cp 21[25].

33[1] The itinerary of the Israelites' march [1–49] is admitted on all hands to belong to the group of P. But to what section of it? The answer depends on the relation assumed between some of its heterogeneous materials. Thus the references to Marah and Elim [8.], to Kibroth-hattaavah and Hazeroth [16.], and the Canaanite [40], are derived from J, while Rephidim [14] seems traceable to E. P may of course have had its own itinerary in which these stages may have been named; but the stylistic correspondences with specific passages in JE are here unmistakable. Are these references to be treated as the additions of a later editor, or are they integral parts of the document as conceived by its compiler? Nöldeke's observation that the total number of forty stations was probably adjusted to the tradition of forty years of wandering, has inclined many critics to the belief that the series has not reached its present form through casual incorporation, but has been deliberately arranged. In that case it displays a usage of previous sources analogous to that already noted in 32, and must be assigned to the same group P[s]. Its place in the midst of similar documents, and its addition of fresh touches ('while the Egyptians were burying their firstborn' [4], and the age of Aaron [39], to say nothing of the unknown names [18–30]), tend to confirm this conclusion, which is not impaired by the difficulty of reconciling some of the data e g [11 31–33 36] with other passages. As with 32, its dependence on J seems closer than on E. A hint of foundation on an earlier source may be preserved in [2].

1b **M** Or, *stages.* 1c **M** Or, *by which.*

8a Sam Onk ⅁ ♀ and even some ℌ MSS read 'Pi-hahiroth.'

8b Ex 15[22] has *Shur.* Dillm conjectures that Etham may be an equivalent of Shur, in which case [8b 9ad] would be original P, otherwise the passage must be treated as a compiler's insertion. It is, however, possible that Etham is a very late scribal addition or correction; ⅁[B] omits it, though ⅁[abAFL] add αὐτοί, as though ℌ had הם.

10 This encampment is not recognized in Ex 16[1], and the source of the statement is obscure. Is it an inference from Ex 15[22], and did it (as Dillm hints) follow [8a], so that the references to Marah and Elim are later insertions? Or is it one of the casual elements added to make up forty?

JE | P[t] | P[g] | P[s]

[o] Ex 16[1]
[p] Ex 17[1]
[q] Ex 19[2]
[r] 11[34]
[s] 11[35]
[t] Deut 10[6]
[u] Deut 10[7]
[v] Deut 2[8]
[w] Cp 20[1]
[x] 20[23]
[y] Gen 7[11] ℌ
[z] Gen 8[13]
[a'] 21[1]
[b'] 21[4a]
[c'] 21[10]
[d'] 21[11]
[e'] 21[30] 32[34]
[f'] 27[12]
[g'] Deut 32[49] 34[1]
[h'] 22[1]
[i'] 35[10] cp [P]19[1] 52 [L]5θ[h]
[j'] 32[21] Ex 34[24] Deut 9[3]
[k'] Deut 11[4] 12[2]. Piel* cp [D]86
[l'] Lev 26[1]
[m'] Cp Ex 34[17] Lev 19[4]
[n'] Lev 26[30]* ℌ =*destroy*
[o'] 14[24]
[p'] Lev 20[24] 54 [L]4u[f]
[q'] 26[54]

[g] 8
[h] 7
[i] 9
[j] 4
[k] 12[3]
[l] 11[9]
[m] 2
[n] 185[a]
[o] 185[c]
[p] 96[b]
[q] 106
[r] 65

[33] [50] [N]And Yahweh [n]spake unto Moses in the [m]plains of Moab by the Jordan at Jericho, saying, [51] [o]Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, [i']When ye pass over Jordan into the [j]land of Canaan, [52] [L]then ye shall [j']drive out all the inhabitants of the land from before you, and [k']destroy all their [l']figured [stones], and [k']destroy all their [m']molten images, and [n']demolish all their high places[n']: [53] and ye shall [o']take possession of the land, and dwell therein: for unto you have I given the land to [p']possess it. [54] [L]And ye shall [p]inherit the land by [q]lot according to your [r]families; [N]to the [q']more ye shall give the more inheritance, and to the fewer thou shalt give the less

[e] Ex 16[1]
[f] 17[1]
[g] 19[2]
[h] 11[34]
[i] 11[35]
[k] 12[14]
[l] 20[1]
[m] 20[23]
[n] 20[28]
[o] 33[38]
[p] 21[4]
[q] 21[10]
[r] 21[11]
[s] 22[1]
[t] 26[3]
[u] 26[63]
[v] 31[12]
[w] 32[28]
[x] 32[33]
[y] 33[1]
[z] 33[3]
[a'] 33[37]
[b'] 33[41]
[c'] 33[44]
[d'] 33[45]
[e'] 33[46]
[f'] 33[47]
[g'] 33[48]
[h'] 33[49]
[i'] 33[50]
[j'] 33[51]
[k'] 33[52]
[l'] 33[52]
[m'] 33[52]
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[p''] 33[54]
[q''] 33[54]
[r''] 33[54]
[s''] 33[54]
[t''] 33[54]
[u''] 33[54]
[v''] 33[54]
[w''] 33[54]
[x''] 33[54]
[y''] 33[54]
[z''] 33[54]

33[50] In [50–56] two distinct subjects are combined, (1) the expulsion of the Canaanite inhabitants and the destruction of their idols and sanctuaries [51b–53 55.], and (2) the distribution of the land by lot [54]. The first group seems unrelated to P[g] either in matter or style, though it is not without affinities with earlier documents, and in particular with P[h]. [54] is apparently introduced from 26[54] to prepare the way for 34. These considerations point to the compilation of [50–56] by P[s] out of older material as in previous instances.

[54] This passage is plainly derived from 26[54]: the first verb 'ye shall give' has been converted into the plural to suit the context, but the second remains unaltered. Sam retains the singular in both verbs, while (𝔊) has corrected both to the plural.

JE | P[t] | P[g] | P[s]

inheritance: wheresoever the lot falleth to any man, that shall be his; [s]according to the tribes of your fathers shall ye [P]inherit. [55] But if ye will not [j]drive out the inhabitants of the land from before you; then shall those which ye let remain of them be as [r]pricks in your eyes, and as [s]thorns in your sides, and they shall [t]vex you in the land wherein ye dwell. [56] And it shall come to pass, that as I [u]thought to do unto them, so will I do unto you. s 18[c]

r Ⓢ†
s Josh 23[13]† cp Ezek 28[24]
t 25[17]
u Ⓢ* cp Is 14[24]

34[1] [NL]And Yahweh [a]spake unto Moses, saying, [2] [a]Command the children of Israel, and say unto them, When ye come into the land [N]*of Canaan*, ([b]this is the land that shall fall unto you for an inheritance, even the [c]land of Canaan [d]according to the [b]borders thereof,) [3] then your south [c]quarter shall be from the wilderness of [e]Zin along by the side of Edom, and your [d]south border shall be from the end of the Salt Sea eastward: [4] and your border shall [f]turn about southward of the [e]ascent of Akrabbim, and pass along to Zin: and the [f]goings out thereof shall be southward of [J]Kadesh-barnea; and it shall go forth to Hazar-addar, and pass along to [g]Azmon: [5] and the border shall turn about from Azmon unto the [h]brook of Egypt, and the [f]goings out thereof shall be at the sea. [6] And for the western border, ye shall have the great sea [N]and the border [thereof]: this shall be your west border. [7] And this shall be your north border: from the great sea ye shall [i]mark out for you mount Hor: [8] from mount Hor ye shall [i]mark out unto the [j]entering in of Hamath; and the goings out of the border shall be at [k]Zedad: [9] and the border shall go forth to [l]Ziphron, and the goings out thereof shall be at [m]Hazar-enan: this shall be your north border. [10] And ye shall [n]mark out your east border from Hazar-enan to [l]Shepham: [11] and the border shall go down from Shepham to [o]Riblah, on the east side of Ain; and the border shall go down, and shall reach unto the [N]side of the [p]sea of Chinnereth eastward: [12] and the border shall go down to Jordan, and the goings out thereof shall be at the Salt Sea: this shall be your land [d]according to the [b]borders thereof round about. [13] And Moses commanded the children of Israel, saying, [b]This is the land which ye shall [g]inherit by [q]lot, which Yahweh hath commanded to give unto the nine [h]tribes, and to the half [h]tribe: [14] for the [h]tribe of the children of Reuben [d]according to their [i]fathers' houses, and the [h]tribe of the children of Gad according to their fathers' houses, have received, [N]and the half [h]tribe of Manasseh have received, their inheritance: [15] the two [h]tribes and the half [h]tribe have received their inheritance [j]beyond the Jordan at Jericho [k]eastward, toward the sunrising[k]. a 185[a] | b 188[b] | c 4[a] | d 18[a] | e 9 | f 186 | g 96[b] | h 165 | i 66 | j 2[b] | k 56[a]

[16] And Yahweh [a]spake unto Moses, saying, [17] [Nb]These are the names of the men which shall [r]divide the land unto you for inheritance: [l]Eleazar l 12[b]

a Josh 19[49]

i Ⓢ† cp 10
j 13[21]
k Ezek 47[15]†
l †
m Ezek 47[17] 48[1]†
n Ct 11[4] 34 Deut 5[18] Hithpa*
o Ⓢ? ct Ⓖ
p Josh 13[27]
q Cp Ezek 47[22]
r 17. Josh 19[49]

34[1] The preparatory arrangements for the occupation of the land of Canaan are here continued, but they are of such a character as to render it doubtful whether they were included in the original **P**. The sketch of the boundaries in [1–15] specifies some places unmentioned in the survey in Joshua, two of them being named elsewhere only by Ezekiel. Moreover it is not apparent why such a careful delimitation was necessary for the Western country while the East remains undefined; nor is it clear how Moses should be familiar with localities which he had never seen. The appointment of tribal leaders to supervise the distribution seems to be imitated from the census in 1 (though with a different formula), but unlike other arrangements in **P** founded on a divine command, it does not seem to have been carried out. For instance, in 13 the exploring mission of twelve tribal representatives is prescribed, but the choice of the individuals to compose it is left to Moses, who immediately proceeds to their selection and dispatch. Here the official distributors are designated by Yahweh, but nothing is said of any consequent appointment by Moses; their future escape from the vicissitudes of conquest is assumed, yet when the time for action arrives they seem to be merged in the general group of 'heads of fathers' houses' cp Josh 14[1] 19[51]. Moreover **JE** supplies an entirely different picture, according to which at Joshua's instance seven tribes elect three deputies each to survey and divide the remaining territory Josh 18[2]··. In view of these circumstances, and of the general character of the group of chapters following the announcement of Moses' death 27[12–23], it seems likely that these two sections also may be of a secondary character, designed to trace back to Moses every possible provision for the settlement. The reference in Josh 14[2], however, unless it be a later editorial addition, indicates the presence in **P**[g] of some general instructions attributed to Moses which may have been elaborated by **P**[s], as in the case of the first census. The repetitions in [14.] and the plural address to Moses in [17.] (cp 5[3] 35[2b]) seem more in harmony with the manner of the expander; and the designations in [14] 'children of the Reubenites' and 'children of the Gadites' are unique, though 'families of the Reubenites' occurs 26[7].

[2] Ⓢ implies that the name 'Canaan' is an explanatory gloss. Sam reads הארץ for ארץ.

[6] **M** Or, *for a border*. [11] **M** Ⓢ *shoulder*.—Cp Josh 15[8].

[14] Dillm, in accordance with his theory of the priority of **P**, supposes the half tribe of Manasseh to be inserted here by **R**[d], but **P**'s usual term for 'tribe' is employed, though the tribal designations are not uniform in style.

[17] It should be noted that in **P**'s account of the distribution of the tribal territories Josh 14[1]. 19[51] the princes here designated to aid them in the task [18–29] are totally ignored. Is this a later attempt at precision, just as Eusebius could tell the names of the Seventy disciples of Luke 10[1]?

JE | P[t] | P | P[s]

the priest, and Joshua the son of Nun. [18] And ye shall take one [m]prince of every [h]tribe, to [r]divide the land for inheritance. [19] And [b]these are the names of the men: of the tribe of Judah, [s]Caleb the son of Jephunneh. [20] And of the tribe of the children of Simeon, Shemuel the son of Ammihud. [21] Of the tribe of Benjamin, Elidad the son of Chislon. [22] And of the tribe of the children of Dan a prince, Bukki the son of Jogli. [23] Of the children of Joseph: of the tribe of the children of Manasseh a prince, Hanniel the son of Ephod: [24] and of the tribe of the children of Ephraim a prince, Kemuel the son of Shiphtan. [25] And of the tribe of the children of Zebulun a prince, Elizaphan the son of Parnach. [26] And of the tribe of the children of Issachar a prince, Paltiel the son of Azzan. [27] And of the tribe of the children of Asher a prince, Ahihud the son of Shelomi. [28] And of the tribe of the children of Naphtali a prince, Pedahel the son of Ammihud. [29] [b]These are they whom Yahweh commanded to [g]divide the inheritance unto the children of Israel in the [c]land of Canaan.

z 13[6]

m 13[1]

1-8 Lnk*c*
a 33[50]
b 34[2]
c Lev 14[37] ct Lev 25[29-31] 𝔊

35[1] [NL]And [a]Yahweh [a]spake unto Moses in the [b]plains of Moab by the Jordan at Jericho, saying, [2] [b]Command the children of Israel, that they give unto the Levites of the inheritance of their [c]possession cities to dwell in; and [M]suburbs for the cities round about them shall ye give unto the Levites. [3] And the cities shall they have to dwell in; and their suburbs shall be for their [N]cattle, and for their [d]substance, and for all their beasts. [4] And the suburbs of the cities, which ye shall give unto the Levites, shall be from the [c]wall of the city and outward a thousand cubits round about. [5] And ye shall measure [e]without the city for the east side two thousand cubits, and for the south side two thousand cubits, and for the west side two thousand cubits, and for the north side two thousand cubits, the city being in the midst. This shall be to [d]them the suburbs of the cities. [6] And the cities which ye shall give unto the Levites, they shall be the six cities of [f]refuge, which ye shall give for the manslayer to flee thither: and beside them ye shall give forty and two cities. [7] All the cities which ye shall give to the Levites shall be forty and eight cities: them [shall ye give] with their suburbs. [8] And concerning the cities which ye shall give of the [e]possession of the children of Israel, from the many ye shall [e]take many; and from the few ye shall [e]take few: every one [g]according to his inheritance which he inheriteth shall give of his cities unto the Levites.

a 185[a] b 2[a] c 127[b] d 155 e 120[b] f 133 g 19[a]

d Sam 𝔊 *you*

e 33[54] 𝔊

9-34 L2h*l*

[9] [L]And Yahweh [a]spake unto Moses, saying, [10] Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, [f]When ye pass over Jordan into the [h]land of Canaan, [11] then ye shall [g]appoint you cities to be cities of [f]refuge for you; that the manslayer which killeth any [i]person [M]unwittingly may flee thither. [12] And the cities shall [j]be unto you for [f]refuge from the [k]avenger; that the manslayer die not, until he stand before the [l]congregation for judgement. [13] And the cities which ye shall give shall be for you six cities of refuge. [14] Ye shall give three cities [b]beyond Jordan, and three cities shall ye give in the [h]land of Canaan; they shall be cities of refuge. [15] [L]For the children of Israel, and for the [h]stranger and for the [m]sojourner among them, shall these six cities [j]be for refuge: that every one that killeth any person [M]unwittingly may flee thither. [16] But if he smote him with an instrument

f 33[51]
g Ct Gen 24[12] 27[20] 𝔊†

h 4[a] i 146[a] j 27 k 132[b] l 45

15 L2a*y*
h Gen 23[4] Lev 25[23 35 47]

m 144

35[1] Two provisions are embraced in this chapter, (1) the Levitical Cities [2-8], and (2) the Cities of Refuge [9-34]. Both obviously belong to **P**, but they are probably to be assigned in their existing form to **P**[s]. The endowment of the Levites with forty-eight cities is not in harmony with the express declarations that the priestly tribe should have no inheritance among the children of Israel 18[20 24] but should be supported by sacrificial revenues, tithes, &c. Moreover [6] presupposes the selection of the cities of refuge, and the connexion of [6] with [7] does not require a suggestion of interpolation. Again, [1] repeats 33[50] and [8] depends on 33[54], while, further on, [10] reproduces 33[51]. The second set of laws presents some of the features previously noted in the compilations of **P**[s]. It shows the working up of different sets of materials cp Deut 19[1-13]. Thus it refers to the 'high priest' [25 28] which does not appear to be one of **P**[g]'s terms cp Lev 21[10] and to the unction with the 'holy oil' cp Ex 30[25]. In [29] it reaches a close cp 27[11] (where alone 'statute of judgement' recurs). The passage that follows seems to embody additional references to the ancient doctrine of the 'ransom,' and to the conception of polluting the land, which is expressed in different terms in [33] and [34]. In [34] the fresh verb (with the change to the singular) suggests a source kindred to **P**[h] in Lev 18[25] cp Lev 15[31] Num 19[13]. In [32] it is doubtful whether 'the priest' should not be 'the high priest,' so Sam 𝔊 𝔖. The same authorities in [33] unite in reading 'the land which ye inhabit' as in [34].

[2] **M** Or, *pasture lands*.—**P**[156].

[3] The combination of words here, נהמה, רכוש, and חיה, occurs nowhere else cp 32[26]: but parallel passages in **P** show somewhat similar aggregations Gen 31[18] 34[23] 36[6].

[11 15] **M** Or, *through error*.—**P**[168].

JE	P[t]	P[g]	P[s]
		of iron, so that he died, he is a manslayer: the manslayer shall [i]surely be put to death. [17] And if he smote him with a stone in the hand, whereby a man may die, and he died, he is a manslayer: the manslayer shall [i]surely be put to death. [18] Or if he smote him with a weapon of wood in the hand, whereby a man may die, and he died, he is a manslayer: the manslayer shall [i]surely be put to death. [19] The [k]avenger of blood shall himself put the manslayer to death: when he meeteth him, he shall put him to death. [20] And if he thrust him of hatred, or hurled at him, [j]lying in wait, so that he died; [21] or in enmity smote him with his hand, that he died: he that smote him shall surely be put to death; he is a manslayer: the avenger of blood shall put the manslayer to death, when he meeteth him. [22] But if he thrust him [k]suddenly without enmity, or hurled upon him any thing without [j]lying in wait, [23] or with any stone, whereby a man may die, seeing him not, and cast it upon him, so that he died, and he was not his enemy, neither sought his harm: [24] [L]then the [l]congregation shall judge between the smiter and the [k]avenger of blood according to these judgements: [25] and the [l]congregation shall deliver the manslayer out of the hand of the [k]avenger of blood, and the [l]congregation shall restore him to his city of [f]refuge, whither he was fled: and he shall dwell therein until the death of the [l]high priest, which was [n]anointed with the [o]holy [m]oil. [26] But if the manslayer shall at any time go beyond the border of his city of [f]refuge, whither he fleeth; [27] and the avenger of blood find him without the border of his city of refuge, and the avenger of blood slay the manslayer; [M]he shall not be guilty of blood: [28] because he should have remained in his city of refuge until the death of the [l]high priest: but after the death of the high priest the manslayer shall return into the land of his [c]possession. [29] And these things shall [j]be for a [n]statute of judgement[n] unto you [p]throughout your generations in all your [q]dwellings. [30] [L]Whoso killeth any [t]person, the manslayer shall be slain at the mouth of witnesses: but one witness shall not testify against any [t]person that he die. [31] Moreover ye shall take no [c]ransom for the life of a manslayer, which is guilty of death: but he shall surely be put to death. [32] And ye shall take no [c]ransom for him that is fled to his city of refuge, that he should come again to dwell in the land, until the death of the priest. [33] So ye shall not [p]pollute the land wherein ye are: for blood, it polluteth the land: and no [r]expiation can be made for the land for the blood that is shed therein, but by the blood of him that shed it. [34] And thou shalt not [s]defile the [q]land which ye inhabit, in the [t]midst of which [u]I [v]dwell: for [r]I Yahweh dwell in the midst of the children of Israel.	
		36[1] [NL]And the [a]heads of the fathers' [houses] of the [b]family of the children of [a]Gilead, the son of Machir, the son of Manasseh, of the [b]families of the sons of Joseph, came near, and spake before Moses, and before the [c]princes, the heads of the fathers' [houses] of the children of Israel: [2] and they said, Yahweh commanded [b]my lord to give the land [d]for inheritance by [e]lot to the children of Israel: and [b]my lord [c]was commanded by Yahweh to give the inheritance of [d]Zelophehad our brother unto his daughters. [3] And if they be married to any of the sons of the [other] [e]tribes of the children of Israel, then shall their inheritance be [f]taken away from the inheritance of our fathers, and shall be added to the inheritance of the [f]tribe whereunto they shall belong: so shall it be [f]taken away from the [e]lot of our inheritance. [4] And when the [g]jubile of the children of Israel shall be, then shall their inheritance be added unto the inheritance of the [f]tribe whereunto they shall belong: so shall their inheritance be [f]taken away from the inheritance of the [f]tribe of our fathers. [5] And Moses commanded the children of Israel

i 15[35]
j 22 H†
k 6[9*]
24–28 L4b[e] IIb[h]
l Lev 21[10] Josh 20[6] 2 Kings 22[4] 23[4]
m Cp Ex 30[25]
n 27[11]†
30 L4f[i]
o Cp Ex 21[30]
p H* Jer 3[2]
q Lev 18[25]
r Ex 29[45]
1–12 L3g[d]
a 26[29]
b JE56
c Ex 34[34]
d 27[1]
e DII2
f 27[4]
g Lev 25[10]

n 23
o 89
p 76[b]
q 55[a]
r 25[a]
s 167[a]
t 22
u 94[a]
v 54[a]
a 84
b 65
c 131
d 96[c]
e 106
f 165

35[27] **M** Or, *there shall be no blood-guiltiness for him.*

36[1] The principle which assured inheritance in land to daughters in the absence of a son, exposed the tribe to the danger that marriage might convey the heiress' property to another tribe. The law in 36 provides against this contingency, and is plainly dependent on 27[1–11]. It therefore belongs to the same secondary group. The phraseology is not without marks of departure from the linguistic standards of **P**, cp [2] 'my lord,' [3] 'tribe' שבט (this single occurrence might be accidental but for similar indications elsewhere e g 32[33]), [8] 'possess' ירש cp 27[11].

JE | P[t] | P[g] | P[s]

[g]according to the word of Yahweh, saying, The [f]tribe of the sons of Joseph speaketh [h]right. [6] [h]This is the thing which Yahweh doth command concerning the daughters of Zelophehad, saying, Let them [i]marry to whom they think best; only to the [b]family of the [f]tribe of their father shall they [i]marry. [7] So shall no inheritance of the children of Israel remove from [f]tribe to tribe: for the children of Israel shall cleave every one to the inheritance of the tribe of his fathers. [8] And every daughter, that [i]possesseth an inheritance in any [f]tribe of the children of Israel, shall [i]be wife unto one of the family of the tribe of her father, that the children of Israel may [i]possess every man the inheritance of his fathers. [9] So shall no inheritance remove from one [f]tribe to another tribe; for the tribes of the children of Israel shall cleave every one to his own inheritance. [10] Even [j]as Yahweh commanded Moses, so did the daughters of Zelophehad: [11] for Mahlah, Tirzah, and Hoglah, and Milcah, and Noah, the daughters of Zelophehad, [i]were married unto their father's brothers' sons. [12] They [i]were married into the families of the sons of Manasseh the son of Joseph, and their inheritance remained in the [f]tribe of the family of their father.

[13] [Nh]These are the [j]commandments and the judgements, which Yahweh commanded by the [k]hand of Moses unto the children of Israel in the [l]plains of Moab by the Jordan at Jericho.

h 27[4]
i 27[1N 11]
j Cp Lev 26[46] 27[34]
g 19[c]
h 188[b]
i 27
j 189[c]
k 180[a]
l 2[a]

DEUTERONOMY[N]

JE | D[g] | D | D[s] | P

1[1] [Na]These be the words which Moses spake unto [a]all Israel [b]beyond Jordan in the wilderness, in the [M]Arabah over against [M]Suph, between Paran, and Tophel, and Laban, and Hazeroth, and Di-zahab. [2] It is eleven days'

a Cp 4[44. 6] 12[1] 29[1] P[188]
a 2[a]
b 2[1]

36[13] Addis infers from the resemblance of this verse to Lev 27[34] that they were severally added when the present arrangement of the books was adopted, to provide appropriate conclusions.

The book of Deuteronomy is plainly discriminated both in style and contents from the preceding books. Taken as a whole its language shows the most marked differences compared with the laws and other utterances ascribed to Moses after the conquest of the East Jordan territory Num 26–36 'in the plains of Moab' Num 26[3] 36[13] Deut 34[1] (cp *Introd* VI 2γ i 41). It is also separated by many characteristic features from the narratives of **JE** and the earlier legislation at Sinai-Horeb (cp *Introd* IX i 2). Traces of **P** and also of **J** and **E** may, indeed, be discovered in it, for the process of welding the documents together naturally led to the admission of some elements from them into the framework of **D**'s great discourses. Apart from these passages, most of which may be eliminated without serious difficulty, the main contents of **D** (as now arranged) may be distributed in four unequal divisions: (I) an introductory discourse, chiefly consisting of historical retrospect 1–4[40]: (II) exhortations in illustration of the fundamental principles of the Horeb-covenant (the Ten Words), and of the nature of Yahweh's dealings with Israel 5–11, preceded by a brief preface defining the time and place 4[44–49]: (III) the Statutes and Judgements constituting the Law to be observed in Canaan 12–26: (IV) final injunctions, promises, and warnings (including two poems, a Song 32, and a Blessing 33), arrangements for the preservation of the Book of the Law and for the succession of Joshua to the leadership of Israel, terminating with the record of Moses' death 27–34. Closer examination, however, will show that these sections are by no means always homogeneous with each other or with themselves. The critical problems arising out of the attempt to trace the steps by which the materials now combined in **D** fell into their present locations under the supervision of successive editors, are of unusual intricacy. In almost every case several possibilities seem to be open, and the decision between different alternatives can only reach varying degrees of probability. These difficulties of internal relation, however, rarely (if ever) arise in the comparison of **D** with **JE** or **P**. The marks of the thought and language of the great Deuteronomic school are unmistakable within the limits of the book itself*.

1[1a] The opening discourse in 1[6]–4[4] (5–40) is introduced by a reference to the time and place of the delivery of the exposition of the Law 1–5. The elements of this preface are mixed. The phraseology of 1[1a] agrees with that of **D**, but the geographical details that follow cannot be harmonized with other statements. In 3[29] 4[46] the Israelites are in the 'valley' over against Beth-peor. This is not usually included in the 'wilderness' between Horeb, South Canaan, and the Red Sea 1[19] 2[1], or east of Moab 2[8b]. Moreover some of the places specified are only known elsewhere in connexion with the wanderings in the desert (cp Driver *in loc*), while others are not known at all. The reference in 2 to the length of march from Horeb to Kadesh-barnea, which the Israelites had left thirty-eight years before 2[14], seems unrelated to the context. The passage must be regarded as an item of a lost itinerary, it is not in the style of the stages in Num 21[12]. or Deut 10[6].

1[1b] **M** That is, the deep valley running North and South of the Dead Sea.

1[1c] **M** Some ancient versions have, *the Red Sea*.

* The proposals which have been recently made by different scholars to distribute the discourses chiefly on the basis of the use of the singular or the plural in the address to the nation (cp Steuernagel, *Der Rahmen des Deuteronomiums* 1894, *Die Entstehung des Deuteronomischen Gesetzes* 1896, *Das Deuteronomium* (Hdkomm) 1898, Staerk, *Das Deuteronomium* 1894; Naumann, *Das Deuteronomium* 1897) have not commended themselves to the judgement of the present annotator (whose notes were written before Steuernagel's *Commentary* appeared). The divergence of their results is not in itself a sufficient proof of the inadequacy of their method. Of the three writers just named, Steuernagel has carried the analysis through with the most thoroughness, and the editors are indebted

JE	D[g]	D	D[s]	P	
b 19 2^{14} 6^{23} Josh 10^{41} 14^{6}. *c* Num 21^{21}.· Deut 3^{2} *d* Num 21^{33}.· Deut 3^{1}.· *e* 27^{8} ℌ Hab 2^{2}† *f* Cp P185^{a} *g* 2^{3} 3^{26} Num 16^{13} 7 ℌ* *h* 40 Num 14^{25} *take your journey = get you* ℌ		[journey] from [c]Horeb by the way of mount Seir unto [b]Kadesh-barnea. [3] [N]*And it came to pass in the* [d]*fortieth year, in the* [e]*eleventh month, on the first day of the month, that Moses spake unto the children of Israel, according unto all that Yahweh had given him in commandment unto them;* [4] after he had smitten [c]Sihon the king of the Amorites, which dwelt in Heshbon, and [d]Og the king of Bashan, which dwelt in Ashtaroth, at Edrei: [5] [b]beyond Jordan, in the land of Moab, began Moses to [e]declare this [f]law, saying, [6] [N]Yahweh [g]our God [f]spake unto us in [c]Horeb, saying, Ye have dwelt [g]long enough in this mountain: [7] [hh]turn you, and take your journey[h], and go to the [i]hill country of the Amorites, and unto all [the places] nigh thereunto, in the [j]Arabah, in the hill country, and in the		c 7 d P183 e P57 f 70^{a} g 1^{a} h 113 i 3^{b} j 6

1[3] A fragment of **P** is here traced securely by means of the date and the peculiar expression for 'eleven' (differing from that in 2). Its insertion is due to the editor who united **D** with the chronological scheme of **P** (cp *Introd* XVI 3). The language of 4 harmonizes with that of 3^{1} 2, and it does not seem necessary to regard it as supplemental (Steuern), while 'this law' 5 points forward to the Code cp **70**.

6 At this point the writer opens the historical review assigned to Moses as the fitting introduction to the great Exposition. This terminates at 3^{29}, and reasons will be subsequently offered for regarding the greater part of the discourse which follows, 4^{1-40}, as transposed from another cycle. A number of questions concerning it immediately arise, e g (1) Is it complete? (2) What are its sources? (3) Was this its original form? (4) Was it composed by the author of the Code? (1) The first question has been answered in the negative by some recent critics who propose (with Horst, *RHR* xvi 35) to attach to its beginning the recital inserted at 9^{9}··, or (with Bacon, *Triple Trad* 249) suggest that 10^{1-11} originally stood there, as portions of a still longer retrospect: on these theories see 10^{11N}. (2) The sources of the retrospect will be found in the narrative of **JE** now combined with **P** in Ex Num. The reference to a document itself composite suggests, however, a further inquiry. Did the writer employ **J** and **E** separately, or in union? He appears to lean decidedly on **E**, for he uses the name Horeb for the sacred mountain 1^{5} 19; he designates the population of the highlands of Canaan as Amorites 1^{7} 19. 27 44; he relates the institution of the judges 1^{9}·· cp Ex 18^{13}··, and the journey of the spies to Eshcol 1^{24} cp Num 13^{23}. But the allusions to **J** are no less clear, cp the oath to the patriarchs 8 cp Gen 15^{18}, the mention of the fenced cities 1^{28} cp Num 13^{28} (with the sons of the Anakim), the promise to Caleb 1^{36} cp Num 14^{24} (Joshua not being included). Further, the description of Israel as like 'the stars of heaven for multitude' 1^{10} rests on the promise related by R[je] in Gen 22^{17}, showing that even if (with Dillm) we suppose **D** to have known **E** still as a separate document, he had also studied the combined form **JE**. But the diversities of detail, e g the omission in 1^{9-18} of all reference to Jethro Ex 18^{14} and the combination of passages from Num 11, the popular initiative in the dispatch of the spies 1^{22} (ct their dependence on Moses Num 13^{27}), the discrepancy between 2^{4-8} and Num 20^{14-21} (though Driver, but not Dillm, supposes them to refer to different incidents), show that the traditional material was freely handled in the composition of the discourse. If the conjecture of Kuen concerning the original place of the Book of Judgements be allowed, cp Ex 20^{22N}, it may be further surmised (with Bacon) that the whole idea of the retrospect, and the special affinities which may be traced with **E**, are due to the prior existence of a similar review prefixed to the older code which stood where Deut 12–26 is now placed, at the end of the wanderings, on the eve of entry into the promised land. A striking analogy to such a farewell on the part of Moses is

to the pioneer essays of Staerk and himself for many valuable suggestions. The process through which Steuernagel conceives **D** to have come to its present form, is exceedingly complicated, and it is difficult to do justice to it in a brief notice. This complexity is not necessarily an argument against a critical theory, for it is justly observed by Addis (*Hex* ii 18) that simplicity is not always a recommendation. Starting with the homilies 5–11 and the code 12–26, he endeavours to distinguish their sources thus. In 5–11 he finds two documents combined, one employing the singular pronoun in address to Israel (Sg), the other the plural (Pl). Two collections of laws may also be discovered in 12–26 which belong respectively to the two bodies of introductory discourses Sg and Pl. Behind each of these lie numerous smaller groups, Pl being composed partly of fundamental cultus-law, together with an 'elders' collection, an 'abomination' collection, and a collection of cases of war; while Sg is built up on a prior basis of cultus-law, with family and humanitarian legislation, and materials from other independent sources. The fundamental cultus-laws are supposed to have existed in separate drafts from the reign of Hezekiah. They underwent a double redaction, by incorporation into Sg about 690, and Pl about 670. Sg and Pl were then united about 650, the compiler prefixing the retrospect in $1-4^{4}$: and this product then underwent prolonged expansion at the hand of successive redactors and copyists, who are made responsible for continuous hortatory additions throughout the work, amounting to nearly one-sixth of the whole. So elaborate a theory hardly admits of proof; large portions of it can only rest upon conjecture. That the code in 12–26 has been compiled from various sources may be not only readily conceded but emphatically affirmed cp 12^{1N}. But the distribution into two documents corresponding to Sg and Pl seems somewhat hazardous. (1) It does not rise naturally out of the phenomena of the text. Of the actual plural passages in 13–26 enumerated 12^{2N} Steuernagel allots only 22^{24} to Pl; 19^{19} is corrected to Sg; and the rest are ascribed to the nameless copyists. The laws assigned to Pl in 13–26 are now couched (with the exception of 22^{24}) in the singular, so that the criterion appears to break down; a redaction in favour of Sg being invoked of which the text shows no assignable traces. The view of the present editors concerning the plural passages in the Code will be found in the notes 12^{2} and onwards. (2) The case of the Homilies is somewhat different. The general ascription of 5–11 to the same hands which produced the Code is not inconsistent with the suggestion that they were not all written at once, or simultaneously with the laws (cp *Introd* X 5*a* i 95). But it is certainly incompatible with the theory that they were combined out of two homiletic groups, a singular and a plural respectively. For this partition no other adequate criteria either of matter or style seem available, for many of the instances cited in Steuernagel's very careful table of words pp xxxiii–xli can hardly be said to bear definitely one way or the other. Moreover, it is reasonable to suppose that the homilies would exhibit a greater range of variation than the laws; such transitions are characteristic of the preacher's style. Thus Jeremiah 2–4 passes repeatedly from the second to the third person and back again, and uses each in both numbers: yet it would hardly be proposed to divide his discourses on this basis. It may also be asked how far the diversities in ⑤ throw any doubt on the stability of the Massoretic text. In 5–7 there are more than thirty variations in person and number; the first person changes into the second and the second into the first: the sing in ℌ appears as pl in ⑤, and the pl ℌ turns out sing in ⑤. These differences may be variously explained, but until they have been more carefully examined the distinction hardly supplies a satisfactory basis for distributing the text among Sg and Pl authors, the harmonizing editor, and his train of hortatory followers.—In a series of articles in the *Expositor*, beginning 1898 5th series viii 241 (after the Introduction to this work had been sent to press), Prof G L Robinson has sought to maintain the Mosaic authorship of Deut. Impressed, however, by some of the phenomena which lie at the basis of the critical hypotheses, he suggests that 'the orations contained in the Book of Deuteronomy were *spoken twice*, once in Moab, and once on the way between Horeb and Kadesh-barnea' (*Expositor* May 1899 358). Thus he is able to explain the implied contrast of 5^{3} and 2^{14}, and the repeated introduction 4^{44-49} cp 1^{1-5}. He can even accept Steuernagel's theory of separate addresses in the sing and pl; the pl being suitable to Moses in the wilderness addressing Israel as a prophet might speak to the individual units of his own generation, and the sg when as an old man in Moab sixty years senior to the nation he conceived it as a whole (*ibid* 362). This ingenious combination of traditional apologetics with an advanced critical method is probably unique.

JE	D[g]	D	D[s]	P

lowland, and in the South, and by the sea shore, [N]the land of the Canaanites, and Lebanon, as far as the [i]great river, the river Euphrates. [8] [NK]Behold, I have [l]set the land before you: [m]go in and possess the land [n]which Yahweh sware unto your fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, to give unto them and to their [j]seed after them. [9] [L]And I spake unto you at that [o]time, saying, [k]I am not able to bear you myself alone: [10] Yahweh your God [p]hath multiplied you, and, behold, ye are this day as the [l]stars of heaven for multitude. [11] [q]Yahweh, the God of your fathers, make you a thousand times so many more as ye are, and [r]bless you, as he hath [s]promised you! [12] [t]How can I myself alone bear your [m]cumbrance, and your [n]burden, and your strife? [13] [o]Take you [p]wise men, and understanding[p], and known, [u]according to your tribes, and I will make them [v]heads over you. [14] And ye answered me, and said, The thing which thou hast spoken is good [for us] to do. [15] So I took the [v]heads of your tribes, wise men, and known, and [q]made them [v]heads over you, [r]captains of thousands, and captains of hundreds, and captains of fifties, and captains of tens, and

P
k 99
l 100[a]
m 53
n 107[a]
o 110
p 81
q 1[b]
r 22[a]
s 91
t 62
u 112[b]
v 57

i 11[24] Josh 1[4] Gen 15[18] ct Ex 23[31]

j 10[15] 11[9] 9 17 *L*4**a***c*

k Num 11[14]

l 10[22] 28[62] cp Gen 15[5] 22[17]

m Is 1[14]†

n Num 11[17]

o Ct Ex 18[21]..

p Cp 4[6] Gen 41[33] 39*

q Ex 18[25]

r ℌ=*rulers* Ex 18[25]

found in the address of Joshua after the completion of the conquest Josh 24, unanimously ascribed to **E** (apart from the additions of R[d])*. In that case, the survey in Deut 1[6–3] was prefixed to the code in imitation of its predecessor, which it not unnaturally largely absorbed into itself. This suggestion offers a plausible reason for the occasional preponderance of **E** elements. (3) But from another side it has been suggested by Dillm (*NDJ* 229) that the recital was not originally cast in the first person; it was part of a larger narrative which has been converted into speech, the compiler finding it resemble too closely the story of **JE** in Num beside which it was placed before its union with **P**. The difference between the summary of events in 1–3 and the glowing exhortations of 4[1–40], the oratorical inappropriateness of the archaeological notes scattered through 2 and 3, and the curious relation between 31[1]·· and 3[28], are offered as grounds for this hypothesis. It might further be supported by the undoubted specimens of similar conversion in 9[9]·· 10[1]··. But the variation between 1–3 and 4[1–40] can be explained on other considerations (see 4[1N]): the annotator's additions may be easily sifted out from 2 and 3: and though the proposal provides an intelligible cause for the abrupt beginning of 31··, it is not necessary to resort to so elaborate a device (cp 31[1N]). (4) Lastly, it cannot be affirmed with any confidence that the discourse proceeds from the author (or authors) of the Code. The hortatory element so conspicuous at least in 12–18 26 is almost absent here; yet the mingling of historical retrospect with homiletic address in 5–11 (more closely associated with the Code) shows that if the preacher could employ illustrations from the traditions, the narrator might have been expected in his turn (on the assumption of common authorship) to display a warmer religious glow. The discussion is a difficult one, and turns on delicate shades of difference in thought and expression. Among the most conspicuous phenomena are the following:—(i) Separate titles 1[1–5] and 4[45–49] are prefixed to the two groups of discourse 1[6–3] (4[1–40]) and 5–11. It does not seem likely that the same author would have composed both. The existence of independent prefaces implies that the discourses were also independent, and originally stood as introductions to distinct editions of the Code (Cornill, *Einleitung* § 9 6, designates them as the historic and parænetic elements of **D**, symbolized as D[h] and D[p]). It is conceivable that the compiler of the Code might himself have prefixed one or the other to his collection of laws: it is less probable that he would have attached both of them. Now of the two, 5–11 is much closer both in spirit and form to the legislative core in 12–18 than 1[6–3]. (ii) A marked difference is believed to exist between the two introductions concerning the persons addressed. In 1[35]· the wanderings are represented as a punishment on the generation of the Exodus for their refusal to march up and take possession of the country at once; and according to 2[14–16] all the fighting men (and the contemporary women must be included) perished in the wilderness. But in 5[3] it is declared that the covenant at Horeb was not made with the dead, but with those then alive and listening, and the identity of the people in Moab with the bondmen in Egypt forty years before appears to be asserted in the most express terms 11[2–7] 'Your eyes have seen all the great work of Yahweh.' On the other hand the constant address to Israel as 'thou' implies a moral continuity in the nation which seems to many critics a sufficient explanation of the confusion of the generations. (iii) With this difference is associated another. According to 1–2 the wanderings are a punishment for a specific act of disobedience. In 8[2] they are a part of the divine discipline for proving whether Israel would obey or not; they have, in other words, a far-reaching educational design. These two aspects may be capable of reconciliation, but they are at least presented with striking variations of emphasis. (iv) A difficulty arises concerning the behaviour of Ammon. In 2[3] the Ammonites are reproached for not having aided Israel with food and drink. But in 2[37] it is expressly stated that the Israelites never went near them. What opportunity had they, then, of showing their unfriendliness? The author of 2[3] can hardly have written the historic survey in 1[6–3] (on the authenticity of 2[1–8] cp 23[1N]). (v) Some linguistic phenomena may also be named. The word 'possession' (ירשה) occurs in 2[5 9 12 19] 3[20], but not in 5–26, though the corresponding verb is employed repeatedly; it reappears in D[s] in Josh 1[15] 12[6]. In 1[7 19. 27 44] (3[9]) the name Amorite is applied to the inhabitants of the central highlands of Canaan without reference to the 'seven nations' of 7[1] cp 20[17]. The phrase 'at that time' recurs ten times in 1–3 (three times in possibly cognate passages 9[20] 10[1 8]), elsewhere only in 5[5]; 'declare' 1[5] cp 27[8]*; 'fear not, neither be dismayed' 1[21] 31[8] Josh 1[9] 8[1] 10[25]*; 'contend' 2[5 9 19 24]*; 'this Jordan' 3[27] 31[2] Josh 1[2 11] 4[22] cp Gen 32[10]*; 'children of Esau which dwell in Seir' 2[4 8 22 29] ct 23[7]. On the other hand it may be argued that some of these expressions would not naturally be repeated, though it is surprising that 'besought' 3[23], 'mighty acts' 3[24], 'was wroth' 3[26], 'for your sakes' (למען with pronom suff) 3[26], should not have occasion to appear again. But besides a large portion of the vocabulary of **D** tabulated in vol i, the margins certainly show a considerable amount of phraseology of less frequent use common to 1–3 and 5–26 (see the parallels to 1[12 17 19 27–29 31 43] 2[5 7 30] 3[24]). The evidence will be differently estimated according to varieties of antecedent expectation. Those who have been convinced of the highly composite character of other portions of the great documentary collections, e g the Levitical legislation, will have less difficulty in admitting a similar possibility in the case of **D**. Driver, after full discussion (*Deut* lxvii–lxxiii), decides in favour of unity of authorship.

1[7] Interpreters differ whether the 'land of the Canaanites.' sums up all the items previously named, or applies only to the strip of coast. In the former case it seems in conflict with the location of the Amorites in the central highlands. Under any interpretation the definite instruction to the Israelites to occupy the entire country from the Mediterranean to the Euphrates is not quite on the same plane with the prophetic promises of 11[24] Gen 15[18] Josh 1[4]. The passage may well be due to later expansion.

[8] The imperative 'see' is in the singular as always in this formula **99** except in Josh 23[24]. Sam 𝔊 plural.

* A somewhat similar retrospect may be found in 1 Sam 12 (E[2], Budde); and another in Judg 11[15–27] (R[je], Moore).

JE	D^g	D	D^s	P
		[w]officers, [u]according to your tribes. [16] [L]And I charged your [x]judges at that [o]time, saying, Hear [the causes] between your [y]brethren, and judge [s]righteously between a man and his brother, and the stranger that is with him. [17] Ye shall not [t]respect persons in judgement; ye shall hear the [u]small and the great[u] alike; ye shall not be [v]afraid of the face of man; for the judgement is God's: and the cause that is too [w]hard for you ye shall bring unto me, and I will hear it. [18] And I commanded you at that [o]time all the things which ye should do.		w 83 x 67 y 25
		[19] And we journeyed from [o]Horeb, and went through all that [z]great and terrible wilderness which ye saw, by the way to the [i]hill country of the [i]Amorites, [a']as Yahweh our God commanded us; and we came to [x]Kadesh-barnea. [20] And I said unto you, Ye are come unto the [i]hill country of the Amorites, [b']which Yahweh our God giveth unto us. [21] [Nk]Behold, Yahweh thy God hath [l]set the land before thee: [c']go up, take possession, as [q]Yahweh, the God of thy fathers, hath [d']spoken [e']unto thee; [f']fear not, neither be dismayed. [22] And ye came near unto me every one of you, and said, Let us send men before us, that they may [y]search the land for us, and [z]bring us word again of the way by which we must go up, and the cities unto which we shall come. [23] And the thing pleased me well: and I took [a']twelve men of you, one man for every [g']tribe: [24] and they [h]turned and [b']went up into the mountain, and came unto the valley of [c']Eshcol, and [d']spied it out. [25] And they took of the [e']fruit of the land in their hands, and brought it down unto us, and [z]brought us word again, and said, It is a [h']good land [b']which Yahweh our God giveth unto us. [26] Yet ye [l']would not go up, but [j']rebelled against the commandment of Yahweh your God: [27] and ye [f']murmured in your tents, and said, Because Yahweh [g']hated us, he hath [k']brought us forth out of the land of Egypt, [l']to deliver us into the hand of the [m']Amorites, [n']to destroy us. [28] Whither are we going up? our brethren have made our [h']heart to [h']melt, saying, The people is [i']greater and taller than we; the cities are [j']great and [k']fenced up to heaven[k'], and moreover we have [l']seen the sons of the [o']Anakim there. [29] Then I said unto you, [p']Dread not, neither be afraid of them. [30] Yahweh your God who [m']goeth before you, he shall [q']fight for you, according to [r']all that he did for you in Egypt [s']before your eyes; [31] [N]and in the wilderness, where thou hast seen how that Yahweh thy God [n']bare thee, as a man doth bear his [o']son, in all the [p']way that ye went, [q']until ye came unto this place. [32] Yet [M]in this thing ye did not [r']believe Yahweh your God, [33] who [m']went before you in the way, to [s']seek you out a place to pitch your tents in, in fire by night, to shew you by what way ye should go, and in the cloud by day. [34] And Yahweh heard the voice of your words, and was wroth, and sware, saying, [35] [t']Surely there shall not one of these men [N]*of this evil generation* see the [h']good land, which I [n]sware to give unto [N]your fathers, [36] [w']save Caleb the son of Jephunneh, he shall see it; and to him will I give the land that he hath [v']trodden upon, and to his children: because he hath [v']wholly followed Yahweh. [37] [N]Also Yahweh was [u']angry with me for your sakes, saying, Thou also shalt not go in thither: [38] Joshua the son of Nun, which [w']standeth before thee, he shall go in thither: [v']encourage thou him; for he shall [w']cause Israel to inherit it. [39] [N]*Moreover your little ones, which ye said should*		z 55[a] a' 29[a] b' 69[c] c' 54 d' 91 e' 64 f' 44[c] g' 112[a] h' 69[b] i' 117 j' 94 k' 28[b] l' 52 m' 3[a] n' 34 o' 3 p' 44[d] q' 45 r' 12 s' 43[a] t' 111 u' 18 v' 106[c] w' 65

x Cp Num 13^{26b}

y Josh 2^{2}.
z Num 13^{26b}

a' Num 13^{2}
b' Num 13^{17c}
c' Num 13^{23}
d' Josh 14^{7} cp JE212
e' Num 13^{20} 23
f' Ps 106^{25} cp Is 29^{24}† ct Num 14^{2}
g' 9^{28} cp 44^{a}
h' 20^{8} Josh 2^{11} 5^{1} 7^{5*}
i' 2^{10} 21 9^{2}
j' Num 13^{28}
k' 9^{1}† cp 3^{5} 28^{52} Num 13^{28} Josh 14^{12*}
l' Cp Num 13^{28}
m' 33 20^{4} 31^{6} Ex 13^{21} Num 14^{14}
n' Cp Ex 19^{4} Num 11^{12}
o' Cp 35
p' 8^{2} Josh 24^{17}
q' 9^{7} 11^{5} cp 26^{9} 29^{7}
r' Num 14^{11}
s' Num 10^{33}
t' Num 14^{23}.
w' 4^{12} Josh 11^{13*}
v' Josh 14^{8}. 14 Num 14^{24} 32^{11}.*
w' Cp 10^{8} 17^{12} ct Ex 24^{13}

1^{21} As the main body of this discourse is conceived in the second person plural, the unexpected entrance of the singular here indicates to Steuernagel the activity of an annotator. The plurals in (𝔊) are no doubt harmonistic. It may be added that the formulae differ slightly from those in ^{8}: cp especially ^{8} 'go in and possess the land' with ^{21} 'go up, possess.'

31 The loose connexion here suggests that the text may have been expanded by another hand (or possibly by the same hand at another time), incorporating a reference to the divine care manifested in the subsequent wanderings, 'this place' meaning the Trans-jordanic encampment as in 9^{7} 11^{5} 29^{7} cp 26^{9}. For the figure cp Ex 19^{4} Deut 32^{11}. In ^{33} the phrase 'who went before you' seems to be caught up from ^{30} 'he goeth before you': for the word 'to seek out' cp Num 10^{33}: the reading of (𝔊) 'to lead you' instead of 'to pitch your tents in' (involving the transposition of a letter) perhaps indicates further dependence on Ex 13^{21}. ^{32} **M** Or, *for* all *this thing*.

35a Probably a gloss; the words are omitted in (𝔊), and are not represented in Num 14^{22}. on which the passage is founded; they sound like a reminiscence of such passages as Num 14^{27} ^{35} 32^{13}.

35b (𝔊) 'their fathers.'

37 Another explanatory addition, cp 3^{26} ^{28}, breaking the connexion resumed in ^{39b} with 'but your children.' Nothing is said of this in Num 14. It would seem that the death of Moses before the passage of the Jordan came to be regarded as the penalty for some offence, and there was great difficulty in connecting it with any specific occasion. The matter is not cleared up even by P Num 20^{12}.

39 These words do not occur in (𝔊𝔏) and have probably been incorporated by a late editor from Num 14^{31} (cp ^{3}).

JE	D^g	D	D^s	P
		be a prey, and your children, which this day have no knowledge of good or evil, they shall [m]go in thither, and unto them will I give it, and they shall possess it. [40] [N]But as for you, [h]turn you, and [x']take your journey into the wilderness by the way to the Red Sea. [41] Then ye answered and said unto me, We have [y']sinned against Yahweh, we will go up and fight, according to all that Yahweh our God [x']commanded us. And ye girded on every man his weapons of war, and [N]were forward to go up into the mountain. [42] And Yahweh said unto me, Say unto them, [z']Go not up, neither fight; for I am not [y']among you; lest ye be smitten before your enemies. [43] So I spake unto you, and ye hearkened not; but ye [j']rebelled against the [a'']commandment of Yahweh, and were [b'']presumptuous, and went up into the mountain. [44] And the [m']Amorites, which dwelt in that mountain, came out against you, and chased you, as bees do, and [c'']beat you down in Seir, even unto Hormah. [45] And ye returned and wept before Yahweh; but Yahweh [d'']hearkened not to your voice, nor [d'']gave ear unto you. [46] [N]So ye abode in [e'']Kadesh many days, [f'']according unto the days that ye abode [there].		
		2[1] Then we [a]turned, and took our journey into the wilderness by the [a]way to the Red Sea, as Yahweh spake unto me: and we compassed mount Seir many days. [2] And Yahweh spake unto me, saying, [3] Ye have compassed this mountain [b]long enough: [a]turn you northward. [4] And command thou the people, saying, Ye are to [c]pass through the border of your brethren the [d]children of Esau, which dwell in Seir; and they shall be afraid of you: [b]take ye good heed unto yourselves therefore: [5] [e]contend not with them; for I will not give you of their land, no, not so much as for the [f]sole of the foot to tread on[f]: because I have given mount Seir unto Esau for a [c]possession. [6] Ye shall [g]purchase food of them for money, that ye may eat; and ye shall also buy water of them for money, that ye may drink. [7] [N]For [d]Yahweh thy God hath [e]blessed thee in all the [f]work of thy hand: he hath known thy walking through this great wilderness: [h]these forty years Yahweh thy God hath been with thee; thou hast [i]lacked nothing. [8] So we passed by from our brethren the children of Esau, which dwell in Seir, from the way of the Arabah from Elath and from Ezion-geber.	a 113 b 108[b] c 88[d] d 1[a] e 20[a] f 119	
		And we [a]turned and passed by the way of the [j]wilderness of Moab. [9] And Yahweh said unto me, [Nk]Vex not Moab, neither [e]contend with them in battle: for I will not give thee of his land for a [c]possession; because I have given [l]Ar unto the children of [m]Lot for a [c]possession. ([10] [N]The [n]Emim dwelt therein aforetime, a people [o]great, and many, and tall[o], as the [g]Anakim: [11]these also are accounted [Nh]Rephaim, as the [g]Anakim; but the Moabites call them [n]Emim. [12] The [p]Horites also dwelt in Seir aforetime, but the children of Esau [q]succeeded them; and they [i]destroyed them from before them, and dwelt in their stead; as Israel did unto the [j]land of his [c]possession, which Yahweh gave unto them.) [13] Now [r]rise up, [N]and get you over the [s]brook Zered. And we went over the brook Zered. [14] And the days in which we came from Kadesh-barnea, until we were come over the brook Zered, were thirty and eight years; until all the generation of the [k]men of war were [l]consumed from the midst of the camp, as Yahweh [m]sware unto them. [15] [N]Moreover the	g 4 h 5 i 34[a] j 69[c] k 77 l 46 m 107[b]	

x' ℌ=*get you* Num 14[25]
y' Num 14[40]
z' Num 14[42]
a'' Num 14[41]
b'' 17[13] 18[20] Ex 21[14]*
c'' Num 14[45]
d'' Cp Ex 15[26]
e'' Num 20[1]
f'' Cp 9[25] 29[16] ℌ
a Cp 1[40] Num 21[4]
b 1[6]
c Ct Num 20[14-21]
d 8 22 29 cp 23[7]
e 9 19 24*
f 11[24] Josh 1[3] cp 14[9]*
g Ct Num 20[19]
h 8[2 4] cp 29[5]
i 8[9]
j Num 21[11]
k 19 Ex 23[22]
l 18 29 Num 21[15 28]
m 19 Gen 19[37]
n Gen 14[5]†
o 20 cp 1[28]
p 22 Gen 14[6] 36[20..]†
q 21 ℌ=*possessed* cp 9[1] 11[23] *al* 88
r 24 cp JE12[8]
s ℌ=*valley* Num 21[12]

1[40] This verse has been sometimes regarded as a subsequent insertion derived from Num 14[25]. The derivation is unmistakable, but the verse may be needed at this point to explain 2[1].

41 **M** Or, *deemed it a light thing*.—ℌ†.

46 On the chronological difficulty see Dillm and Driver *in loc.* The statement seems to be an attempt at harmonizing different traditions of the sojourn at Kadesh. The parallel in 9[25] where the peculiar phrase stands at a junction of earlier and later materials, points to a similar view concerning the present passage.

2[7] This verse is perhaps due to an annotator who desires to explain the ability of the Israelites to purchase the necessary food and drink from the children of Esau. It represents their wealth as due to the successful prosecution of agriculture cp 14[29] 16[15] 24[19] 28[12]; but it forgets that the wanderings with their diet of manna were intended as a season of humiliation and trial 8[2·], not of accumulation and thrift. The sudden change from the plural to the singular, and the return to the plural in [8] should be noted.

9 The command here addressed to Moses is really as the parallels show [5 18. 24.] designed for Israel and not for Moses personally. The use of the singular here and in [18. 24b 25] is in unexpected contrast with the plurals in [13 24a]: but in view of the language of [27·] it seems perfectly natural, and it does not appear necessary to attribute these passages to another hand.

10 The antiquarian notes in this and succeeding passages [20-23] 3[9 11] are evidently not parts of the original narrative. Whether they were inserted by the author or by a later hand is doubtful.

11 **M** See Gen 14[5].

13 Sam (G) add 'and take your journey' as in [24].

15 An explanatory addition (marked by the frequent particle of insertion גם) to emphasize the cause of the complete destruc-

JE	D^g	D	D^s	P	
		hand of Yahweh was against them, to [t]destroy them from the midst of the camp, until they were [l]consumed.			
		[16] So it came to pass, when all the [k]men of war were [l]consumed and dead from among the people, [17] that Yahweh spake unto me, saying, [18] [u]Thou art this day to pass over Ar, the border of Moab: [19] [N]and when thou comest nigh [v]over against the children of Ammon, [k]vex them not, nor [e]contend with them: for I will not give thee of the land of the children of Ammon for a [c]possession: because I have given it unto the children of Lot for a [c]possession. ([20] That also is accounted a land of [h]Rephaim: [h]Rephaim dwelt therein aforetime; but the Ammonites call them [N]Zamzummim; [21] a people [o]great, and many, and tall, as the [g]Anakim; but Yahweh [i]destroyed them before them; and they [q]succeeded them, and dwelt in their stead: [22] as he did for the [d]children of Esau, which dwell in Seir, when he [i]destroyed the Horites from before them; and they [c]succeeded them, and dwelt in their stead even unto this [w]day: [23] and the [x]Avvim which dwelt in villages as far as Gaza, the Caphtorim, which came forth out of [y]Caphtor, [i]destroyed them, and dwelt in their stead.) [24] [r]Rise ye up, take your journey, and pass over the valley of [z]Arnon: [n]behold, I have [o]given into thine hand Sihon the Amorite, king of Heshbon, and his land: [a′]begin to [q]possess it, and [e]contend with him in battle. [25] This day will I [b′]begin to put the [c′]dread of thee and the fear of thee upon the [d′]peoples that are under the whole heaven[d′], who shall [e′]hear the report of thee, and shall tremble, and be in anguish because of thee.		n 99 o 52	
		[26] And I [f′]sent messengers out of the wilderness of Kedemoth unto Sihon king of Heshbon with words of peace, saying, [27] [g′]Let me pass through thy land: I will go [M]along by the high way, I will neither [p]turn unto the right hand nor to the left. [28] Thou shalt sell me food for [h′]money, that I may eat; and give me water for money, that I may drink: [q]only let me pass through on my [i′]feet; [29] as the [d]children of Esau which dwell in Seir, and the Moabites which dwell in Ar, did unto me; until I shall pass over Jordan into the [r]land which Yahweh our God giveth us. [30] But Sihon king of Heshbon [s]would not [j′]let us pass by him: for Yahweh thy God hardened his spirit, and made his heart [M]obstinate, that he might [o]deliver him into thy hand, [t]as at this day. [31] And Yahweh said unto me, [n]Behold, I have [b′]begun to [u]deliver up Sihon and his land before thee: [a′]begin to [q]possess, that thou mayest [q]inherit his land. [32] Then Sihon came out against us, [v]he and all his people, unto battle at [k′]Jahaz. [33] And Yahweh our God [u]delivered him up before us; and we [l′]smote [v]him, and his [M]sons, and all his people. [34] And we [m′]took all his cities at that [w]time, and [Tx]devoted every [M]inhabited city, with the [y]women and the little ones; we [n′]left none remaining: [35] [q]only the cattle we took for a [z]prey unto ourselves, with the [a′]spoil of the cities which we had taken. [36] From Aroer, which is on the edge of the valley of [o′]Arnon, and [from] the [p′]city that is in the valley, even unto Gilead, there was not a city too [q′]high for us: Yahweh our God [u]delivered up all before us: [37] [q]only to the land of the children of Ammon thou [r′]camest not near; [b′]all the side of the river Jabbok, and the cities of the hill country, and wheresoever Yahweh our God forbad us.		p 114[b] q 84 r 69[c] s 117 t 33[a] u 100[a] v 56 w 110 x 35 y 118 z 89 a′ 103 b′ 10	
		[3][1] [N]Then we [a]turned, and [c]went up the way to Bashan: and Og the		a 113	

t ℌ=*discomfit* 7[23] Ex 14[24]
u 9[1] cp 11[31]
v 3[29] 4[46] 11[30] 34[6]
w 3[14] cp 33[b]
x Josh 13[3]†
y Am 9[7]
z Num 21[13]
a′ Cp 31b
b′ 31 3[24] Josh 3[7]
c′ 11[25]
d′ 4[19*]
e′ Cp Ex 15[14] ℌ Num 14[15]
f′ Num 21[21]
g′ Num 21[22]
h′ Cp 6
i′ Num 20[19b]
j′ Ct Num 21[23] ℌ
k′ Num 21[23]
l′ Num 21[35]
m′ Num 21[25]
n′ 3[3] Num 21[35] Josh 8[22] cp Deut 20[16].
o′ Num 21[24]
p′ Josh 13[9]
q′ ℌ*
r′ 19 cp Num 21[24]
a Num 21[33].

tion of the whole generation. Dillm brackets the entire passage 14^{b}–16. Cp Num 14^{33} 35 32^{13}.

2[19] The reference in [29] suggests that the narrative may here have been curtailed cp [4–8]. It is remarkable, also, later on, that there is no reference to Balaam.

20 Cp Gen 14^{5}, Sayce, *Higher Criticism* 160, and Driver, *Deut* 40.

27 **M** ℌ *by the way, by the way.*

30 **M** ℌ *strong.*—In the bad sense 15^{7*}, in the good 3^{28*}, cp [D]106.

33 **M** Or, *son.* [34a] So **M**. **T** *utterly destroyed.* Cp [D]35.

34b **M** ℌ *city of men.*—3^{6} cp Judg 20^{48}†.

3[1] The narrative in [1–17] can hardly have proceeded continuously from one hand, as it bears numerous marks of supplementation, see [8N 14N 15N]. The story of the conquest of Og does not seem to have been part of the original traditions. (1) The only reference to it in Num $21^{33–35}$ is generally accepted as an abstract from Deut $3^{1–7}$. If **JE** had contained it, why should the narrative have been suppressed in favour of a secondary version? (2) The account in Deut $3^{1–7}$ has little or no independence; it follows step by step the story of the reduction of Sihon and the Amorites, employing parallel phrases, with slightly heightened detail in [5]. But neither Og nor his kingdom is designated as of Amorite origin, and this title is significant in view of the title of Sihon 'king of the Amorites' 3^{2}. (3) It may be fairly urged that the summary in Josh 24^{8} does not include the capture of Bashan; and this inference is confirmed by the more detailed retrospect in Judg $11^{19–22}$, where the overthrow of Sihon is mentioned with the statement that 'Israel

JE	D[g]	D	D[s]	P
		king of Bashan [b]came out against us, [b]he and all his people, unto battle at [c]Edrei. [2] And Yahweh said unto me, [d]Fear him not: for I have [c]delivered [b]him, and all his people, and his land, into thy hand; and thou shalt do unto him as thou didst unto [e]Sihon king of the Amorites, which dwelt at Heshbon. [3] So Yahweh [d]our God [c]delivered into our hand Og also, the king of Bashan, and [b]all his people: and we [f]smote him until none was [g]left to him remaining. [4] And we [g]took all his cities at that [e]time; there was not a city which we took not from them; threescore cities, [f]all the [h]region of Argob[h], the kingdom of Og in Bashan. [5] All these were cities [i]fenced with high walls, gates, and bars; beside the [M]unwalled towns a great many. [6] And we [Ts]devoted them, as we did unto Sihon king of Heshbon, [T]devoting every [M]inhabited city, with the [h]women and the little ones. [7] But all the cattle, and the [j]spoil of the cities, we took for a [j]prey unto ourselves. [8] [N]And we took the land at that [e]time out of the hand of the [k]two kings of the Amorites that were [l]beyond Jordan, [j]from the valley of Arnon unto mount Hermon; [9] ([which] Hermon the Sidonians call Sirion, and the [m]Amorites call it Senir;) [10] all the cities of the [M]plain, and all Gilead, and all Bashan, unto Salecah and Edrei, cities of the kingdom of Og in Bashan. [11] (For only Og king of Bashan remained of the [k]remnant of the [n]Rephaim; behold, his bedstead was a bedstead of iron; is it not in Rabbah of the children of Ammon? nine cubits was the length thereof, and four cubits the breadth of it, after the cubit of a man.) [12] And this land we took in possession at that [e]time: [N]from [l]Aroer, which is by the valley of Arnon, and half the hill country of Gilead, and the cities thereof, gave I unto the Reubenites and to the Gadites: [13] and the rest of Gilead, and all Bashan, the kingdom of Og, gave I unto the half [o]tribe of Manasseh; [Tf]all the [h]region of Argob. (All that Bashan is called the land of [n]Rephaim.) [14] [N]*Jair the son of Manasseh took all the* [h]*region of Argob, unto the border of the* [m]*Geshurites and the Maacathites; and called them, even Bashan,* [M]*after his own name, Havvoth-jair,* [p]*unto this day.* [15] [N]*And I gave Gilead unto Machir.*		
		[16] [N]And unto the Reubenites and unto the Gadites I gave from Gilead even unto the valley of Arnon, the middle of the valley, [M]and the border		

b 2[32] *c* 1[4] *d* 2[22] Josh 10[8] cp 44[c] *e* 1[4] cp 2[33]. *f* 2[33] Num 21[35] *g* 2[34] *h* 13. 1 Kings 4[13]† *i* 1[28] *j* Josh 12[1b] *k* Josh 12[4] 13[12] *l* 2[36] *m* Josh 12[5] 13[11]

b 56 c 52 d 1[a] e 110 f 10 g 35 h 118 i 103 j 89 k 3[c] l 21[a] m 3[a] n 5 o 112[a] p 33[b]

possessed all the lands of the Amorites' [21] but Og and his territory are unnamed. **D**[s] is thus the first to relate this extension of the conquest, and to bestow on the half tribe of Manasseh half Gilead and the kingdom of Og. The distribution specified in [12 13a] includes the new area, in contrast with [16] which seems to follow straight on 2[36]. It was at a still later stage that Sihon and Og were grouped together as the 'two kings of the Amorites' cp [8N] 4[47] ot 1[4].

3[5] **M** Or, *country towns.*—Cp ℌ 1 Sam 6[18] Esth 9[19] (Q'ri).

6a So **M**. **T** *utterly destroyed.* Cp 2[34].

6b **M** ℌ *city of men.*—Cp 2[34].

8 The narrative in [8–17] evidently results from the amalgamation of different statements (see notes on [12 14 16]). After the detailed recital of the conquests of the territories of Sihon and Og, it is not obvious why a fresh summary of the victories over the 'two kings of the Amorites' [8–11] should be appended. This expression seems a later generalization (cp [16N]); in the preceding text Og is not (like Sihon) designated as an Amorite cp 3[2] 2[24] 1[4]. The kings are described as 'beyond Jordan,' i e on the East, implying that the narrator was on the West side. But the phrase is used in [20 25] in its proper dramatic appropriateness in the person of Moses. These verses, therefore, can hardly be from the same hand (but cp Driver, *Deut* xliii†). The other passages in which the word occurs in the same meaning cp [D]21, as well as the description of the 'two kings' cp [D]3[c], all belong to the later editorial redaction. It may be also noted that 'took' in [8 14] represents a different ℌ compared with [4] 2[34]. Whether the archaeological notes in [9 11] are of the same date is not clear cp 2[10–12 20–23].

10 **M** Or, *table land.*—Cp 4[43] Josh 13[9 16. 21] 20[8]*.

12 The allotment of the Trans-jordanic territories to Reuben and Gad is first described in the narrative at the base of Num 32, which has been reproduced under the influence of **P**. The data in the present passage are conflicting. According to [12.] Gilead is divided. Half of it is included in the territory assigned to Reuben and Gad, and half is handed over to the half tribe of Manasseh. But in [15] Moses is represented as giving Gilead to Machir cp Num 32[40], the children of Machir being afterwards known as a clan of the tribe of Manasseh. (Num 32[39] actually credits them with the conquest over the Amorites, as though the settlement took place from the West of Jordan in the age following Moses. As the half tribe of Manasseh is not mentioned in Num 32[1–32], it is probable that the original story contained no allusion to the settlement of the Manassite clans.) The same writer can hardly have written both [12.] and [15].

13 So **M**. **T** *all the region of Argob, even* (**M** or, *with*) *all Bashan. (The same is called &c.)*

14a A further difficulty is raised by [14], which affirms that the region of Argob, handed over to the half tribe of Manasseh in [13], was taken by Jair-ben-Manasseh, who named 'them' Havvoth-Jair. This name, however, according to Num 32[41] belonged to a group of villages in Gilead; while Judg 10[4], deriving their designation from a later hero, also places them in Gilead. [14], therefore, proceeds from an attempt 'to harmonize [13] (which mentions Bashan) with Num 32[39 41] (which is silent as to Bashan) by the assumption that the district stated in Num 32[41] to have been conquered by Jair, was in Bashan' (Driver, *Deut* 55).

14b **M** See Num 32[41].

15 Derived editorially from Num 32[40], see [12N].

16a The description of the gift to the Reubenites and Gadites seems superfluous after [12.] and most critics therefore regard it as supplemental. The language of [16], however, is harmonious with that of 2[36]., and it is possible that this sequence represents the older form of the narrative, before the incorporation of the account of Og, for there seems no reason why an editorial expander should thus imperfectly reproduce statements already made. The gift of [16] is simply confined to the limits of Sihon's kingdom: these limits, however, are extended in [17], apparently by an annotator in conformity with Josh 12[2–3]. On the other hand, however, the emphasis conferred on the Reubenites and Gadites by their position at the opening of the verse implies some preceding mention of them: **JE** must have contained some narrative similar to that which lies at the base of Num 32, which stood between the conquest described in 2[31–37] and the gift specified in [16].

16b **M** Or, *for a border.*

JE	D^S	D	D^S	P	
n 2³⁷ Josh 12²		[thereof]; even unto the river [n]Jabbok, which is the border of the			
o Cp Josh 12³		children of Ammon; [17] the [oq]Arabah also, and Jordan [M]and the border [thereof], from Chinnereth even unto the sea of the Arabah, the Salt Sea, under the [Mr]slopes of Pisgah [o]eastward.		q	6ᵃ
		[18] And I commanded [N]you at that [e]time, saying, Yahweh your God		r	8
p Num 32¹⁷··		hath [s]given you this land to possess it: ye shall pass over [p]armed before		s	69ᵉ
q 𝔊 *sons* ct Ex 18²¹ 'able'		your brethren the children of Israel, [f]all the [q]men of valour. [19] [t]But		t	84
		[h]your wives and your little ones, and your cattle, (I know that ye have much cattle,) shall abide in your cities which I have given you; [20] until			
		Yahweh give [u]rest unto your brethren, as unto you, and they also		u	98
		possess the [v]land which Yahweh your God giveth them [w]beyond Jordan:		v	69ᵉ
		then shall ye return every man unto his [x]possession, which I have		w	21ᵇ
		given you.		x	88ᵈ
		[21] [N]And I commanded Joshua at that [e]time, saying, [y]Thine eyes have		y	43ᵈ
		seen [z]all that Yahweh your God hath done unto these two kings: so		z	12
		shall Yahweh do unto all the kingdoms whither thou goest over. [22] Ye			
		shall not [d]fear them: for Yahweh your God, he it is that [a′]fighteth		a′	45
		for you.			
r Gen 42²¹*		[23] And I [r]besought Yahweh at that [e]time, saying, [24] O [s]Lord Yahweh,			
s 9²⁶ cp Josh 7⁷ Gen 15² 8*		thou hast [t]begun to shew thy servant thy [b′]greatness, and thy [c′]strong		b′	55ᶜ
t 2²⁵		hand: for [u]what god is there in heaven or in earth, that can do according		c′	80ᵇ
u Cp Ex 15¹¹		to thy works, and according to thy [v]mighty acts[v]? [25] Let me go over,			
v 𝔊*		I pray thee, and [w]see the good land that is [w]beyond Jordan, that goodly			
w 1³⁵		mountain, and Lebanon. [26] But Yahweh was [v]wroth with me for your			
		sakes, and hearkened not unto me: and Yahweh said unto me, Let it			
x 1⁶ 2³ 𝔊		[x]suffice thee; speak no more unto me of this matter. [27] Get thee up			
y 34¹ cp Num 21²⁰ 23¹⁴		into the [y]top of Pisgah, and [z]lift up thine eyes westward, and northward,			
z Gen 13¹⁴		and southward, and eastward, and behold with thine eyes: for thou			
a′ 31² Josh 1² 11 4²² cp Gen 32¹⁰*		shalt not go over [a′]this Jordan. [28] But [T]command Joshua, and [d′]encourage		d′	106ᶜ
b′ 3¹³		him, and strengthen him: for [b′]he shall go over before this people, and		e′	65
c′ 4⁴⁶ 34⁶		he shall [e′]cause them to inherit the land which thou shalt see. [29] So we		a	2ᵇ
d′ Cp 4³ Num 25⁵		abode in the [c′]valley over against [d′]Beth-peor.		b	104ᵃ
		4[1] [N]And now, [a]O Israel, hearken unto the [b]statutes and unto the		c	63
		judgements, which [c]I [d]teach you, for to do them; that ye may [e]live, and		d	71ᵇ
		[f]go in and possess the [s]land which [h]Yahweh, the God of your fathers,		e	72
		giveth you. [2] Ye shall not [a]add unto the word[a] which I [i]command you,		f	53
a 12³²*		neither shall ye [a]diminish from it, that ye may [j]keep the commandments		g	69ᵉ
				h	1ᵇ
				i	29ᵇ
				j	82ᵉ

3[17a] **M** Or, *for a border*. [17b] **M** Or, *springs*.

[18] This appears to refer to an address to the tribes desiring to settle on the east of the Jordan cp Num 32. The circumstances leading to it are not here named. Is this another of the independent elements wrought into the narrative by D, or has his text been curtailed by omission in consequence of editorial manipulations of the previous passage?

[21] Another of the passages marked by the vague phrase 'at that time.' Its position here has occasioned some perplexity, as there is no previous mention of such a command (e g in Num 32), and it appears to anticipate the instruction in [28] 'command Joshua' cp 1[38] and 31[3 7 23]. Moreover, is it certain that the exhortation in [21b 22] was intended for Joshua? The plural in [22] implies an address to the people: in [21] 𝔊 reads 'your eyes,' and 'the Lord our God,' while Sam omits 'your God': in [22] 𝔏 renders 'thou shalt not fear them.'

[28] 𝔊 as in [21]. **T** *charge*. Ct Num 27[19].

4[1] The position of the great discourse in 4[1–40] has been much discussed (cp Driver, *Deut* lxix ff) and is not easy to determine. It depends in part on the view which may be taken of the character of 1–3, Dillm's theory of the original narrative-form of the Retrospect (cp 1[6N]) involving as its consequence another situation for the exhortation in 4[1–40]. Even when this view is rejected, there are still peculiar phenomena requiring attention. (1) The tone of historical reminiscence is abandoned (save in [21]) for that of special warning [2]..[15]... Two themes receive forcible illustration, (i) the duty of Israel to cleave to Yahweh alone, and (ii) the divine unity and spirituality. The necessity of allegiance to Yahweh alone is emphasized by a reference to the incident 'in' (rather than 'because of' cp Driver *in loc*) Baal-peor [3] supplying a link of attachment to 3[29] (did the text of 4[3] originally run 'in Beth-peor,' and was it attracted afterwards to 'Baal-peor' by the following clause?). In [1–4], therefore, it is natural to see the hortatory sequel of 1[6]–3[29], and the summons to obey the statutes and judgements which are about to be announced [1] seems to point directly to 12[1]··. But (2) [5] affirms that 'statutes and judgements' to be observed in the land which Israel is about to enter (cp [1]) *have been already taught*. Is the same situation implied in these passages? Is not [5] more appropriate to a concluding than to an introductory address? It is, indeed, proposed to explain the perfect by reference to previous statutes and judgements which Moses 'had, as occasion arose, impressed upon his people' (Driver, *in loc*). But they are apparently identified in [6] and [8] with 'all this law,' which elsewhere refers to the whole corpus of D's legislation. It is true that in [8] the phrase 'which I set before you this day' may again place the speaker before rather than after the main recital 12–26 cp 1. [40]. But the phrase 'which I command you' [2 40] is employed with equal ease in the closing scenes in reference to the law which has been already enjoined e g 27[10] 28[1 13–15] 30[2 8 11 16]: it therefore carries with it no precise implication of priority to the actual exposition. Dillm's conjecture that some of the participles in the discourse were originally perfects, which were editorially changed when it was transferred to its present place, seems therefore unnecessary: and the tenses throw no difficulty in the way of the possibility that the main section [5–40] originally stood among the final exhortations. Reasons will be offered hereafter (see 31[24N]) for connecting it with 31[24–29].

JE	D[g]	D	D[s]	P
		of Yahweh [k]your God which I [l]command you. [3] [l]Your eyes have seen		k 1[a]
b Num 25[1-5]		what Yahweh [m]did because of [b]Baal-peor: for all the men that [n]followed		l 43[d] m 12
		Baal-peor, Yahweh thy God hath [o]destroyed them [p]from the midst of		n 85[b] o 34[a]
c Cp 5[3]		thee. [4] But ye that did [q]cleave unto Yahweh your God are [c]alive every		p 78[c] q 27
		one of you this day.		
		. . . [5] [N r]Behold, I have [d]taught you [b]statutes and judgements, even [s]as		r 99
		Yahweh my God commanded me, that ye should do so in the midst of		s 29[a]
		the land whither ye [f]go in to [t]possess it. [6] [u]Keep therefore and do them;		t 88[a]
d 𝔊* cp 5[N]		for this is your wisdom and your [d]understanding in the [v]sight of the		u 82[b] v 43[a]
		peoples, which shall hear all these [w]statutes, and say, Surely this great		w 104[b]
e 1[13]		nation is a [e]wise and understanding people. [7] For what great nation		
f Ps 145[18]		is there, that hath [N]a god so [f]nigh unto them, as Yahweh our God is		
g Cp 1 Kings 8[52]		[g]whensoever we call upon him? [8] And what great nation is there, that		
		hath [b]statutes and judgements so righteous as all [x]this law, which [c]I [y]set		x 70[a]
		before you this day? [9] [z]Only [a']take heed to thyself, and [d]keep thy soul[d]		y 100[b] z 84
		diligently, lest thou [b']forget the things [c']which thine eyes saw, and lest		a' 108[a] b' 48
h Cp 11[4b]		they [h]depart from thy heart [d']all the days of thy life; but [d]make them		c' 43[c] d' 13[c]
		known unto thy children and thy children's children; [10] the day that		
		thou stoodest before Yahweh thy God in [e']Horeb, when Yahweh said		e' 7
i 31[12] cp 20[c]		unto me, [i]Assemble me the people, and I will make them hear my words,		
j 𝔊 cp 40 6[3] 32[46] Josh 3[7]		[j]that they may [f']learn to [g']fear me [k]all the days that they live upon the		f' 71[a]
k 12[1] 31[13] cp 13[c]		earth[k], and that they may [d]teach their children. [11] And [N]ye came near		g' 44[a]
l 5[23] 9[15]		and stood under the mountain; and the [l]mountain burned with fire unto		
m 5[23]		the [N]heart of heaven, with darkness, [m]cloud, and thick darkness. [12] And		
		Yahweh spake unto you [h']out of the midst of the fire: ye heard the		h' 79
n 15. 23 25 5[8] ‖ Ex 20[4] Num 12[8] Ps 17[15] Job 4[16]†		voice of words, but ye saw no [n]form; [o]only [ye heard] a voice. [13] And		
		he declared unto you his [j']covenant, which he commanded you to per-		i' 31
o 1[36]		form, even the ten [M]commandments; and he [p]wrote them upon two		
p 5[22]		tables of stone. [14] And Yahweh commanded me [j']at that time to [d]teach		j' 110

4[5] Stress has been already laid on indications of diversity of conception between 1–3 and 5–11. If the exhortation in 4[5–40] is not to be associated with 1[6]–4[4], can it be attached to the second group of discourses? (1) It is probable that the author was acquainted with the narrative in 5; but he can hardly have been the same writer. He takes the same view 4[10]. . concerning the identity of the assembly at Horeb with people whom Moses now addresses cp 5[3]. But the language of [11]. adds fresh detail ('burned . . to the heart of heaven') and emphasizes the main lesson 'ye saw no form.' The stress laid on the subsequent prohibition of any kind of idolatry implies that the command in [5] proved an insufficient safeguard: and it is difficult to suppose that the author of 5 would have himself prefixed to it a description of the same scene, and a series of injunctions so elaborate and detailed as those in 4[15]. . These must, therefore, be regarded as supplemental. The apparent recognition of the legitimacy of the worship of the heavenly bodies for other nations [19], finds no counterpart in 5–26. It shows affinity with the ideas of 32[8] (𝔊, and suggests an effort to deal with the problem of the validity of other national worships which probably only forced itself on the mind of Israel when it was no longer on its own land. In that case this discourse may be regarded as an early utterance of the exilian polemic against participation in the Babylonian idolatries. The emphatic assertion of the sole deity of Yahweh [35 39] harmonizes with this view (see the parallels below) which is further supported by [27–31]. Driver has already treated [29–31] as an interpolation by D[2] cp *Deut* lxxvi. It may be doubted whether the loose use of 'for' in [32] can bear the whole weight of this inference; the connexion does not seem improved by a reference back to [28] (for other instances of defective precision cp 11[22] 30[11] 31[20]). But this passage resembles others which there is reason to regard as secondary cp 30[1–10], and thus the general conclusion as to the probable date of the whole is strengthened. König, *Einl* 213[1], suggests that [25–31] may be an insertion. Steuernagel treats [1–28] as pl, [29–40] as sing. (2) The linguistic indications in [5–40] are of two kinds: (i) as the margins show the discourse is steeped in the characteristic phraseology of the Deuteronomic school; (ii) it contains a number of words and phrases found elsewhere in D only in the concluding chapters, or belonging usually to P, or corresponding to the later religious vocabulary. Among these the following may be enumerated in their verse order: [6] *understanding* גבונה* cp תבונה 32[28]: [7] *what great nation is there* cp 2 Sam 7[23]: [7] *a god so nigh* cp Ps 145[18]: [7] *whensoever we call upon him* cp 1 Kings 8[52]: [9] *keep thy soul** cp Prov 13[3] 16[7] 19[8]: [9] *make them known* ל הודיעתם ct with accus 8[3] Josh 4[22]: [16] *figure* סמל Ezek 8[3 5] 2 Chron 33[7 15]† cp Schrader, *COT* i 146 = Assyrian *samulluv*: [16] *likeness* Ex 25[9 40] Josh 22[28] 'pattern' P cp 2 Kings 16[10] Ezek 8[3 10] 10[8] Is 44[13] Ps 106[20] 144[12] 1 Chron 28[11]. [18.]†: *male and female* cp P107: [17] *winged fowl* Gen 7[14] cp Ezek 17[23] 39[4 17] Ps 148[10]†: [18] *anything that creepeth* cp P49: [19] *hath divided* cp 29[26]: [20] *the iron furnace* Jer 11[4] 1 Kings 8[51]†: [20] *a people of inheritance*† cp 7[6] 14[2] 26[18] Jer 10[16] 51[19]: [25] *beget* 28[41] cp P30: [25] *shall have been long* = 'become old' 𝔊 Lev 13[11] 26[10]†: [26] *call heaven and earth to witness* 30[19] 31[28]†: [27] *scatter* 28[64] 30[3] cp Jer 9[16] 30[11] Ezek 22[15]: [27] *few* Gen 34[30]* cp Deut 28[62] 𝔊: [27] *lead you away* 28[37]: [28] *wood and stone* 28[36 64] 29[17] cp Is 37[19] ‖ 2 Kings 19[18] Ezek 20[32]†: [29] *seek* cp Jer 29[13]: [30] *tribulation* 𝔊*: [30] *come upon thee* = 'find thee' 31[17 21] ct 28[2]: [30] *latter days* 31[29] cp Num 24[14] Gen 49[1]* Hos 3[5] Is 2[1] &c: [30] *return* 30[2]: [31] *fail* 31[6 8] Josh 1[5]*: [32] *create* cp P48; [32] *end of heaven* 30[4]* cp Is 13[5] Ps 19[6] Neh 1[9]: [34] *assayed* cp 28[56] 𝔊 in different application 8[2 16] 13[3]: [35] *unto thee it was showed* 𝔊 only in Ex 25[40] 26[30] Lev 13[49] P: [35] *there is none else* cp 32[39]* Is 45[5 22] 46[9] 2 Sam 7[22]: [37] *with his presence* ct 5[15] 6[21] 7[8] 9[26] 26[8] cp Is 63[9]: [39] *lay it to thine heart* 𝔊 = 'call them to mind' 30[1] cp 1 Kings 8[47] Is 44[19] 46[8] Lam 3[21]. The general effect may be said to support the view of the unity of the discourse from [5] to [40] (Cornill, *Einleitung* 38, divides into [1–8] and [9–40]): but further to suggest its affinity with subsequent additions to D, and its occasional contact with the school which produced P.

[7] M Or, *God.*

[11a] Ct 5[23 27], where the people only come near to Moses, and desire him to approach the mountain.

[11b] A peculiar addition to 5[23]. For the form לב cp 28[65] 29[4 19] (against לבב P59).

[13] M 𝔊 *words.*—Cp 10[4].

JE	D[s]	D	D[s]	P
		you [b]statutes and judgements, that ye might do them in the land		
15-23 *L5b j*		whither ye [k']go over to [t]possess it. 15 *Ll'*Take ye therefore good heed		k' 54[b] l' 108[b]
		unto yourselves; for ye saw no manner of [n]form on the day that Yahweh		
q 25 31[29] ℌ		spake unto you in [e']Horeb [h']out of the midst of the fire: 16 lest ye [q]corrupt		
		yourselves, and make you a graven image in the [n]form of any [d]figure,		
r Ex 25[9 40] Josh 22[28]*		17 the [r]likeness of [s]male or female, the likeness of any beast that is on		
s Cp [P]107		the earth, the likeness of any [t]winged fowl that flieth in the heaven,		
t Gen 7[14]		18 the [r]likeness of any thing that [u]creepeth on the ground, the likeness		
u Cp [F]49		of any fish that is in the [v]water under the earth: 19 *L*and lest thou lift		
v 5[8]		up thine eyes unto heaven, and when thou seest the sun and the moon		
19 *L5a m*		and the stars, even [m']all the [w]host of heaven, thou be [n']drawn away and		m' 10 n' 38
w 17[3] cp Gen 2[1]*		[o']worship them, and serve them, which Yahweh thy God hath [z]divided		o' 23[a]
x Cp 29[26]		unto [p']all the [y]peoples under the whole heaven[y]. 20 But Yahweh hath		p' 14
y 2[25]		taken you, and [q']brought you forth out of the [d]iron furnace, out of Egypt,		q' 28[b]
		to be unto him a [d]people of inheritance, [r']as at this day. 21 Furthermore		r' 33[a]
		Yahweh was [s']angry with me for your sakes, and sware that I should		s' 18
z 3[25].		not [z]go over Jordan, and that I should not go in unto that [t']good land,		t' 69[bd]
		which Yahweh thy God giveth thee for an inheritance: 22 but [c]I must		
		die in this land, I must not go over Jordan: but ye shall [u']go over, and		u' 54[a]
		possess that [v']good land. 23 [a']Take heed unto yourselves, lest ye [b']forget		v' 69[b]
		the [i']covenant of Yahweh your God, which he made with you, and make		
		you a graven image in the [n]form of any thing which Yahweh thy God		
a' 9[3] cp Ex 24[17] ℌ		hath forbidden thee. 24 For Yahweh thy God is a [a']devouring fire,		
b' Ex 20[5] ‖ Deut 5[9]		a [b']jealous God.		
c' Cp [P]30		25 When thou shalt [c']beget children, and children's children, and ye		
d' ℌ Lev 13[11] 26[10]†		shall have been [d']long in the land, and shall [q]corrupt yourselves, and		
		make a graven image in the [n]form of any thing, and shall [w']do that		w' 37[b]
e' 9[18] 31[29] cp 32[16 21]*		which is evil in the sight of Yahweh thy God, to [e']provoke him to anger:		
f' 30[19] 31[28]† cp 8[19] Jer 11[7] 42[19]		26 I [f']call heaven and earth to witness against you this day[f'], that ye shall		
		soon utterly [x']perish from off the land whereunto ye [k']go over Jordan to		x' 86[b]
		[t]possess it; ye shall not [y']prolong your days upon it, but shall utterly		y' 73[b]
g' 28[64] 30[3]		[z']be destroyed. 27 And Yahweh shall [g']scatter you among the peoples,		z' 34[b]
h' Gen 34[30]*		and ye shall be left [h']few in number among the nations, whither Yahweh		
i' 28[37]		shall [i']lead you away. 28 And there ye shall serve gods, the [j']work of		
j' 27[15] 31[29] cp 119[b]		men's hands, [k']wood and stone, which neither see, nor hear, nor eat, nor		
k' 28[36 64] 29[17]* cp 5[N]		smell. 29 But if from thence ye shall seek Yahweh thy God, thou shalt		
		find him, if thou search after him with all thy [a'']heart and with all thy		a'' 59
l' 31[17 21]		soul. 30 When thou art in [d]tribulation, and all these things are [l']come		
m' 30[2]		upon thee, [M]in the latter days thou shalt [m']return to Yahweh thy God,		
n' Ex 34[6]		and [b'']hearken unto his voice: 31 for Yahweh thy God is a [n']merciful		b'' 58
o' 31[6 8] Josh 1[5]*		God; he will not [o']fail thee, neither [p']destroy thee, nor forget the		
p' 9[26] 10[10] cp 20[19].		[t']covenant of thy fathers [c'']which he sware unto them. 32 For ask now		c'' 107[a]
q' 9[7] ℌ		of the days that are past, which were before thee, [q']since the day that		
r' Cp [P]48		God [r']created man upon the earth, and from the one end of heaven unto		
s' ℌ Niph Ex 11[6] Deut 27[9]		the other, whether [s']there hath been [any such thing] as this great thing		
t' 5[26]		is, or hath been heard like it? 33 Did ever people [t']hear the voice of		
		God speaking [h']out of the midst of the fire, as thou hast heard, and live?		
u' 2 Sam 7[23]		34 Or hath God assayed to [u']go and take him a nation from the midst		
		of [another] nation, by [M]temptations, by [d'']signs, and by wonders, and		d'' 101[a]
		by war, and by a [e'']mighty hand, and by a stretched out arm, and by		e'' 80[b]
v' 26[8] 34[12]*		[v']great terrors, according to [f'']all that Yahweh your God did for you in		f'' 12
w' Ex 25[40] 26[30] Lev 13[49]†		Egypt [g'']before your eyes? 35 Unto thee it [w']was shewed, that thou		g'' 43[a]
x' ℌ 8[2] 13[3]		[x']mightest know that Yahweh [y']he is God; [d]there is none else beside		
y' 39 7[9] cp 10[17]		him. 36 Out of heaven he made thee to hear his voice, that he might		
		[h'']instruct thee: and upon earth he made thee to see his great fire; and		h'' 66

4[30] **M** Or, *if in the latter days thou return.*—Cp 31[29].
34 **M** Or, *trials.* Or, *evidences.*—Cp 7[19] 29[3]*. Same root as 'assayed': with divine subject 8[2 16] 13[3].

JE	D^g	D	D^s	P
		thou heardest his words [h]out of the midst of the fire. [37] And because he [i]loved thy fathers, therefore he [j]chose their seed after them, and [k]brought thee out with his [z]presence, with his [a]great power, out of Egypt; [38] to [l]drive out nations from before thee [m]greater and mightier than thou, to [n]bring thee in, to give thee their land for an inheritance, [r]as at this day. [39] Know therefore this day, and [b]lay it to thine heart, that Yahweh he is [c]God in heaven above and upon the earth beneath: [d]there is none else. [40] And thou shalt keep his [b]statutes, and his commandments, which [c]I [1]command thee this day, that it may [o]go well with thee, and with thy children after thee, and that thou mayest [y]prolong thy days upon the [g]land, which Yahweh thy God giveth thee, for ever. [→30[11]]		i″ 74[a] j″ 26 k″ 28[b] l″ 39[b] m″ 55[b] n″ 24 o″ 116[a]
		[41] [NL]*Then Moses [d]separated three cities [p]beyond Jordan [e]toward the sunrising; [42] that the manslayer might flee thither, which slayeth his neighbour [f]unawares, and hateth him not in time past; and that fleeing unto one of these cities he might live:* [43] [namely], *[g]Bezer in the wilderness, in the [M]plain country, for the Reubenites; and Ramoth in Gilead, for the Gadites; and Golan in Bashan, for the Manassites.*		p″ 21[a]
		[44] [N]And this is the law which Moses set before the children of Israel.		
		[45] [N]These are the [h]testimonies, and the [b]statutes, and the judgements, which Moses spake unto the children of Israel, when they [q]came forth out of Egypt; [46] [p]beyond Jordan, in the [i]valley over against Beth-peor, in the land of Sihon king of the Amorites, who dwelt at Heshbon, whom Moses and the children of Israel smote, when they [q]came forth out of Egypt: [47] and they [j]took his land in possession, and the land of Og king of Bashan, the [r]two kings of the Amorites, which were [p]beyond Jordan toward the sunrising; [48] from [k]Aroer, which is on the edge of the valley of Arnon, even unto mount Sion (the same is [l]Hermon), [49] and all the [m]Arabah [p]beyond Jordan eastward, even unto the sea of the Arabah, under the [Ms]slopes of Pisgah.		q″ 28[a] r″ 3[c] s″ 8
		5[1] And Moses called unto [a]all Israel, and said unto them, [b]Hear, O Israel, the [c]statutes and the judgements which I [a]speak in your ears		a 2[a] b 2[b] c 104[a]

E' Ex 33[14]
A'' 9[29] Ex 32[11]
B'' 30[1]
C'' Josh 2[11] cp Deut 5[8]
41–43 I2hG
D'' 19[2] cp Num 35[14]
E'' 𝔊 Josh 12[1] Judg 21[19]†
F'' 19[4] Josh 20[3] 5†
G'' Josh 20[8]
H'' 6[17] 20[*] 104[d]
I'' 3[29] cp 1[5]
J'' 3[8]
K'' 2[36]
L'' 3[8].
M'' 3[17]
A Jer 28[7]

4[41] These three verses 'mark a pause in the narrative, and seem designed to separate the introductory discourse 1[6]–4[40] from 5 . . .' (Driver). They have been often ascribed to R^d. But D does not contemplate the assignment of any cities east of the Jordan cp 19[7]. . .; these are first specified in Num 35[14] P. The directions there given are executed in Josh 20, a passage evidently based on D and P, where [8] seems to be the source of [43] above. It seems better, therefore, to refer these verses to a later writer acquainted with P as well as D, who here represents Moses as himself carrying out the arrangements previously commanded by Yahweh through him. The linguistic affinities with D are thus sufficiently explained.

[43] M Or, *table land.*

[44] 𝔊 𝔖 𝔔 omit *and.* This verse has been often regarded as a connecting link between 1[6]–4[40] and 4[45–49]. The phrase 'set before' 𝔊 as in Ex 19[7] 21[1], ct above [8], suggests that possibly this is a remnant of an earlier title. The designation 'children of Israel' is 'contrary to the general usage of D' (Driver), which prefers 'all Israel' cp 2. Cp 4[45]. 29[1] 33[1]: 3[18] 23[17] 24[7] seem to refer only to males: 10[6] 31[19 22]. do not belong to D: 1[3] 32[51] 34[8] = P.

[45] The elaborate title in [45–49] appears to be 'the work of a writer who either (*a*) was not acquainted with 1[1]–4[40], or (*b*) disregarded it' (Driver, *Deut* 80). It has been already suggested (cp I[1N], *Introd* X 4*a*) that before the incorporation of D with JE the book may have existed in different forms, e g with a long introduction or with a short one. Both introductions would be founded on the same prior material, but it would not necessarily follow that the writer of the second form was either ignorant or neglectful of the other: considerations of convenience might have decided the matter. In collecting the separate documents for final amalgamation, the two forms have been preserved by the editors side by side. The looseness of the junction at the beginning of [47] has given occasion to the surmise (König, Driver) that [47–49] is a subsequent amplification (Dillm assigns the whole [45b–49] to R^d: so Steuern [46–49]). The description of Sihon and Og as the 'two kings of the Amorites' lends a slight confirmation to this conjecture, if the view advanced in 3[8N] be accepted. To what, however, was this title prefixed? Was it to the Code proper 12–26, or the Code preceded by the homilies 5–11? Either is possible, for even in its shortest form the law-book must have been introduced with some kind of title; 12[1] implies a speaker and an audience; these are identified by [45] which may well have been the nucleus of the whole (observe the peculiar use of 'testimonies' elsewhere in Hex only Deut 6[17 20]). On the probable community of authorship between the exhortations and the discourse of legislation cp 5[1N]. [49] M Or, *springs.*

5[1] The discourses in 5–11 are here treated as substantially homogeneous. This does not exclude the possibility of occasional expansion by other hands, or of the incorporation of material from different sources. Nor does it imply that they were of necessity all composed at one time. But it indicates that they are marked by pervading unity of thought and style, and cannot be dissolved into any constituents distinguished by varieties of idea or expression. The recital of the Horeb covenant, here based on the Ten Words, leads to the first great sermon on the sublime text 6[4] 'Yahweh our God, Yahweh is one.' A second follows 9[1] on the duty of humble obedience 10[12], illustrated by reference to the repeated acts in which Israel had provoked Yahweh, and concluding with threats against the apostates and promises for the faithful 11[13–28]. It may be freely recognized that throughout these exhortations the writer has the actual code of laws imaginatively before him 5[1 31] 6[1]. 7[11]. 8[1] &c. The commandments have indeed been already divinely enjoined 6[17 24], where the speaker does not seem to be alluding to their private communication to himself upon the mount 5[31]. The homilies may therefore be regarded as later than the main groups of the laws: but they are written in the same style, and from the same point of view. (1) The allusions to the circumstances of the Exodus and the wanderings seem all conceived in a common spirit cp 5[15] 6[21]. 7[8 19] 9[26] 11[2–4] 26[8]; the day of the assembly at Horeb 5[22] 9[10] 10[4] 18[16] (cp Kuen, *Hex* § 7[9], on the resemblance between 18[16–20] and the hortatory introduction) marks the same era of revelation in each group. The situation of speaker and people is described in like terms: Israel is about to go over the Jordan to possess the land which Yahweh had sworn to their fathers to give them 6[1] 11[8 11] 12[10]. The time is specified continually as 'this day' 5[1] 9[1] 12[8] 15[5] &c. In both sec-

JE | D[g] | D | D[s] | P

this day, that ye may [d]learn them, and [e]observe to do them. 2 Yahweh [f]our God made a [g]covenant with us in [h]Horeb. 3 Yahweh made not this [g]covenant with our fathers, but with [b]us, even us, who are all of us here alive this day. 4 Yahweh spake with you [c]face to face in the mount [i]out of the midst of the fire, 5 [N](JI [d]stood between Yahweh and you [k]at that time, to shew you the word of Yahweh: for ye were afraid because of the fire, and went not up into the mount;) saying,

6 [M]I am Yahweh thy God, which [l]brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the [m]house of [k]bondage.

7 [L]**Thou shalt have none [e]other gods [M]before me.**

8 [L]**Thou shalt not make unto thee a graven image,** [the likeness of] [n]any [f]form that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth: 9 thou shalt not [o]bow down thyself unto them, nor serve them: for I Yahweh thy God am a [g]jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, and upon the third and upon the fourth generation of them that hate me; 10 and shewing mercy unto [M]thousands, of them that [h]love me and [P]keep my commandments.

11 [L]**Thou shalt not take the name of Yahweh thy God [M]in vain:** for Yahweh will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name [M]in vain.

12 [Li]Observe **the sabbath day, to keep it holy,** [q]as Yahweh thy God commanded thee. 13 Six days shalt thou labour, and do all thy work: 14 but the seventh day is a sabbath unto Yahweh thy God: [in it] thou shalt not do any work, [r]thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, nor thy [s]manservant, nor thy [N]maidservant, nor thine ox, nor thine ass, nor any of thy cattle, [L]nor thy [j]stranger that is [t]within thy gates; that thy [s]manservant and thy maidservant may rest as well as thou. 15 And thou shalt [k]remember that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt, and Yahweh thy God [l]brought thee out thence by a [u]mighty hand and by a stretched out arm: therefore Yahweh thy God commanded thee to [l]keep the sabbath day.

16 [L]**Honour thy father and thy mother,** [q]as Yahweh thy God [m]commanded thee: that thy days may be [v]long, and that it may [w]go well with thee, upon the [x]land which Yahweh thy God giveth thee.

17 [L]**Thou shalt do no murder.**

18 [L]**Neither shalt thou commit adultery.**

19 [L]**Neither shalt thou steal.**

20 [L]**Neither shalt thou bear false witness against thy neighbour.**

21 [L]**Neither shalt thou covet thy neighbour's** wife; neither shalt thou desire thy neighbour's house, his field, or his [s]manservant, or his maidservant, his ox, or his ass, or any thing that is thy neighbour's.

22 These words Yahweh spake unto all your [y]assembly in the mount [i]out of the midst of the fire, of the [n]cloud, and of the [o]thick darkness, with a great voice: and he added no more. [N]And he wrote them upon two

b Cp 4^{4} 23 11^{2-7} 18^{16}. ct 1^{35} 2^{14-16}
c 34^{10} Ex 33^{11} cp Gen 32^{30} otherwise Num 12^{8} 14^{14}
d Cp Ex 19^{16-18}
7 L5a*n*
e Cp 23 85
8-10 L5b*e*
f $4^{12\ 16}$..
g 4^{24}
h Cp 74^{b}
11 L5c*c*
12-15 L9b*d*
i Ct Ex 20^{8}
14 L2a*c*
j Cp 105^{c}
k Cp 97 ct Ex 20^{11}
l Ḫ=*do* 14 cp 16^{1} Ex 31^{16}
16 L1a*c*
m Ex 20^{12}
17 L2h*f*
18 L1i*f*
19 L3a*c*
20 L4f*c*
21 L3j*b*
21 [18 in Ḫ]
n Ex 19^{16}
o Ex 20^{21} cp 4^{11}

d 7^{1a}
e $8^{2\,1}$
f 1^{a}
g 3^{1}
h 7
i 79^{a}
j 63
k 110
l 28^{b}
m 61
p 82^{c}
q 29^{a}
r 109^{a}
s 75
t 51^{a}
u 80^{b}
v 73^{a}
w 116^{a}
x 69^{c}
y 20^{a}

tions Israel is a peculiar people 7^{6} 14^{2} 26^{18} cp Ex 19^{5}†, already consecrated by Yahweh's choice 7^{6} $14^{2\ 21}$ cp 26^{19}, a religious conception of great importance: in both sections this divine election imposes on Israel a relentless severity to idolaters, 'thine eye shall not pity' &c 7^{16} 13^{8} $9^{13\ 21}$ 25^{12}. If the preacher sometimes drops into the form of command e g 7^{5} ‖ 12^{3}, 7^{16} ‖ 12^{30} the legislator in his turn enforces his statutes with exhortations e g 12^{28} 13^{18} 14^{2} 15^{15} 16^{20} cp $17^{17\ 20}$ ‖ 8^{13}. warning his hearers that the divine education begun in the wilderness 8^{2} will be continued under new circumstances 13^{3}. (2) A large number of expressions will be found common to 5–11 and 12–26 which nowhere appear in 1–4, cp 2^{b} 9 13^{a} 20 23^{bc} 29^{c} 30 37^{a} 41^{b} 42^{b} 43^{b} 50 51 60 61 68^{c} 69^{a} 76 95 105^{a} 115^{a} cp 'say in thine heart' 7^{17} 8^{17} 9^{4} 18^{21}, 'from under heaven' 7^{24} 9^{14} 25^{19}. These coincidences of thought and phrase seem best explicable on the hypothesis of unity of authorship; and the homilies of 5–11 may therefore be regarded as the production of the compiler of the main portion of the Code, prefixed by him at a later literary stage than the first collection of the Laws (cp *Introd* X 4*a* i 92) and connected with the traditional scheme by the title in 4^{45}. It is not, however, necessary to suppose that they were all written at one time, or originally designed for their present order. Peculiar phenomena noticeable in 7 and in 9–10 will be discussed as they appear.

5 This verse has been regarded as a later parenthetic insertion, for in ^{22}. 10^{4} cp 4^{12} the divine Words are spoken to the whole people. In Ex 19^{9} Moses alone is designated to receive them, and it is possible that the Deuteronomic representation has been thus combined and harmonized with the earlier passage.

6a **M** See Ex 20^{2}. 6b **M** Ḫ *bondmen.*
7 **M** Or, *beside me.* 10 **M** See Ex 20^{6}.
11 **M** Or, *for vanity* or *falsehood.*
14 D's use of this term follows E, cp [JE]99 : so in ^{21} $12^{12\ 18}$ 15^{17} $16^{11\ 14}$ ct 28^{68}.
22 These words leap forward to the result of the first forty days' sojourn in the mount cp 9^{9}.. They have no place in the corresponding narrative Ex 20^{18-21}, and may be due to an annotator who desires to complete the narrative, and thus anticipates the statement in 9^{9}.

JE | D[g] | D | D[s] | P

tables of stone, and gave them unto me. [23] And it came to pass, when ye heard the voice out of the midst of the darkness, while the [p]mountain did burn with fire, that ye [q]came near unto me, even all the [z]heads of your [a']tribes, and your [b']elders; [24] and ye said, Behold, Yahweh our God hath shewed us his [r]glory and his [c']greatness, and we have heard his voice [t]out of the midst of the fire: we have seen this day that [s]God doth speak with man, and he liveth. [25] Now therefore why should we [t]die? for this great fire will consume us: if we hear the voice of Yahweh our God any more, then we shall die. [26] For who is there of [u]all flesh, that hath heard the voice of the living God speaking [t]out of the midst of the fire, as we have, and lived? [27] Go thou near, and hear all that Yahweh our God shall say: and speak thou unto us all that Yahweh our God shall speak unto thee; and we will hear it, and do it. [28] And Yahweh [v]heard the voice of your words, when ye spake unto me; and Yahweh said unto me, I have heard the voice of the words of this people, which they have spoken unto thee: they have [w]well said all that they have spoken. [29] [N]Oh that there were such an heart in them, that they would [d']fear me, and [P]keep all my commandments always, that it might be [e']well with them, and with their children [f']for ever! [30] Go say to them, Return ye to your tents. [31] But as for thee, stand thou here by me, and I will speak unto thee all the [g']commandment, and the [c]statutes, and the judgements, which thou shalt [h']teach them, that they may do them in the [i']land which [J]I give them to [j']possess it. [32] Ye shall [e]observe to do therefore [q]as Yahweh your God hath commanded you: ye shall not [k']turn aside to the right hand or to the left. [33] Ye shall [l']walk in all the way [q]which Yahweh your God hath commanded you, that ye may [m']live, and that it may be [e']well with you, and that ye may [n']prolong your days in the land which ye shall possess.

6 [1] [N]Now this is the [a]commandment, the [b]statutes, and the judgements, [c]which Yahweh [d]your God commanded to [e]teach you, that ye might do them in the land whither ye [f]go over to possess it: [2] that thou mightest [g]fear Yahweh thy God, to [h]keep all his [b]statutes and his commandments, [i]which [J]I command thee, thou, and thy son, and thy son's son, [k]all the days of thy life; and that thy days may be [l]prolonged. [3] [m]Hear therefore, O Israel, and [n]observe to do it; that it may be [o]well with thee, and that ye may [a]increase mightily, as Yahweh, the [P]God of thy fathers, hath [q]promised unto thee, [N]in a [r]land flowing with milk and honey.

[4] [NLm]Hear, O Israel: [N]Yahweh our God is one Yahweh: [5] and thou shalt [s]love Yahweh thy God [t]with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and [b]with all thy might[b]. [6] [L]And these words, [i]which I command thee this day, shall be upon thine [c]heart: [7] and thou shalt [d]teach them diligently unto thy children, and shalt [e]talk of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up. [8] [L]And thou shalt [f]bind them for a sign upon thine hand, and they shall be for frontlets between thine eyes. [9] And thou shalt [g]write them upon the door posts of thy house, and upon [u]thy gates.

[10] And it shall be, [h]when Yahweh thy God shall [v]bring thee into the land which he [w]sware unto thy fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, to give thee; great and goodly [i]cities, which thou buildedst not,

p 4[11] 9[15]
q Ct 4[11]
r Ex 33[18 22] Num 14[22]
s 4[33]
t 18[16] Ex 20[19]
u Ct P21[b]
v 1[34]
w 18[17]
a 8[1] 30[16] 𝔖
4 .L5a𝔬
b 2 Kings 23[25]† 6-9 L1C𝔞
c 11[18] cp 4[9]
d 𝔖† ct 11[19]
e 11[19]
8 L11m𝔞
f 11[18] cp Ex 13[16]
g 11[20]
h 7[1] 11[29] cp Ex 13[5]
i 9[1]
z 57
a' 112[a]
b' 42[b]
c' 55[c]
d' 44[a]
e' 116[a]
f' 13[a]
g' 29[d]
h' 71[b]
i' 69[e]
j' 88[a]
k' 114[b]
l' 115[b]
m' 72
n' 73[b]
a 29[e]
b 104[a]
c 29[a]
d 1[a]
e 71[b]
f 54
g 44[b]
h 82[c]
i 29[b]
j 63
k 13[c]
l 73[a]
m 2[b]
n 82[a]
o 116[a]
p 1[b]
q 91
r 69[a]
s 74[b]
t 59
u 51
v 24
w 107[a]

5[29] **M** Or, *Oh that they had such an heart as this alway, to fear me, and keep all my commandments, that &c.*

6[1] This passage seems designed to lead direct to the announcement of the commandments communicated to Moses on the mount 5[31]. It closely resembles the title in 12[1] prefixed to the actual code. It may be surmised, therefore, that it once stood much nearer to the legislation, before the addition of the homilies 6[4]–11. In that case [3] may be an editorial connexion, preparing the way for [4]..

[3] 𝔖 has no preposition, and the rendering of the text is 'illegitimate' (Driver). Dillm supposes the words to have strayed from the end of [1]: Driver suggests that a preceding clause has been omitted, such as 'in the land which Yahweh thy God is giving thee' cp 27[3]: 𝔊 adds 'to give thee.'

[4a] 𝔊 inserts here a special title, 'These are the statutes and judgements which Yahweh commanded the children of Israel when they came forth out of the land of Egypt;' cp 4[45]. This indicates the feeling that 5-6[3] is really distinct from the two homilies 6[4]–8 9–11.

[4b] **M** Or, *Yahweh our God, Yahweh is one.* Or, *Yahweh is our God, Yahweh is one.* Or, *Yahweh is our God, Yahweh alone.*

JE | D^g | D | D^s | P

11 and houses full of all good things, which thou filledst not, and cisterns hewn out, which thou hewedst not, vineyards and olive trees, which
12–15 L5a*p* thou plantedst not, and thou shalt [x]eat and be full; 12 L[t]hen [y]beware x 41[b]
j 8[11] [j]lest thou [z]forget Yahweh, which [a']brought thee forth out of the land of y 108[a]
Egypt, out of the [b']house of bondage. 13 Thou shalt [g]fear Yahweh thy z 48
a' 28[b]
k 10[20]* God; and him shalt thou [c']serve, and shalt [k]swear by his name. 14 Ye b' 61
l 13[7] 17[14] shall not [d']go after other gods, of the gods of the peoples [l]which are c' 23[c]
d' 85[a]
round about you; 15 for Yahweh thy God in the [e']midst of thee is e' 78[a]
m 5[9] a [m]jealous God; lest the [f']anger of Yahweh thy God be kindled against f' 17
thee, and he [g']destroy thee from off the face of the earth. g' 34[a]
n Ex 17[2b] 7 Num 14[22] 16 Ye shall not [n]tempt Yahweh your God, as ye tempted him in
o 9[22] cp 33[8] [o]Massah. 17 Ye shall diligently [h]keep the commandments of Yahweh
p 20 4[45]* your God, and his [p]testimonies, and his [b]statutes, [c]which he hath com-
manded thee. 18 And thou shalt [h']do that which is right and good in h' 37[a]
the sight of Yahweh: that it may be [o]well with thee, and that thou
mayest [i']go in and possess the [j']good land which Yahweh [w]sware unto i' 53
j' 69[b]
q 9[4] Josh 23[5] ct Num 35[20] 22* thy fathers, 19 to [q]thrust out all thine enemies from before thee, as
Yahweh hath [q]spoken.
20–25 L1c*b* 20 L[r]When thy son asketh thee in time to come, saying, What mean
r Ex 13[14] Sam 𝔊 add *and it shall be* the [p]testimonies, and the [b]statutes, and the judgements, [c]which Yahweh
our God hath commanded you? 21 then thou shalt say unto thy son, We
were Pharaoh's bondmen in Egypt; and Yahweh [a']brought us out of
Egypt with a [k']mighty hand: 22 and Yahweh shewed [l']signs and k' 80[b]
s 4[34] 7[18.] 11[3] 29[2] 34[11] wonders, great and sore, upon [s]Egypt, upon Pharaoh, and upon all his l' 101[a]
house, [m']before our eyes: 23 and he [a']brought us out from thence, that m' 3[a]
he might [v]bring us in, to give us the land which he [w]sware unto our
fathers. 24 And Yahweh commanded us to do all these [n']statutes, to n' 104[b]
o' 44[a]
[o']fear Yahweh our God, for our [p']good [q']always, that he might [r']preserve p' 116[b]
t 24[13] ct Gen 15[6] us alive, [s']as at this day. 25 And it [t]shall be righteousness unto us, if we q' 13[a]
r' 72
[n]observe to do all this [a]commandment before Yahweh our God, [c]as he s' 33[a]
hath commanded us.
1-4 L5d*d* 7[1] [NL]When Yahweh [a]thy God shall [b]bring thee into the land whither a 1[a]
thou [c]goest to [d]possess it, and shall [M]cast out many nations before thee, b 24
c 53
a Josh 3[10] 24[11]† cp Ex 3[8] the [a]Hittite, and the Girgashite, and the Amorite, and the Canaanite, d 88[a]
and the Perizzite, and the Hivite, and the Jebusite[a], seven nations
2 L5f*a* [e]greater and mightier than thou; 2 L[t]and when Yahweh thy God shall e 55[b]
[f]deliver them up before thee, and thou shalt smite them; then thou f 100[a]
b Ex 23[32] cp 34[12] shalt [Tg]devote them; thou shalt [b]make no [h]covenant with them, nor shew g 35
3 L1e*e* h 31[b]
c Josh 23[12] cp Gen 34[9]* mercy unto them: 3 L[t]neither shalt thou make [c]marriages with them;
d Cp Ex 34[16a] thy daughter thou shalt not give unto his son, nor his [d]daughter shalt
thou take unto thy son. 4 For he will turn away thy son from following
5 L5e*d*g [N]me, that they may [i]serve other gods: so will the [j]anger of Yahweh be i 23[b]
j 17
e 12[3] Ex 34[13] kindled against you, and he will [k]destroy thee [l]quickly. 5 L[t]But [N]thus k 34[a]
f 12[3] Ex 23[24] 34[13] shall ye deal with them; ye shall [e]break down their altars, and [f]dash in l 93
g 12[3]*
h 25 12[3] pieces their [M]pillars, and [g]hew down their [M]Asherim, and [h]burn their
6 L11*h* graven images with fire. 6 L[t]For [i]thou art an [m]holy people unto Yahweh
i 14[2] thy God: Yahweh thy God hath [n]chosen thee to be a [o]peculiar people m 60[a]
n 26[a]
o 60[b]

7[1a] Some parts of this chapter bear a very close resemblance to Ex 23[23–33] as the following table of parallels (sometimes in phraseology, sometimes in thought) will show:—

Ex 23[23]	Deut 7[1]
24	4.
25	15
26	14
27	23
28	20
29.	22
31b	23.
32	2.
33b	16b

These correspondences suggest that 7 is an expansion of an earlier discourse in Ex 23[23–33], standing at the close of E's Covenant-Words. It is possible that 7 originally occupied a similar position as the conclusion of a short code of religious law cp 12[29–31] appended to 12[13–28], and was afterwards transferred to the collection of introductory homilies.

1b **M** 𝔖 *pluck off.*—Cp [22] Ex 3[5] Josh 5[15] 'put off,' and in another form 2 Kings 16[6]†. Elsewhere *nashal* Deut 19[5] 'slip,' 28[40] 'cast,' is a different word (Driver, *Deut* 96).

2 So **M**. **T** *utterly destroy.*

4 The address of Moses passes into the word of Yahweh cp 11[14]. 17[3] 28[20] 29[5].

5a Cp 12[3] Ex 34[13]. The verse appears to interrupt the context. The 'devotion' of the entire population has been ordained in [2], but the command 'thus shall ye do unto them' seems to assume their continued existence, and only requires the destruction of their sacred objects. It may be noticed further that while [4a] and [6] are cast in the singular, [5] breaks suddenly into the plural (cp Staerk, *Deut* 66): [4a] seems the Deuteronomic equivalent of Ex 34[16b], and [4b] may be an editorial expansion.

5b **M** Or, *obelisks.* 5c **M** See Ex 34[13].

JE	D^{g}	D	D^{s}	P	
	unto himself, [m]above [p]all peoples that are upon the face of the earth.			p	14
j 10^{15} 21^{11} ℌ Gen 34^{8}*	7 Yahweh did not [j]set his love upon you, nor [n]choose you, because ye were more in number than any people; for ye were the fewest of [p]all peoples: 8 but because Yahweh [q]loveth you, and because he would			q	74^{a}
	[r]keep the oath which he [s]sware unto your fathers, hath Yahweh [t]brought you out with a [u]mighty hand, and [v]redeemed you out of the [w]house of bondage, from the hand of Pharaoh king of Egypt. 9 [x]Know therefore			r s t u v	82^{ac} 107^{a} 28^{b} 80^{b} 95
k 4^{35}	that Yahweh thy God, [k]he is God; the faithful God, which [r]keepeth			w	61
l 12 5^{10}	[h]covenant and [l]mercy with them that [q]love him and [r]keep his command-			x	68^{a}
m 5^{10}	ments to a [m]thousand generations; 10 and [n]repayeth them that [c]hate				
n 32^{41} ℌ	him to their face, to [y]destroy them: he will not be [p]slack to him that			y	86^{d}
o 5^{9}					
p 23^{21}	hateth him, he will repay him to his face. 11 Thou shalt therefore				
	[r]keep the [z]commandment, and the [a′]statutes, and the judgements, [b′]which			z a′	29^{d} 104^{a}
	I command thee this day, to do them.			b′	29^{b}
	12 And it shall come to pass, because ye hearken to these judgements,				
	and [c′]keep, and do them, that Yahweh thy God shall [r]keep with thee			c′	82^{b}
	the [h]covenant and the [l]mercy which he [s]sware unto thy fathers: 13 and				
	he will [q]love thee, and [d′]bless thee, and [e′]multiply thee: he will also			d′	22^{a}
	bless the [f′]fruit of thy body and the fruit of thy ground, thy [g′]corn and			e′ f′	81 50
q 28^{4} 18 51† cp Ex 13^{12}	thy wine and thine oil, the [q]increase of thy kine and the young of thy flock[q], in the land which he [s]sware unto thy fathers to give thee.			g′	30
	14 Thou shalt be blessed above [p]all peoples: there shall not be male or				
r Ex 23^{26}	[r]female barren [h′]among you, or among your cattle. 15 And Yahweh will			h′	64
s Ex 23^{25}	[s]take away from thee all sickness; and he will [t]put none of the evil				
t Ex 15^{26}	[u]diseases of Egypt, [i′]which thou knowest, upon thee, but will lay them			i′	68^{b}
u 28^{60}†	upon all them that hate thee. 16 [L]And thou shalt consume [p]all the				
16 *L* 5f*b*	peoples which Yahweh thy God shall [f]deliver unto thee; [j′]thine eye			j′	43^{b}
v Ex 23^{24} 33	shall not pity them: neither shalt thou [i]serve [v]their gods; for that will				
w Ex 23^{33}	be a [w]snare unto thee. 17 If thou shalt [x]say in thine heart, These				
x 8^{17} 9^{4} 18^{21}	nations are more than I; [k′]how can I [l′]dispossess them? 18 thou shalt			k′ l′	62 39^{b}
y Cp 97	not be afraid of them: thou shalt well [y]remember what Yahweh thy				
	God [m′]did unto Pharaoh, and unto all Egypt; 19 the great [n]temptations			m′	12
z 4^{9} 43^{c}	[z]which thine eyes saw, and the [n′]signs, and the wonders, and the [o′]mighty			n′ o′	101^{1} 80^{a}
	hand, and the stretched out arm, whereby Yahweh thy God [t]brought				
	thee out: so shall Yahweh thy God do unto [p]all the peoples of whom				
a′ Ex 23^{28}	thou art afraid. 20 Moreover Yahweh thy God will send the [a′]hornet				
b′ 28^{20} 22 Josh 23^{13}	among them, [b′]until they that are left, and [m]hide themselves, [p′]perish			p′	86^{c}
	from before thee. 21 Thou shalt not be [q′]affrighted at them: for			q′	44^{d}
	Yahweh thy God is [r′]in the midst of thee, a [s′]great God and a terrible.			r′ s′	78^{a} 55^{a}
22–24 *L* 5f*c*	22 [L]And Yahweh thy God will cast out those nations before thee by				
c′ Ex 23^{30}	[c′]little and little: thou [t′]mayest not [d′]consume them [T]quickly, lest the			t′	76
d′ 28^{21}	[e′]beasts of the field increase upon thee. 23 But Yahweh thy God shall				
e′ Ex 23^{29}					
f′ 28^{20} ℌ* cp 2^{15} Ex 23^{27}	[f]deliver them up before thee, and shall [f′]discomfit them with a great				
	discomfiture, until they be [u′]destroyed. 24 And he shall [f]deliver their			u′	34^{b}
g′ 9^{14} 25^{19} 29^{20}	kings into thine hand, and thou shalt make their name to [v′]perish [g′]from			v′	86^{a}
h′ 11^{25} Josh 1^{5} cp Deut 9^{2}	under heaven: there shall no man be [x]able to [h′]stand before thee, until				
25 *L* 5e*d* 8h*a*	thou have [k]destroyed them. 25 [L]The graven images of their gods shall				
i′ 5^{21}	ye burn with fire: thou shalt not [i′]covet the silver or the gold that is				
j′ ℌ* cp 16 12^{30}	on them, nor take it unto thee, lest thou be [j′]snared therein: for it is an				
26 *L* 5b*g*	[w′]abomination to Yahweh thy God: 26 [L]and thou shalt not bring an			w′	9^{a}
k′ 13^{17} Josh 6^{17}. 7$^{1..}$ cp 35 *l′* Lev 11^{11} *m′* 23^{7}*	[x′]abomination into thine house, and become a [k′]devoted thing like unto it: thou shalt utterly [l′]detest it, and thou shalt utterly [m′]abhor it; for it is a devoted thing.			x′	9^{b}

7⁶ **M** Or, *out of*.—Cp 14.

19 **M** Or, *trials*. See 4^{34} 29^{3}.

20 **M** Or, *hide themselves from thee, perish*.

22 So **M**. **T** *at once*.—The apparent contradiction with 9^{3} has given rise to the suggestion that this verse is due to another hand. It is probable that the writer here founds himself on his earlier model Ex 23^{29}. The difficulty rather lies in the language of 9^{3}, 'quickly, as Yahweh hath spoken unto thee.' To what divine promise does this refer? No such expectation is encouraged in Ex 23$^{23-31}$. Must it not be concluded that the preacher does not always remain at exactly the same point of view? Or may we suppose that other exhortations now lost once justified the hope?

24 A different Hebrew word for 'stand' is used in the corresponding formula Josh 10^{8} 21^{42} 23^{9}†.

JE | D^g | D | D^s | P

8[1] All the commandment [a]which I command thee this day shall ye [b]observe to do, that ye may [c]live, and [a]multiply, and [d]go in and possess the land which Yahweh [e]sware unto your fathers. [2] And thou shalt [f]remember all the way which Yahweh [g]thy God hath [b]led thee [c]these forty years in the wilderness, that he might [d]humble thee, to [c]prove thee, to know what was in thine heart, whether thou wouldest [h]keep his commandments, or no. [3] And he humbled thee, and suffered thee to hunger, and [f]fed thee with manna, [i]which thou knewest not, neither did thy fathers know; that he might make thee know that man doth not live by bread only, but by every thing that [g]proceedeth out of the mouth of Yahweh doth man live. [4] Thy [h]raiment waxed not old upon thee, neither did thy foot swell, [c]these forty years. [5] And thou shalt [j]consider in thine heart, that, as a man [k]chasteneth his son, so Yahweh thy God chasteneth thee. [6] And thou shalt [h]keep the commandments of Yahweh thy God, to [l]walk in his ways, and to [m]fear him. [7] For Yahweh thy God [n]bringeth thee into a [o]good land, a land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths, springing forth in valleys and hills; [8] a land of wheat and barley, and vines and fig trees and pomegranates; a land of oil olives and honey; [9] a land wherein thou shalt eat bread without [t]scarceness, thou shalt not lack any thing in it; a land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass. [10] And thou shalt [p]eat and be full, and thou shalt bless Yahweh thy God for the [o]good land which he hath given thee. [11] [q]Beware, [j]lest thou [r]forget Yahweh thy God, in not [h]keeping his commandments, and his judgements, and his [s]statutes, [a]which I command thee this day: [12] lest when thou hast [p]eaten and art full, and hast built goodly houses, and dwelt therein; [13] and when thy herds and thy flocks multiply, and thy silver and thy gold is multiplied, and all that thou hast is multiplied; [14] then [k]thine heart be lifted up[k], and thou [r]forget Yahweh thy God, which [u]brought thee forth out of the land of Egypt, out of the [v]house of bondage; [15] who [b]led thee through the [w]great and terrible [l]wilderness, [wherein were] [m]fiery serpents and scorpions, and [i]thirsty ground where was no water; who brought thee forth water out of the [n]rock of [o]flint; [16] who [f]fed thee in the wilderness with manna, [i]which thy fathers knew not; that he might [d]humble thee, and that he might [e]prove thee, to [p]do thee good at thy [q]latter end: [17] and thou [r]say in thine heart, My power and the might of mine hand hath gotten me this wealth. [18] But thou shalt [r]remember Yahweh thy God, for it is he that giveth thee power to get wealth; that he may [s]establish his [w]covenant which he sware unto thy fathers, [x]as at this day. [19] [L]And it shall be, if thou shalt [r]forget Yahweh thy God, and [y]walk after other gods, and [z]serve them, and worship them, I [t]testify against you this day that ye shall surely [a']perish. [20] As the nations which Yahweh [b']maketh to perish before you, so shall ye [a']perish; [u]because ye would not [c']hearken unto the voice of Yahweh your God.

9[1] [a]Hear, O Israel: [a]thou art to pass over Jordan this day, to [b]go in to possess nations [c]greater and mightier than thyself, [b]cities great and [c]fenced up to heaven, [2] a people great and tall[c], the sons of the [d]Anakim, [e]whom thou knowest, and of whom thou hast heard say, Who can [d]stand before the sons of [d]Anak? [3] [f]Know therefore this day, that Yahweh [g]thy God is he which [e]goeth over before thee as a [f]devouring fire; he shall [h]destroy them, and he shall [g]bring them down[g] before thee: so shalt thou [i]drive them out, and make them to [j]perish [k]quickly, [l]as Yahweh hath spoken unto thee. [4] [h]Speak not thou in thine heart, after that Yahweh thy God hath [i]thrust them out from before thee, saying, For my righteousness Yahweh hath [m]brought me in to [n]possess this land: [N]whereas for the wickedness of these nations Yahweh doth [i]drive them out

a 29[b]
b 82[a]
c 72
d 53
e 107
f 97
g 1[a]
h 82[c]
i 68[c]
j 68[a]
k 66
l 115[a]
m 44[a]
n 24
o 69[b]
p 41[b]
q 108[a]
r 48
s 104[a]
t 28[b]
u 61
v 55[a]
w 31
x 33[a]
y 85
z 23[b]
a' 86[b]
b' 86[a]
c' 58[b]
a 2[b]
b 53
c 55[b]
d 4
e 68[b]
f 68[a]
g 1[a]
h 34[a]
i 39[b]
j 86[a]
k 93
l 91
m 24
n 88[b]

a ℌ=*increase* 6[3]
b 1[5] 29[5]
c 2[7]
d Cp 16 ct 2[14]. 1[35]
e 16 13[3] cp JE192
f 16 cp Ex 16[15]
g Cp 23[23] Num 30[12]
h 29[5]
i ℌ†
j 6[12]
k 17[20]
l 1[19]
m Num 21[6]
n Ex 17[6] Num 20[8b]
o 32[13]*
p 28[63] 30[5] ℌ*
q Cp 4[30]
r 7[17]
s 9[5] cp P60
19 L5a7
t 4[26] ℌ
u 7[12]
a 2[18]
b 6[10]
c 1[28]
d 7[24]
e 31[3]
f 4[24]
g ℌ*
h ℌ=*say* 7[17]
i 6[19]

9[4] These words are omitted by 𝔊, and are probably an accidental anticipation of the phrase in [5].

JE	D[s]	D	D[s]	P	
	from before thee. [5] Not for thy righteousness, or for the uprightness of				
j 25[2]* ct Gen 15[16]	thine heart, dost thou [b]go in to possess their land: but for the [j]wickedness of these nations Yahweh thy God doth [l]drive them out from before				
k 8[18] cp 27[26] ℌ	thee, and that he may [k]establish the word which Yahweh [o]sware unto			o	107[a]
	thy fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob. [6] [f]Know therefore,				
l 13 Ex 32[9] 33[3 5] 34[9]† cp Deut 31[27]	that Yahweh thy God [p]giveth thee not this good land to possess it for			p	52
m 7[18]	thy righteousness; for thou art a [l]stiffnecked people. [7] [m]Remember,				
n 8 22 Hiph*	[q]forget thou not, how thou [n]provokedst Yahweh thy God to wrath in			q	97[b]
o 1[31]	the wilderness: from the day that thou wentest forth out of the land				
p ℌ 24 31[27]	of Egypt, [o]until ye came unto this place, ye [p]have been [r]rebellious			r	94
q Ex 24[12a]	against Yahweh. [8] Also in Horeb ye [n]provoked Yahweh to wrath, and				
r 4[13] Ex 24[12]	Yahweh was [s]angry with you to have [h]destroyed you. [9] [x]When I was			s	18
s 11 15* cp 19	[q]gone up into the mount to receive the [r]tables of stone, even the [c]tables				
t 11 18 25 Ex 24[18b]	of the [t]covenant which Yahweh made with you, then I abode in the			t	31
u 18 Ex 34[28a]	mount [t]forty days and forty nights; I did neither [u]eat bread nor drink				

9[9] The retrospect in 9[9]–10[11] is now involved in so much confusion as to render its analysis very difficult. It is obviously founded on the combined narrative in Ex 32–34, but the earlier materials are treated with remarkable freedom, (1) in respect of language, and (2) in the unexpected combination of different passages. The dependence of **D** on **JE** and the fresh phraseology with which he has enriched the story, may be indicated by the following parallels, where the common matter is printed in *italics*.

Deut 9[13–15]

[13] *And Yahweh said unto* me, saying, *I have seen this people, and, behold, it is a stiffnecked people;* [14] desist from me, that I may destroy them, and blot out their name from under heaven: *and I will make of thee a nation* mightier and greater than they. [15] *And I turned and came down from the mount*, and the mount burned with fire: *and the two tables* of the covenant [were] on my two *hands*.

Ex 32[9 10 15]

[9] *And Yahweh said unto Moses, I have seen this people, and, behold, it is a stiffnecked people.* [10] Now therefore let me alone, that my wrath may wax hot against them, and that I may consume them: *and I will make of thee a* great *nation*. . . . [15] *And* Moses *turned and went down from the mount, and the two tables* of the testimony [were] in his *hand*.

Cp further the parallels to [15 17 21] &c. In [21 27] cp [18] observe 'your sin' חטאתם as in Ex 32[30], elsewhere in **D** only 19[15], otherwise usually *ḥēṭ'* 15[9] 19[15] 21[22] 22[21] 23[22]. 24[15]. A further illustration of the amalgamation of literary or traditional material from widely sundered sources, may be seen in the parallels to [26–29].

Deut 9[26–29]

[26] And I prayed unto Yahweh, *and said*, O Lord *Yahweh*, destroy not *thy people* and thine inheritance, which thou hast redeemed through thy greatness, *which thou hast brought forth out of Egypt with a mighty hand.* [27] *Remember thy servants Abraham, Isaac, and* Jacob; look not unto the stubbornness of this people, nor to their wickedness, nor to their sin: [28] lest the land whence thou broughtest us out say, *Because Yahweh was not able to bring* them *in to the land which* he promised *unto them*, and because he hated them, he hath brought them out *to kill* them *in the wilderness.* [29] Yet are they thy people and thine inheritance, *which thou hast brought forth with* thy *great power* and with thy stretched out arm.

Ex 32[11 13]

[11] And Moses besought Yahweh his God, *and said, Yahweh*, why doth thy wrath wax hot against *thy people, which thou hast brought forth out of* the land of *Egypt* with great power and *with a mighty hand*? . . . [13] *Remember Abraham, Isaac, and* Israel, *thy servants*. . . .

Num 14[16] 16[13]

. . . *Because Yahweh was not able to bring* this people *in to the land which* he sware *unto them*, therefore he hath slain them *in the wilderness.*

16[13] . . . *to kill* us *in the wilderness.*

Ex 32[11]

which thou hast brought forth with great power and with a mighty hand.

It may, however, be doubted whether the homiletic address in 9–23 has not received additional illustrations from an annotator. Such seems to be the source of the references in 22. . which break the continuity of [21 26] (? 25), and are related with a brevity compared with which the lengthy recital of the great apostasy seems quite disproportionate. It is possible that the passage [18–20] may owe its position to a similar cause, the antecedents of [17 21] in Ex 32[19]. being continuous :—

Deut 9[17 21]

[17] And I took hold of the two tables, and I *cast* them *from* on my two *hands*, and I *brake them* before your eyes. . . . [21] *And* I *took* your sin, *the calf which* ye *had made*, *and* I *burned it with fire* and stamped it, *grinding it* very small, *until it was crushed fine* as dust: and I cast the dust into the brook thereof that descended out of the mount.

Ex 32[19b 20]

[19b] And Moses' anger waxed hot, and he *cast* the tables *from* his *hand*, *and* he *brake them* under the mount. And he *took the calf which* they *had made*, *and* he *burned it with fire*, and *ground it until it was crushed fine*, and strewed it upon the water, and made the children of Israel drink of it.

The dislocations of order in 9[9–29], however, compared with Ex 32 suggest that the recital has been rearranged. According to the sequence of **JE** the retrospect would have more nearly assumed the following form: [8 9] (‖ Ex 34[28]) [10] (Ex 31[18]) [11–14 26–29 15–17 21 18–20]. But [29] finds its sequel in 10[10b], and [26–29 10b 11] seem to have been deliberately removed to the end of the story, to exhibit the instructions for departure in immediate sequence on the divine condescension to the prayer of Moses. The question is in this case complicated by the reference to the period of forty days cp 9[9 18 25] 10[10]. How many such mountain-sojourns are intended? In Ex 24 32–34 only two are named 24[18b] and 34[28a] on occasion of the first and second gift of the tables bearing the Ten Words. There is no mention of any third period corresponding to that of intercession in 9[18] where the allusion to fasting seems dependent on 9[9], which in its turn appears to rest on Ex 34[28a], and to be transferred as a complementary detail from the second sojourn to the first. Ex 32[32]., however, does contain a reference to an intervening ascent for purposes of prayer and atonement, and this has been sometimes reckoned at the same length of forty days. This was the interpretation of the Rabbis; so Reuss among moderns; Dillmann, Montet, Oettli, Driver, and Steuernagel, however, only recognize two periods and identify [18 25] with Ex 34[28]. But the freedom with which **D** handled the older traditions may well have led him to allot the same duration for the great intercession; and it is still possible that 9[18–20] with its strong Deuteronomic phraseology may be founded on this incident. Addis inclines to the view of Kosters that 'as the words stand they seem to indicate a fast not mentioned elsewhere, viz one at the foot of the Mount.' The allusion in [20] to the divine anger with Aaron implies the presence in the older traditions of elements which have been since eliminated. (On the apparent return to the forty days of intercession in 10[10] cp 10[1N].) There remains the insertion [22–25], which reads like an addition from the same hand in further illustration of 9[7]. If this was an afterthought, interpolated at a later stage, it may have been in part the cause of the redistribution of the elements of the narrative, and have called into existence [25] to resume the main story.

JE	D^E	D	D^S	P	
		water. [10] And Yahweh [v]delivered unto me the two tables of stone [w]written with the finger of God; and on them [was written] according to all the words, which Yahweh [z]spake with you in the mount [u]out of the midst of the fire in the [y]day of the [v]assembly. [11] [N]And it came to pass at the end of [t]forty days and forty nights, that Yahweh gave me the two tables of stone, even the [s]tables of the covenant. [12] [L]And Yahweh said unto me, [z]Arise, get thee down [k]quickly from hence; for thy people which thou hast [w]brought forth out of Egypt have corrupted themselves; they are [k]quickly [x]turned aside out of the way [y]which I commanded them; they have made them a molten image. [13] [N]Furthermore Yahweh spake unto me, saying, [a']I have seen this people, and, behold, it is a [l]stiffnecked people: [14] [b']let me alone, that I may [h]destroy them, and [c']blot out their name from under heaven: and I will [d']make of thee a nation [c]mightier and greater than they. [15] So I [z]turned and came down from the mount, and the [e']mount burned with fire: and the two [s]tables of the covenant were in my two hands. [16] And I [f']looked, and, behold, ye had sinned against Yahweh your God; ye had made you a [g']molten calf: ye [g']had [z]turned aside [k]quickly out of the way which Yahweh had commanded you[g']. [17] And I took hold of the two tables, and [h']cast them out of my two hands, and brake them [s']before your eyes.			
		[18] [N]And I fell down before Yahweh, [i']as at the first, [t]forty days and forty nights; I did neither [u]eat bread nor drink water; because of all your [j']sin which ye sinned, in [b']doing that which was evil in the sight of Yahweh, to provoke him to anger. [19] For I was afraid of the anger and hot displeasure, wherewith Yahweh was wroth against you to [h]destroy you. But Yahweh hearkened unto me that time also. [20] And Yahweh was very [s]angry with Aaron to have [h]destroyed him: and I [k']prayed for Aaron also the [c']same [l']time.			
		[21] And I [m']took your [j']sin, the calf which ye had made, and burnt it with fire, and stamped it, grinding it [d']very small, until it was as fine as dust: and I cast the dust thereof into the brook that descended out of the mount.			
		[22] [N]And at [n']Taberah, and at [o']Massah, and at [p']Kibroth-hattaavah, ye [n]provoked Yahweh to wrath. [23] And when Yahweh sent you from [q']Kadesh-barnea, saying, [e']Go up and possess the [f']land which I have given you; then ye [r]rebelled against the commandment of Yahweh your God, and ye [r']believed him not, nor [g']hearkened to his voice. [24] Ye [p]have been [r]rebellious against Yahweh from the day that I knew you. [25] So I fell down before Yahweh the [t]forty days and forty nights [s']that I fell down; because Yahweh had said he would [h]destroy you.			
		[26] And I [k']prayed unto Yahweh, and said, O [l']Lord Yahweh, [w']destroy not thy [v']people and thine inheritance[v'], which thou hast [h']redeemed through thy [i']greatness, [w']which thou hast brought forth out of Egypt with a [j']mighty hand. [27] [x']Remember thy servants, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; look not unto the [y']stubbornness of this people, nor to their [z']wickedness, nor to their sin: [28] lest the [a'']land whence thou broughtest			

v ℌ=*gave* 11
w Ex 31[18b]
x 5[4] 10[4]
y 10[4] 18[16]
12–21 L 5*e*f
z Ex 32[7].
a' Ex 32[9]
b' Ct Ex 32[10] ℌ
c' 29[20] cp 25[19] Ex 17[14] ct Ex 32[10]
d' Cp Ex 32[10]
e' 5[23]
f' ℌ=*saw* Ex 32[19]
g' Ex 32[8]
h' Ex 32[19b]
i' 10[10]
j' 21 cp 9N
k' 26 cp Gen 20[7] 17
l' Ct 19 ℌ
m' Ex 32[20]
n' Num 11[1-3]
o' 6[16] Ex 17[1-7]
p' Num 11[4-34]
q' 1[19b] 21
r' 1[32]
s' Cp 1[46]
t' 3[24]
u' 4[31]
v' 29 cp 1 Kings 8[51]† 'inheritance' cp Ex 34[9]
w' Ex 32[11]
x' Ex 32[13]
y' ℌ†
z' ℌ* cp 5
a'' Cp Ex 32[12]

u 79
v 20[a]
w 28[b]
x 114[a]
y 29[b]
z 113
a' 43[a]
b' 37[b]
c' 110
d' 116
e' 54
f' 69[c]
g' 58[a]

9[11] This verse has been sometimes treated as a doublet of [10]. Dillm and Driver, however, see in it an addition to the statement in [10], viz that the gift of the tables took place at the end of the forty days. Horst, on the other hand, *RHR* xvi 32, joins [9a] with [10] and [9b] with [11].

[13] ℌ = *And Yahweh said unto me saying.* The opening words are identical with those of [12]: cp Ex 32[7 9]. Steuernagel supposes the harmonist to have added [12] to Deut from Ex 32[7.], and to have incorporated Deut 9[13] by a reverse process in Ex 32[9]. 𝔊 has a curious addition, 'And the Lord said unto me, I have spoken unto thee once and twice saying, I have seen &c.'

[18] Cp [9N]. The reference to Aaron in [20] is probably founded on material not now preserved in JE, where the expostulation of Moses with Aaron Ex 32[22.] is followed by the massacre of three thousand of the idolaters at the hands of the sons of Levi [25–29], and the guilty Aaron unexpectedly disappears from the scene.

[22] Cp [9N]. The further reminiscences of Israel's rebellious temper (here marked as a possible addition by a later hand, though they may be due simply to the expansive manner of D) are brought back to the Horeb scenes by a second reference to the forty days' intercession. It may be noted that the English 'so' [25], like 'also' [8], 'furthermore' [13], and 'so' [15], only represents the Hebrew particle usually translated 'and' e g [18] 10[10]. It is possible that [25] originally belonged to D's retrospect of Israel's offence, and that only the words 'the forty days and forty nights that I fell down' were added by the annotator for purposes of identification.

J E | D[g] | D | D[s] | P

b'' Num 14[16]
c'' 1[27]
d'' ℌ=*kill* Num 16[13] ct Ex 32[12]
e'' 4[37] ℌ=*might* Num 14[13]
1-5 L_{10C^b}
a Cp Ex 34[1a]
b Ex 34[1b]
c Ct Ex 37[1]
d Ex 34[4]
e Ex 34[28b]
f 9[10]

us out say, [b''] Because Yahweh was not able to [m]bring them into the land which he promised unto them, and because he [c''] hated them, he hath brought them out to [d''] slay them in the wilderness. [29] Yet they are thy [e''] people and thine inheritance, which thou broughtest out by thy great [e''] power and by thy stretched out arm.

10[1] [NL] At [a]that time Yahweh said unto me, [a]Hew thee two tables of stone like unto the first, and come up unto me into the mount, and make thee an ark of wood. [2] And I will [b]write on the tables the words that were on the first tables which thou brakest, and thou shalt put them in the ark. [3] So [c]I made an ark of acacia wood, and [d]hewed two tables of stone like unto the first, and went up into the mount, having the two tables in mine hand. [4] And [e]he wrote on the tables, according to the first writing, the ten [M]commandments, [f]which Yahweh spake unto you in the mount [b]out of the midst of the fire in the day of the [c]assembly: and Yahweh gave them unto me. [5] And I [d]turned and came down from the mount, and put the tables in the ark which I had made; and there they be, [e]as Yahweh commanded me.

a 110
b 79
c 20[a]
d 113
e 29[a]

6. L_{11b}
g Ct Num 33[31-33]
h Ct Num 33[38] cp 20[28]

[6] [NL] And the children of Israel [g]journeyed from [M]Beeroth Bene-jaakan to Moserah: there [h]Aaron died, and there he was buried; and Eleazar his son ministered in the priest's office in his stead. [7] From thence they journeyed unto Gudgodah; and from Gudgodah to Jotbathah, a land of brooks of water.

8. L_{11a} *hid*
i Cp 90
j Ct Num 3[6] 18[2]

[8] [NL] At [a]that time Yahweh separated the [f]tribe of [i]Levi, to bear the [g]ark of the [g]covenant of Yahweh, to [i]stand before Yahweh to [j]minister unto

f 112[a]
g 19

10[1] The next section 10[1-11] raises further embarrassments. It is not connected with the preceding theme of Israel's rebelliousness: it has the air of an addition suggested by the desire to complete the well-known story. The recital of [1-4] is plainly founded on Ex 34[1..], and describes the preparation of the ark, which seems to have been eliminated from J's narrative to make way for the elaborate record of P Ex 37[1..]. After recounting the ascent of Moses with the two new tables to receive the divine inscription of the Ten Words, it relates the deposition of the sacred stones in the ark, and the appointment of the tribe of Levi to carry it [8]. But 9[29] left Moses in prayer upon the mount, while 10[1-3] shows him active down below. Where is the connecting link of this abrupt transition? The sequel of 9[29] does not appear until 10[10b], while [11] is the Deuteronomic parallel to the corresponding instructions in Ex 32[34] 33[1]. The story in [1-5 8-9] in its present position is clearly out of place chronologically; though its appearance may be due to the author's desire for completeness so as to omit no available material; but this might be equally characteristic of an annotator. (On the contrast of this account of the ark with the narrative of P cp *Introd* i 30 57: concerning the Levitical priesthood implied in [8] cp *Introd* i 53.) The passage is connected with the foregoing narrative by occasional identities of phrase cp [4b] 9[10b], [5a] 9[15a] (though on the other hand the use of 'at that time' [1 8] has a curious likeness to the style of 1–3). The junction with [10b 11] is effected by [10a], which would naturally follow [3] cp Ex 34[4b 28]. In its original position [10a] referred to the sojourn of Moses on the mount at the renewal of the Ten Words: where it now stands it describes the intercession of 9[26-29] which is at last successful 10[10b].

[4] **M** ℌ *words.*—This clause may be a later explanation (cp Steuernagel). 𝔊 omits 'in the day of the assembly.'

[6a] These verses, though Kuenen declared them inseparable from the rest, certainly seem out of place here. They suddenly carry the story forward without warning many stages on the march from Horeb, although the instructions to begin the journey are not recited till [11]. Departing from the method of address in the preceding discourse, they lapse into the narrative form in the third person (on 'children of Israel' see 4[44N]). In recounting the death of Aaron and the appointment of Eleazar in his place, as the apparent occasion for the selection of the tribe of Levi to carry the ark [8], it is overlooked that the sacred chest must have needed bearers as soon as the tribes started for the promised land, so that P connects the choice of Levi with Sinai itself. But if [6.] does not belong to its present setting, whence was it derived? It cannot be drawn from P's record of the Israelite journeys, for it is in open conflict with it:—

Deut 10[6.]	*Num* 33[31-33 38]
[6] And the children of Israel journeyed from Beeroth Bene-jaakan to Moserah: there Aaron died, and there he was buried; and Eleazar his son ministered in the priest's office in his stead. [7] From thence they journeyed unto Gudgodah; and from Gudgodah to Jotbathah, a land of brooks of water.	[31] And they journeyed from Moseroth, and pitched in Bene-jaakan. [32] And they journeyed from Bene-jaakan, and pitched in Hor-haggidgad. [33] And they journeyed from Hor-haggidgad, and pitched in Jotbathah. . . . [38] And Aaron went up into Mount Hor at the commandment of Yahweh, and died there.

These discrepancies make it impossible to derive the passage in D from P, yet it has all the air of an extract from a longer itinerary. Traces of such an itinerary are found in Num 21[12..], where they seem to belong to E. With this ascription cp the formula 'died and was buried there' Num 20[1b]. Bacon and Driver further see an analogy to the mention of Eleazar's appointment as priest in E's reference to his death Josh 24[33]. By what editorial process this brief specimen survived among the dislocated fragments of E's list of Israel's journeys, and found its way into the historical annotations attached to one of D's homilies, it is not possible to form any definite conception. The incorporation of P's narrative of the death of Aaron in Num 20[22b-29] may have led to the removal of E's brief record of the same event; and a later scribe may have found a place for it in connexion with the tradition of the consecrated tribe to which Moses and Aaron both belonged.

[6b] **M** Or, *the wells of the children of Jaakan.*

[8] From what source is this statement derived? Hardly from J, which recognized priests before the Sinai-covenant Ex 19[22], and connects the consecration of Levi with the massacre recorded in Ex 32[28]. The reference to Levi's function as ark-bearer suggests that this arrangement was part of the institutions connected with the tent of meeting cp Ex 33[7..]: E seems to have recognized the Levitical priesthood cp Deut 33[8-11]: but in the combination with P the provisions of E were suppressed. The language of [8.], however, is characteristically Deuteronomic.

JE | D[g] | D | D[s] | P

him, and to [k]bless in his name, [h]unto this day. 9 [L]Wherefore Levi hath no [l]portion nor inheritance with his brethren; Yahweh is his [m]inheritance, [l]according as [N]Yahweh thy God spake unto him.

10 And I stayed in the mount, as at the first time, [n]forty days and forty nights: and Yahweh [o]hearkened unto me that time also; Yahweh [j]would not destroy thee. 11 And Yahweh said unto me, [p]Arise, take thy journey before the people; and they shall [k]go in and possess the land, which I [l]sware unto their fathers to give unto them[N].

12 [Lq]And now, Israel, [r]what doth Yahweh thy God require of thee, but to [m]fear Yahweh thy God, to [n]walk in all his ways, and to [o]love him, and to [p]serve Yahweh thy God with all thy [q]heart and with all thy soul, 13 to [r]keep the commandments of Yahweh, and his [s]statutes, [t]which I command thee this day for thy [u]good? 14 Behold, unto Yahweh thy God belongeth the heaven, and the [s]heaven of heavens, the earth, with all that therein is. 15 [v]Only Yahweh had a [t]delight in thy fathers to [w]love them, and he [x]chose their [w]seed after them, even you [M]above [y]all peoples, as [z]at this day. 16 [v]Circumcise therefore the [w]foreskin of your heart[w], and be no more stiffnecked. 17 For Yahweh your God, he is [x]God of gods, and Lord of lords[x], the [a']great God, the [y]mighty, and the terrible, which [z]regardeth not persons, nor taketh [a']reward. 18 [L]He doth execute the [b']judgement of the [b']fatherless and widow, and [w]loveth the stranger, in giving him food and raiment. 19 [N]*Love ye therefore the stranger: for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt.* 20 Thou shalt [c']fear Yahweh thy God; him shalt thou [p]serve; and to him shalt thou [d']cleave, and by his [c']name shalt thou swear. 21 He is thy [d']praise, and he is thy God, that hath done for thee these [e']great and terrible things, which thine [f']eyes have seen. 22 Thy fathers went down into Egypt with [e']threescore and ten persons; and now Yahweh thy God hath made thee as the [f']stars of heaven for multitude. 11[1] Therefore thou shalt [a]love Yahweh [b]thy God, and [c]keep his [a]charge, and his [d]statutes, and his judgements, and his commandments, [e]alway. 2 And [f]know ye this day: for [I speak] not with your children which have not known, and which have not seen the [M]chastisement of Yahweh your God, his [g]greatness, his [h]mighty hand, and his stretched out arm, 3 and his [i]signs, and his works, which he [j]did in the midst of [b]Egypt unto Pharaoh the king of Egypt, and unto all his land; 4 and what he did unto the [c]army of Egypt, unto their horses, and to their chariots; how he made the water of the Red Sea to [d]overflow them as they pursued after you, and how Yahweh hath [k]destroyed them [l]unto this day; 5 and what he [j]did unto you in the wilderness, [e]until ye came unto this place; 6 and what he did unto [f]Dathan and Abiram, the sons of Eliab, the son of Reuben; how the [g]earth opened her mouth, and swallowed them up, and their households, and their tents, and every [h]living thing that [i]followed them, in the midst of [m]all Israel: 7 but [n]your eyes have seen all the great [j]work of Yahweh which he [j]did. 8 Therefore shall ye [c]keep all the [o]commandment [p]which I command thee this day, that ye may be [q]strong, and [r]go in and possess the land, whither ye [s]go over to [t]possess it; 9 and that ye may [u]prolong your days upon the land, which Yahweh [v]sware

k 21[5] ct Num 6[23]
9 L[11]K*a*
l 12[12b] 14[27b] 18[1] Josh 18[7]
m 18[2] Josh 13[14] cp 33
n 9[9]
o 9[19] cp Ex 32[14]
p Ct Ex 32[34] 33[1]
12–16 L[11]*i*
q 4[1]
r Cp Mic 6[8]
s 1 Kings 8[27] ‖ 2 Chron 2[6] 6[18] Ps 68[33] 148[4] Neh 9[6]†
t 7[7]
u 1[8]
v 30[6]
w Jer 4[4]†
x Ps 136[2]†
y Ps 24[8] Is 10[21] *at*
z 28[50] ct 1[17] 16[19]
𝔊
a' 𝔊=*gift* 16[19] 27[25] Ex 23[8]*
18. L[2]*a*
b' Cp 24[17]
c' 6[13]
d' Cp Jer 17[14]
e' Gen 46[27] Ex 1[5]
f' 1[10]
a Gen 26[5] Josh 22[3] cp P[3]9[b]
b 6[22] 7[18]
c Ex 14[4]..
d 𝔊*
e 1[31b]
f Num 16[1]
g Num 16[32a]
h Gen 7[4] 23†
i Ex 11[8]
j Judg 2[7]

m 2[a]
n 43[d]
o 29[d]
p 29[b]
q 106[b]
r 53
s 54
t 88
u 73[b]
v 107[a]

h 33[b]
i 91
j 117
k 53
l 107[b]
m 44[a]
n 115[a]
o 74[b]
p 23[c]
q 59
r 82[c]
s 104[a]
t 29[b]
u 116[b]
v 84
w 74[a]
x 26[a]
y 14
z 33[a]
a' 55[a]
b' 105[a]
c' 44
d' 27
e' 55[a]
f' 43[c]
a 74[b]
b 1[a]
c 82[c]
d 104[a]
e 13[a]
f 68[a]
g 55[c]
h 80[a]
i 101[c]
j 12
k 86[d]
l 33[b]

10[9] 𝔊 *according as he spake*, omitting 'Yahweh thy God.'

11 The proposal of Bacon (*Triple Trad* 258) to detach 10[1–11] and place it before 1[6]..., overlooks the fact that 9[25–29] would then be broken off abruptly without any close; 10[10] would be obviously out of place; while 10[1] would be unintelligible without some previous explanation to lead up to it and fix the occasion. It would be therefore necessary to suppose that the beginning of the retrospect was lost. The view of Horst, *RHR* xvi 32 f, overcomes the immediate difficulty of separating 10[1–11] from its context, by transporting the whole series of reminiscences to the opening of the introductory survey 1–3. This involves, however, other perplexities, for what preceded the story of the Golden Calf in its altered position? The announcement of the Ten Words would be the only possible prelude, and this is already described in 5. Is that also severed from its natural sequel? The group of recollections is surely more in harmony with its surroundings where it stands. In spite of some misproportion in detail it forms a suitable arraignment against Israel which is fitting in its context. But there would be no appropriateness in opening the great address with such a series of charges, as though this was the chief issue of the wanderings.

15 M Or, *out of*.

19 On the 'stranger' ('sojourner,' or *gêr*) see Driver's note *in loc.* This verse appears to be derived from Lev 19[34], and has been regarded as a later insertion here. Cp Ex 22[21] 23[9].

11[2] M Or, *instruction*.—Cp 4[36].

JE	D^{g}	D	D^{s}	P
		unto your fathers to give unto them and to their [k]seed, a land [w]flowing		w 69[a]
		with milk and honey. [10] For the land, whither thou [r]goest in to [t]possess		
		it, is not as the land of Egypt, from whence ye came out, where thou		
		sowedst thy seed, and [l]wateredst it with thy foot[l], as a [m]garden of herbs:		
		[11] but the land, whither ye [s]go over to [t]possess it, is a land of hills and		
		[n]valleys, [and] drinketh water of the rain of heaven: [12] a land which		
		Yahweh thy God [N]careth for; the [o]eyes of Yahweh thy God are always		
		upon it, from the beginning of the year even unto the end of the year.		
		[13] And it shall come to pass, if ye shall [p]hearken diligently unto my		
		[x]commandments [P]which I command you this day, to [a]love Yahweh your		x 29[d]
		God, and to [y]serve him with all your [z]heart and with all your soul, [14] that		y 23[c]
		[N]I will [q]give the rain of your land in its season[q], the [r]former rain and		z 59
		the latter rain[r], that thou mayest gather in thy [a']corn, and thy wine,		a' 30
		and thine oil. [15] And I will give grass in thy fields for thy cattle, and		
		thou shalt [b']eat and be full. [16] [LC']Take heed to yourselves, lest your		b' 41[b]
		heart be [s]deceived, and ye turn aside, and [d']serve other gods, and [d']worship		c' 108[a]
		them; [17] and the [e']anger of Yahweh be kindled against you, and he [t]shut		d' 23[ab]
		up the heaven[t], that there be no rain, and that the land yield not her		e' 17
		[u]fruit; and ye [v]perish [f']quickly from off the [g']good land which Yahweh		f' 93
		giveth you. [18] [NL]Therefore shall ye lay up [w]these my words in your		g' 69[bc]
		heart and in your soul; and ye shall bind them for a sign upon your		
		hand, and they shall be for frontlets between your eyes. [19] [L]And ye shall		
		[h']teach them your children, talking of them, when thou sittest in thine		h' 71[b]
		house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down,		
		and when thou risest up. [20] And thou shalt write them upon the door		
		posts of thine house, and upon thy [i']gates: [21] that your days may be		i' 51
		multiplied, and the days of your children, upon the land which Yahweh		
		[v]sware unto your fathers to give them, as the days of the [z]heavens above		
		the earth. [22] For if ye shall diligently [j']keep all this [c]commandment		j' 82[ac]
		[P]which I command you, to do it; to [a]love Yahweh your God, to [k']walk		k' 115[a]
		in all his ways, and to [l']cleave unto him; [23] then will Yahweh [m']drive		l' 27
		out all these nations from before you, and ye shall [y]possess nations		m' 39[b]
		[n']greater and mightier than yourselves. [24] Every place whereon the [z]sole		n' 55[b]
		of your foot shall [o']tread shall be yours: from the [a']wilderness, and		o' 111
		[b']Lebanon, from the river, the river Euphrates, even unto the [M]hinder		
		sea shall be your border. [25] There [c']shall no man be able to stand		
		before you: Yahweh your God shall [d']lay the fear of you and the dread		
		of you upon all the land that ye shall [o']tread upon, as he hath [p']spoken		p' 91
		unto you.		
		[26] [NLQ']Behold, [r']I [s']set before you this day a [t']blessing and a [u']curse;		q' 99
		[27] the blessing, if ye shall hearken unto the [x]commandments of Yahweh		r' 63
		your God, [P]which I command you this day: [28] and the [u']curse, if ye		s' 100[b]
		shall not hearken unto the [x]commandments of Yahweh your God, but		t' 22[b]
		[v']turn aside out of the way [P]which I command you this day, to [w']go after		u' 32
		other gods, [x']which ye have not known.		v' 114
		[29] [N]And [e']it shall come to pass, when Yahweh thy God shall [y']bring		w' 85
				x' 68[c]
				y' 24

[k] 1[8]
[l] ℌ†
[m] 1 Kings 21[2]†
[n] 87
[o] Ps 33[18] 34[15]
[p] 15[5] 28[1] cp Ex 15[26] 19[5] 23[22]
[q] 28[12]
[r] Jer 5[24]†
16. $L_{5a'}$
[s] Job 31[27] cp Ex 22[16]
[t] Cp 1 Kings 8[35] ‖ 2 Chron 6[26]†
[u] ℌ=*increase* 32[22] Lev 26[4] 20*
[v] 4[26] Josh 23[16]
18 $L_{IIIm'}$
[w] 6[6-9]
19–21 $L_{IIc'}$
[x] Ps 89[29]
[y] Cp 88[b]
[z] 25
[a'] Josh 1[4]
[b'] 1[7]
[c'] 7[24]
[d'] ℌ=*put* 2[25]
26–28 $L_{5a'}$
[e'] 6[10]

11[12] M ℌ *seeketh after.*—Jer 30[17] Exek 34[6].

14 Cp a similar transition to the divine speaker 7[4].

18 ℌ = *and.* The passage thus introduced closely resembles one in 6[6-9], which in its turn shows affinity with Ex 13[16]. But whereas 6[6-9] is expressed throughout in the sing, this passage runs chiefly in the pl. The variations in [19b] [20] may be due to reminiscence, or to spontaneous alternation of number. The repetition is suggestive of the manner in which common materials may have been worked up at different times, in similar but not identical forms.

24 M That is, *western.*—34[2] Zech 14[8] Joel 2[20]†.

26 An anticipatory allusion to the blessings and curses in 28 cp 30[1] [15]. Cp [29N].

29 A similar allusion to the ceremony enjoined in 27[11-]. Are the 'blessing' and the 'curse' in [29] to be identified with those named in [26-28]? It is no more certain here than in the case of 27[12-] and 28. The connexion seems to be verbal, rather than material. Dillm (with Valeton) regards the passage as imported from some other connexion, perhaps after 27[1-8]. It may be doubted, however, whether it really fits the subsequent context any better; and it has rather the air of an addition suggested to a later scribe by the associated ideas of 'blessing' and 'curse.' Kautzsch and Steuernagel treat [31-] also as secondary. But a conclusion to the homilies seems needed after [26-28] (cp Addis), and [32] leads up to the opening of the code in 12[1]. The interrogative form in [30] cp 3[11] implies the archaeological annotator rather than the speaker; or it may have grown out of the hint of the passage of the Jordan [31]. (It is somewhat curious that at [29] the plural 'ye' should give way to 'thou,' to be resumed in [31-].). Dillm, having once proposed to remove [29-], applies his suggestion further to [26-28]. But the participle in [26] is not so definite as the perfects in 30[1] [15] (cp 4[5]), and like the phrases in

	JE	D[S]	D	D[S]	P	
			thee into the land whither thou [r]goest to [t]possess it, that thou shalt set			
f' 27[12]			the [v']blessing upon mount *f'*Gerizim, and the [w']curse upon mount Ebal.			
			30 Are they not [z']beyond Jordan, behind the way of the going down of			z' 21[b]
g' 1[7] Num 13[29] *h'* 2[19] *i'* Gen 12[6]			the sun, in the land of the *g'*Canaanites which dwell in the Arabah, *h'*over against Gilgal, beside the [M]oaks of *i'*Moreh?			
			31 For ye are to [s]pass over Jordan to [r]go in to possess the land [a'']which			a'' 69[c]
			Yahweh your God giveth you, and ye shall possess it, and dwell therein.			
			32 And ye shall [b'']observe to do all the [c'']statutes and the judgements			b'' 82[a] c'' 104[a]
			which [r']I [s']set before you this day.			
a Cp 4[45] 5[1] 6[1]			**12**[1] [N]These *a*are the [a]statutes and the judgements, which ye shall			a 104[a]

7^{11} 8^{1} 11^{32} may point forwards as well as backwards. The transposition of 26^{-28}, therefore, seems to be unnecessary. It seems the more needless (with Horst) to reject the whole of 26^{-32}.

30 **M** Or, *terebinths*.

12[1a] The essential elements of the Deuteronomic legislation are usually discovered in 12–26. This is the proper 'law' 1^{5}: it bears its own title 12^{1}: and to this the homilies in 5–11 continually point. It may be asked (1) does the Code present itself as a complete and homogeneous whole? Or (2) does it show traces of the aggregation of dissimilar materials, or (3) exhibit signs of the combination or juxtaposition of different legal drafts embodying the same principles? A few observations are here offered on these points: a discussion of the special affinities of the laws of **D** with those of **JE** and **P** with an examination of their historical relations will be found in the *Introd* IX. (1) The code in its present form is bound together by a number of recurring phrases, ascribing its several parts to a common situation, the approaching entrance of Israel into the land given to their fathers e g 12^{1} $^{9\ 20\ 29}$ 15^{4} 17^{14} 18^{9} $19^{1\ 14}$ 20^{16} 21^{1} 23^{20} 24^{4} $25^{15\ 19}$ 26^{1}. Allusions to the Egyptian bondage cp **97**, promises of long life and prosperity as the result of obedience **73, 116**, and references to the place which Yahweh shall choose **87**, further indicate a pervading unity of thought and style. Similarly the laws exhibit various common terms and formulae, such as 'abomination' **9**, 'thine eye shall not pity' 43^{b}, 'if there be found' **49**, 'and it be sin unto thee' **102**, 'the stranger, the fatherless and the widow' **105**, 'hear and fear' 13^{11} 17^{13} 19^{20} 21^{21}. But (2) the unity thus implied includes beneath it great diversity both of contents and expression. The first half of the code deals with the fundamental theocratic obligations of the holy people, and the great civil and religious powers instituted for its guidance, judge, priest, king, and prophet 12–18. The second portion, however, especially 20–25, is of a very miscellaneous character. On the one hand it contains groups of regulations, such as those for the conduct of war 20 21^{10}.. 23^{9}.., which are highly elaborated: on the other, it inserts a brief solitary precept such as 22^{30} which forms but a single case in a whole list of similar prohibitions elsewhere; or as in 25^{16} enunciates a general prophetic principle in the midst of a set of specific rules for social justice. One series is distinguished by the regular appearance of the 'elders' 19^{12} $21^{2\ 19}$ 22^{15} 25^{7}: another is concerned with humanity to animals $22^{1-4\ 6}$. and kindness to slaves, debtors, and the poor $23^{15.\ 19.}$ $24^{6.\ 10.}$. $^{14.\ 19.}$.; a third deals with family difficulties and the relations of the sexes $21^{15.}$. $^{18.}$. 22^{13-29} 24^{1-5} $25^{5.}$.; a fourth lays down rules of exclusion from the holy community 23^{1-8}. These groups sometimes exhibit points of contact, as in the case of the 'elders' who have their place in the family incidents as well as in more elaborate judicial arrangements; or, again, in the exemption of the newly married from military service 24^{5}. But it does not appear possible to discriminate them clearly from one another on grounds either of contents or form. The laws are cast in various types of command and prohibition (e g 2nd masc sing, positive 22^{12}, negative $22^{1\ 4\ 9-11}$; conditional 21^{10} 22^{8} 23^{9} &c: 3rd masc sing or pl negative 23^{1-3} $24^{6\ 16}$, conditional $21^{1\ 15}$ $22^{13\ 22}$ 24^{7} $25^{1\ 5\ 11}$). The technical terms and expressions do not seem restricted to special classes; thus 'abomination' covers offences as far apart as idolatry and magic, unchastity, and the use of false weights and measures. A literary analysis of these chapters, therefore, appears highly artificial and precarious, if not absolutely impossible. But it may be doubted whether the entire collection was really included in Josiah's law-book. The materials in 12–18 are on the whole closely connected with each other (see, however, 14^{1N}) in spite of occasional indications of doubling or misplacement. In 17^{4} 18^{9} a formula enters which does not recur again until 26^{1}. Is it possible that the paragraphs thus introduced were originally closer to each other? The main contents of 19 (apart from ^{14} which is quite isolated) are not incongruous with the preceding group and touch it at many points cp 19^{1} 12^{29}, and parallels with $19^{4\ 7\ 13}$ and 15^{-21}. But such indications are rarer in 20–25. May it not be conjectured that in its earliest form the Code was considerably shorter, and only received into itself much of the material in 20–25 by later processes of incorporation which can no longer be traced in detail?* (3) The probability that the Deuteronomic legislation contains elements from various sources is increased by the evidence of the coexistence of different forms of the same law side by side, and the occasional blending of separate regulations into one. Apart from signs of later redactional activity (cp 13^{3b-4} 15^{4-6} $17^{16\ 18.}$ 18^{15} $19^{8.\ 17}$ $20^{2-4\ 17}$ $21^{2\ 5}$ 22^{24}), it appears plain, for example, that the fundamental principle of the unity of the sanctuary is embodied in at least two different drafts cp 12^{2N}. The law directed against the worship of other gods in 13 has a counterpart in 17^{2-7}. The annual tithe 14^{22-27} applied to agricultural produce passes without recognition in 26, which provides liturgical treatment for the firstfruits of the ground $^{1-11}$ cp 18^{4}, and the triennial tithe $^{12-15}$ cp 14^{28}. Two tests of false prophecy are offered 13^{1-5} and 18^{20-22}: but the criterion which is disallowed in 13^{2} (the actual verification of a prediction) is made the basis of discrimination in 18^{22}. Not only are there separate laws on the same subject which are not conceived quite in the same mould, but it is probable that varying details have been sometimes wrought into one combined text. In some cases the editorial process has apparently been limited to simple explanation or addition cp 15^{1-3} and $^{4-6}$ $17^{18.}$ $19^{8.\ 17}$ 20^{2b-4} 21^{5} 26^{4}: in others, the harmonist's activity has welded diverse materials into completer union cp 16^{1-8} $17^{2-7\ 8-12}$ 18^{1-5}. It is probably to the derivation of the laws from various shorter collections that the occasional separation of precepts on related subjects is to be ascribed e g blemished animals 15^{21} and 17^{1}, loans 15^{1-3} $23^{19.}$, pledges 24^{6} and $^{10-13}$, rectitude in the administration of justice 16^{19} 24^{17}, the release of the newly married from military service 20^{7} 24^{5}. On the other hand 23^{17} and ^{18}, though conjoined, appear to treat the temple-prostitute from different points of view (the forms of the prohibitions, also, vary, and 'the house of Yahweh thy God' ^{18} occurs nowhere else in Deut cp **Ex** 23^{19} || 34^{26}). (4) If the Deuteronomic Code 12–26 may thus be regarded as bearing on its face signs of compilation from different sources, is it possible to determine their general character? Many laws are plainly related to regulations in **J E** and P^{h} (cp the margins and *Introd* IX i 2*a*) i e the Code includes materials from the collections of both Judah and Ephraim. But many more have no parallel elsewhere (cp *Introd* i 73^{a}). Some, like those dealing with a supreme court of appeal 17^{8-13}, the monarchy 17^{14-20}, prophecy 18^{9-22}, are concerned with great historical institutions, and must be explained in connexion with their age. Others, as in the cases of seduction to idolatry 13, enforce under the form of law and penalty profound religious principles, or, like those dealing with behaviour in war 20 23^{9-14}, attempt to express certain ideas rather than to regulate actual practice. On the other hand, the

* Staerk has attempted, *Deut* 111–119, to reconstruct the original code. Such efforts are not without interest, but are too purely hypothetical to require special notice, still less to command general assent.

JE | D[g] | D | D[s] | P

[b]observe to do in the land [c]which Yahweh, the [d]God of [N]thy fathers, hath given thee to [e]possess it, [b]all the days that ye live upon the earth.

[2] [NL]Ye shall surely [f]destroy all the places, wherein the [c]nations which ye shall [c]possess [g]served their gods, upon the [d]high mountains, and upon the hills, and under every green tree: [3] [L]and ye shall [e]break down their altars, and dash in pieces their [M]pillars, and burn their Asherim with fire; and ye shall hew down the graven images of their gods; and ye shall [f]destroy their name out of that place. [4] [L]Ye shall not do so unto Yahweh [h]your God. [5] But unto the [i]place which Yahweh your God shall choose out of all your [j]tribes to put his name there, even unto his [f N]habitation shall ye seek, [N]and thither thou shalt come: [6] [L]and thither ye shall bring your [g]burnt offerings, and your [h]sacrifices, and your [i]tithes, and the [j]heave offering of your hand, and your [k]vows, and your [l]freewill offerings, and the [m]firstlings of your herd and of your flock[m]: [7] and there ye shall [k]eat before Yahweh your God, and ye shall [l]rejoice in [m]all that ye put your hand unto, [n]ye and your households, wherein Yahweh thy God hath [o]blessed thee.

[8] *Ye shall not do after all the things that we do here this day, every man whatsoever is [n]right in his own eyes:* [9] *for ye are not as yet come to the [o]rest and to the inheritance [p]which Yahweh thy God giveth thee.* [10] *But when ye [q]go over Jordan, and dwell in the land which Yahweh your God [r]causeth you to inherit, and he giveth you [s]rest [p]from all your enemies round about, so that ye dwell in safety;* [11] *then it shall come to pass that the [t]place which Yahweh your God shall choose to cause his name to [t]dwell there, thither shall ye bring all [u]that I command you; your [g]burnt offerings, and your sacrifices, your tithes, and the heave offering of your hand, and all your [q]choice vows which ye vow unto Yahweh:* [12] [L]*and ye shall [l]rejoice before Yahweh your God, [v]ye, and your sons, and your daughters, and your [w]menservants, and your maidservants, and the [r]Levite that is within your [x]gates, forasmuch as he hath no [s]portion nor inheritance with you.*

[13] [LY]Take heed to thyself that thou [t]offer not thy burnt offerings in every place that thou seest: [14] but in the [i]place which Yahweh shall choose in one of thy [j]tribes, there thou shalt [t]offer thy burnt offerings, and there thou shalt do all [u]that I command thee. [15] [LZ]Notwithstanding thou mayest kill and [u]eat flesh within all thy [x]gates[v], [v]after all the desire

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ritual enjoined for the expiation of undiscovered murder 21[1-9] probably rests on very ancient usage; and the group of laws dealing with the family and the sexes 21[15-21] 22[13-21] 24[1-4] 25[5-10] must embody much antique custom. So doubtless do regulations like 23[24]. and 25[4] [11]. The section on exclusion from 'Yahweh's assembly' 23[1-8] seems by its peculiar terminology (cp Num 16[3]) to be drawn from some corpus of priestly law analogous to that which has supplied the materials of 14[4-20]. To a similar source may probably be assigned the laws which bear on different kinds of defilement 21[22]. 23[9-14] [17]., or the payment of vows 23[21]. and leprosy 24[8]. On the question how far the older nucleus of law can occasionally be disengaged from the homiletic envelopment of the Deuteronomic editors cp *Introd* i 74 and *Table of Laws*.

12[1b] 𝔊[AFL] *your fathers, hath given you*, probably harmonizing. It is possible that [1] combines two introductions to the different drafts in [2-12] and [13-28] couched in the pl and sing address respectively.

[2] The first 'statute' regulates the conduct of public worship. All idolatrous sanctuaries are to be abolished, and the sacrifice which constituted the essence of the cultus is to be offered at one centre only. The difficulties introduced into domestic usage by this destruction of all local altars lead to modifications of ancient custom connected with the slaughter of animals from the flock or herd. Such is a summary of [2-28]. But the question has been asked by a long succession of critics from Vater and Stähelin whether this law is throughout from the same hand. In outward form it falls at once into two sections [2-12] and [13-28] marked respectively by the prevailing use of the plural and the singular address. In these two divisions the fundamental principle is repeated cp [13]. and [4]., [17]. and [6]. But further, each section contains its own repetitions. In [2-12] lie parallel commands [5-7] and [11]., and they are introduced by separate prefaces [2-4] and [8-10]. Is it likely that the same author would thus reproduce himself? Or if unity of authorship be conceded here, what reason can be alleged why the prohibition and command [4]. in the plural should be renewed [13]. in the singular? In 13–26 the plural is of rare occurrence [13[3b-5a] 14[1 4-21aα] 17[16] 18[15] 19[19] 20[2-4] [18] 22[24] 23[4] 24[8]. 25[17]]: in some cases it may be accidental, in others it enters where there is independent reason for recognizing (or at least suspecting) an interpolating hand. The employment of the plural in an elaborate legislative passage like [2-12] has no parallel elsewhere in the Code (though frequent enough in the homilies) except in 14[1 4-21], and it suggests that the two main sections of 12 may be regarded as different drafts of the same law. The further appearance of duplicates within [2-12] finds a counterpart in the doublets [15]. and [21]., and [17]. and [26]. The probability that these latter at least are independent, is shown by the apparent insertion of [16] in order to bring the first statement up to a level with the second. The concession in [15] needed a warning against possible abuse: this was perhaps added editorially in [16a], and a later copyist may have attached [16b] = [24b] to complete the parallel with [23]. In that case [20-27] may be regarded as a fresh and detailed treatment of a difficulty arising out of [13]., inadequately met by [15] (so also, substantially, Addis, who points out that the clause in [21] 'as I have commanded thee' refers to [15]: Steuern ascribes both the clauses in [21] and [15]. to later copyists). The text of these amalgamated laws has probably received many harmonizing touches.

[3] 𝔐 Or, *obelisks*.—Cp Ex 23[24].

[5a] On the grammatical difficulty see the Commentaries.

[5b] 𝔊 omits this clause. 𝔗 Sam 𝔊[BabAF] *ye shall come*.

JE	D^g	D	D^s	P	
w 16¹⁷		of thy soul, [w]according to the [a']blessing of Yahweh thy God which he			a' 22ᵇ
x 22 15²²		hath given thee: the [x]unclean and the clean may eat thereof, as of the			
16 *L*6e*a*		gazelle, and as of the hart. 16 [NLz]Only ye shall not [y]eat the blood; [z]thou shalt			
y 23 25 15²³		pour it out upon the earth as water. 17 Thou [b']mayest not eat within thy			b' 76
z 24b 15²³		[x]gates the [t]tithe of thy [c']corn, or of thy wine, or of thine oil, or the			c' 30
		[m]firstlings of thy herd or of thy flock, nor any of thy [k]vows which thou			
		vowest, nor thy [l]freewill offerings, nor the [j]heave offering of thine hand:			
		18 but thou shalt [k]eat them before Yahweh thy God in the [i]place which			
		Yahweh thy God shall choose, [v]thou, and thy son, and thy daughter,			
		and thy [w]manservant, and thy maidservant, and the Levite that is			
		within thy [x]gates: and thou shalt [l]rejoice before Yahweh thy God in			
19 *L*11*j*b		[m]all that thou puttest thine hand unto. 19 [Lγ]Take heed to thyself that			
		thou forsake not the Levite [d']as long as thou livest upon thy land.			d' 13ᵇ
20–22 *L*6a*b*		20 [L]*When Yahweh thy God shall [a']enlarge thy border[a'], as he hath [e']promised*			e' 91
a' Cp 19⁸ Ex 34²⁴*		*thee, and thou [b']shalt say, I will eat flesh, because [c']thy soul desireth[c'] to eat*			
b' 17¹⁴		*flesh; thou mayest eat flesh, [v]after all the desire of thy soul.* 21 *If the [i]place*			
c' 14²⁶*		*which Yahweh thy God shall choose to put his name there be too [d']far from*			
d' 14²⁴		*thee, then thou shalt kill of thy herd and of thy flock, which Yahweh hath*			
		given thee, [u]as I have commanded thee, and thou shalt [u]eat within thy [x]gates,			
		[v]after all the desire of thy soul. 22 *Even as the [x]gazelle and as the hart is*			
		eaten, so thou shalt eat thereof: the unclean and the clean shall eat thereof			
23–25 *L*6e*b*		*alike.* 23 [Lz]*Only be sure that thou [y]eat not the blood: for the [e']blood is the*			
e' Lev 17¹¹		*life; and thou shalt not eat the life with the flesh.* 24 *Thou shalt not eat it;*			
		[z]thou shalt pour it out upon the earth as water. 25 *Thou shalt not eat it; that*			
f' 28 4⁴⁰		*it may [f']go well with thee, and with thy [f']children after thee, when thou shalt*			f' 116ᵃ
26. *L*7a*c* 8h*f*		*[g']do that which is right in the eyes of Yahweh.* 26 [Lz]*Only thy [g']holy things*			g' 37ᵃ
g' Ct P88		*which thou hast, and thy vows, thou shalt take, and go unto the [i]place which*			
h' 𝔊 = *do* 16¹		*Yahweh shall choose:* 27 *and thou shalt [h']offer thy burnt offerings, the flesh*			
ct 13 cp P117		*and the blood, upon the [h']altar of Yahweh thy God: and the blood of thy*			h' 16
i' Ct Lev 15 3² *al* P148		*sacrifices shall be [v]poured out upon the [h']altar of Yahweh thy God, and thou*			
		shalt eat the flesh.			
		28 [i']Observe and hear all these words [u]which I command thee, that it			i' 82ᵇ
		may [f']go well with thee, and with thy [f']children after thee for ever, when			
		thou [g']doest that which is good and right in the eyes of Yahweh thy God.			
29–31 *L*5d*e*		29 [L]When Yahweh thy God shall [j']cut off the nations from before thee,			
j' 19¹ cp Josh 11²¹ 23⁴		whither thou [j']goest in to possess them, and thou possessest them, and			j' 53
k' 𝔊* Cp 7¹⁶b 25		dwellest in their land; 30 [y]take heed to thyself that thou be not [k']ensnared			
		[M]to follow them, after that they be [k']destroyed from before thee; and			k' 34ᵇ
		that thou inquire not after their gods, saying, [l']How do these nations			l' 62
l' Cp 4		[g]serve their gods? [M]even so will [m']I do likewise. 31 [l']Thou shalt not do			m' 63
m' 16²²b		so unto Yahweh thy God: for every [n']abomination to Yahweh, [m']which			n' 9ᵃ
n' Cp Jer 7³¹ 19⁵ 2 Kings 16³ *al*		he hateth, have they done unto their gods; for even their [n']sons and			
		their daughters do they burn in the fire to their gods.			
32 [13¹ in 𝔊]		32 [o']What thing soever I command you, that shall ye [b]observe to do:			o' 29ᵇ
o' 4²		thou shalt not [o']add thereto, nor diminish from it.			
1–18 *L*5h*a*		13¹ [L]If there [a]arise in the [a]midst of thee a prophet, or a [b]dreamer of			a 78ᵃ
1–5 *L*11m*d*		dreams, and he give thee a [b]sign or a wonder, 2 and the [b]sign or the wonder			b 101ᵇ
a 34¹⁰ cp 18¹⁵		come to pass, [c]whereof he spake unto thee, saying, Let us [d]go after other			c 91
b 3 5 cp Jer 23²⁵.		gods, [e]which thou hast not known, and let us [f]serve them; 3 thou shalt not			d 85
		hearken unto the words of that prophet, or unto that dreamer of dreams:			e 68ᶜ
		[N]for Yahweh [g]your God [c]proveth you, to know whether ye [h]love Yahweh			f 23ᵇ
		your God [i]with all your heart and with all your soul. 4 Ye shall [d]walk			g 1ᵃ
		after Yahweh your God, and [j]fear him, and [k]keep his commandments,			h 74ᵇ
		and [l]obey his voice, and ye shall [m]serve him, and [n]cleave unto him.			i 59
					j 44ᵇ
					k 82ᵉ
					l 58ᵃ
					m 23ᶜ
					n 27
c 8²					
d 𝔊=*go* 2d					

12¹⁶ The sudden change to the plural probably implies an editorial addition cp 2ᴺ. In 16ᵇ 𝔊 reads another plural *ye shall pour*, but cp 24. 30ᵃ **M** 𝔊 *after them.*

30ᵇ **M** Or, *that I also may do likewise.*

13³ This explanation, followed by the exhortation in 4 cp 8² 16 6⁵ 10¹², may be a later hortatory insertion. It interrupts the connexion of 3ᵃ and 5, and breaks suddenly into the plural address. The variations of number in 𝔊 3 and 5 afford curious evidence either of indifference to the exact text, or of fluctuations in different copies of 𝔊.

JE | D[g] | D | D[s] | P

[5] And that prophet, or that dreamer of dreams, shall be put to death; because he hath spoken [M]rebellion against Yahweh your God, which [o]brought you out of the land of Egypt, and [p]redeemed thee out of the [q]house of bondage, to [r]draw thee aside out of the [e]way [s]which Yahweh thy God commanded thee to walk in. So shalt thou [t]put away the evil from the [u]midst of thee.

[6] If thy brother, the son of thy mother, or thy son, or thy daughter, or the [f]wife of thy bosom[f], or thy [N]friend, which is as thine own soul, [g]entice thee [h]secretly, saying, Let us go and [i]serve other gods, [e]which thou hast not known, thou, nor thy fathers;

[7] [N]of the [i]gods of the peoples which are round about you, nigh unto thee, or far off from thee, [j]from the one end of the earth even unto the other end of the earth;

[8]thou shalt not [v]consent unto him, nor hearken unto him; neither shall [w]thine eye pity him, neither shalt thou [k]spare, neither shalt thou conceal him: [9] but thou shalt surely kill him; thine hand shall be [l]first upon him to put him to death, and afterwards the hand of all the people[l]. [10] And thou shalt [m]stone him with stones, that he die; because he hath sought to [r]draw thee away from Yahweh thy God, which [o]brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the [q]house of bondage. [11] And [x]all Israel shall [y]hear, and fear[y], and shall do no more any such wickedness as this is in the [u]midst of thee[N].

[12] If thou shalt hear tell [M]concerning one of thy cities, [n]which Yahweh thy God giveth thee to dwell there, saying, [13] Certain [M]base fellows are gone out from the [u]midst of thee, and have [r]drawn away the inhabitants of their city, saying, Let us go and [f]serve other gods, [e]which ye have not known; [14] then shalt thou [c]inquire, and [p]make search, and ask [z]diligently; and, [o]behold, if it be truth, and the thing certain, that such [a′]abomination is wrought[o] in the [a]midst of thee; [15] thou shalt surely [q]smite the inhabitants of that city with the edge of the sword, [Tb′]devoting it, and all that is therein [r]and the cattle thereof, with the edge of the sword[r]. [16] And thou shalt gather all the [c′]spoil of it into the midst of the street thereof, and shalt burn with fire the city, and all the [c′]spoil thereof [M]every whit, [s]unto Yahweh thy God: and it shall be an [M]heap for ever; it shall not be built again. [17] [L]And there shall cleave nought of the devoted thing to thine hand: that Yahweh may [t]turn from the fierceness of his anger, and [u]shew thee mercy[u], and [v]have compassion upon thee, and [d′]multiply thee, as he hath [e′]sworn unto thy fathers; [18] when thou shalt [l]hearken to the voice of Yahweh thy God, to [k]keep all his commandments which I [f′]command thee this day, to [g′]do that which is right in the eyes of Yahweh thy God.

14[1] [NL]Ye are the [a]children of Yahweh [a]your God: ye shall not [b]cut yourselves, nor make any [c]baldness between your eyes for the [d]dead. [2] [L]For [e]thou art an [b]holy people unto Yahweh thy God, and Yahweh hath [c]chosen thee to be a [b]peculiar people unto himself, [M]above [d]all peoples that are upon the face of the earth.

o 28[b]
p 95
q 61
r 38
s 29[a]
t 92[a]
u 78[c]
v 117
w 43[b]
x 2[a]
y 58[b]
z 116[c]
a′ 9[b]
b′ 35
c′ 103
d′ 81
e′ 107[b]
f′ 29[b]
g′ 37[a]
a 1[a]
b 60
c 26[a]
d 14

e 9[12] 16 11[28] cp 11[5]
f 28[54] cp 56†
g Cp Josh 15[18] ℌ*
h 27[15 24] 28[57]*
i 6[14] ‡
j 28[64]
k Cp Jer 13[14] 15[5] Ezek 5[11] 7[4] *al*
l 17[7]
m 17[5] 22[21 24] Josh 7[25] JE21[6]
n Cp 69[c]
o 17[4]
p ℌ*
q Cp 20[13].
r 𝔊 omits
s Cp Num 25[4] Josh 6[17] 17 18h*b*
t Ex 32[12] Josh 7[26] ℌ
u Gen 43[14]*
v 30[3] Ex 33[19]* Hos 1[6]. *al*
1 *L*5k*a*
a Cp Ex 4[22].
b ℌ et Lev 21[5]
c Lev 21[5]*
d 26[14]
2 *L*11*j*
e 7[6]

13[5] **M** ℌ *turning aside.*—19[16] cp Jer 28[16] 29[32].

[6] Or, 'neighbour.' Two words are employed in the code 12–26 for fellow-countryman, 'neighbour' and 'brother.' For 'brother' cp **25.** 'Neighbour' is found in 15[2] 19[4]. [11 14] 22[24 26] 23[24]. 24[10] 27[17 24]. The differences of usage may possibly point to diversities of original material: but it does not seem possible to found any literary analysis upon them.

[7] A comparison with [2]. and [13]. makes it probable that this verse is an editorial expansion: it echoes phrases found elsewhere 6[14] 28[64], the plural 'you' being in its place in 6[14] though incongruous here, and the reference to the temptations to remote foreign idolatries more appropriate to Israel in exile than in the land of Canaan.

[11] On the suggestion that 17[2–7] once stood between 13[6–11] and 12–18 cp 17[2N].

[12] **M** Or, *in.* [13] **M** ℌ *sons of worthlessness.*—Cp 15[9] ℌ*.

[15] So **M.** **T** *destroying it utterly.*—Cp Ex 22[20].

[16a] **M** Or, *as a whole burnt offering.*—Cp 33[10] Lev 6[22].

[16b] **M** Or, *mound.* ℌ *tel.*—Josh 8[28]†.

14[1] In [1–21] different elements seem to have been combined. The phraseology of [1] is peculiar, and the usages which it forbids seem still to have been practised without reproach in the latest days of the monarchy cp Jer 16[6] Ezek 7[18]. Parallels will be found in **P**[h] Lev 19[26–28] and 21[5]. The sequel in [2] is identical with 7[6], and may have been editorially reproduced. In [3] the common form of Deuteronomic prohibition in the 2nd sing is resumed. But the catalogue in [4–20] is throughout couched in the plural cp 12[2N], and both in form and contents appears alien to the style and matter of the Code. The conclusion of the dietary laws [21a] belongs to the same group: but the final injunction against seething a kid in its mother's milk [21b]β is found in the short codes of both **J** and **E** Ex 34[26] 23[19]. The clause [21b]α completes [3], supplying the reason for the prohibition of unhallowed food, as in Ex 22[31]. [2] **M** Or, *out of.*

JE	D^G	D	D^S	P	
3-20 *L*6a*c*		3 NL Thou shalt not eat any [e]abominable thing,		e	9b
f Lev 11[2-23]		4 N These are the [f]beasts which ye shall eat: the ox, the sheep, and the goat, 5 the [g]hart, and the gazelle[g], and the [h]roebuck, and the [i]wild goat, and the [i]pygarg, and the [j]antelope, and the [i]chamois. 6 L And every beast that [k]parteth the hoof, and hath the hoof cloven in two, [and] M cheweth the cud, among the beasts, that ye shall eat. 7 L Nevertheless these ye shall not eat of them that chew the cud, or of them that have the hoof cloven: the camel, and the hare, and the M coney, because they chew the cud but part not the hoof, they are unclean unto you: 8 and the swine, because he parteth the hoof but cheweth not the cud, he is unclean unto you: of their flesh ye shall not eat, and their carcases ye shall not touch[l].			
m Lev 11[9-12]		9 [m]These ye shall eat of all that are in the waters: whatsoever hath fins and scales shall ye eat: 10 and whatsoever hath not fins and scales ye shall not eat; it is unclean unto you[m].			
n Lev 11[13-19]		11 Of all clean birds ye may eat. 12 [n]But these are they of which ye shall not eat: the M eagle, and the gier eagle, and the ospray; 13 and the glede, and the falcon, and the kite after its kind; 14 and every raven after its kind; 15 and the ostrich, and the night hawk, and the seamew, and the hawk after its kind; 16 the little owl, and the great owl, and the horned owl; 17 and the pelican, and the vulture, and the cormorant; 18 and the stork, and the heron after its kind, and the hoopoe, and the bat.			
o Lev 11[20-23]		19 [o]And all winged creeping things are unclean unto you: they shall not be eaten. 20 Of all clean fowls ye may eat.			
21a *L*6c*b* 2a*f*		21a L Ye shall not eat of any thing that dieth of itself: thou mayest			
p Ct Lev 17[15]		give it unto the [p]stranger that is within thy [f]gates, that he may eat it; or thou mayest sell it unto a [g]foreigner.		f g	51 47
21b *L*6d*c*		21b N for thou art an [b]holy people unto Yahweh thy God. Thou shalt not			
q Ex 23[19] 34[26]		[q]seethe a kid in its mother's milk.			
22-29 *L*8d*b*		22 L Thou shalt surely tithe all the [r]increase of thy seed, that which			
r 28 16[15] 26[12] *al* cp Ex 23[10]		cometh forth of the field year by year. 23 L And thou shalt [h]eat before		h	41a
23-26 *L*10a*g*		Yahweh thy God, in the [t]place which he shall choose to cause his name		i	87
		to [j]dwell there, the tithe of thy [k]corn, of thy wine, and of thine oil, and		j k	40 30
s 12[6]		the [s]firstlings of thy herd and of thy flock; that thou mayest [l]learn to		l	71a
t Cp 19[6]		[m]fear Yahweh thy God [n]always. 24 And if the [t]way be too long for thee,		m n	44a 13a
u 12[21]		so that thou art not able to carry it, because the [t]place is too [u]far from thee, which Yahweh thy God shall choose to set his name there, when			
25-29 2b*a* a*j* 11*j*		Yahweh thy God shall [o]bless thee: 25 L then shalt thou turn it into		o	22a
		money, and bind up the money in thine hand, and shalt go unto the [t]place which Yahweh thy God shall choose: 26 and thou shalt bestow			
v 12[20]		the money for whatsoever thy soul [v]desireth, for oxen, or for sheep, or for wine, or for strong drink, or for whatsoever thy soul asketh of thee: and thou shalt [h]eat there before Yahweh thy God, and thou shalt			
w 12[12]		[p]rejoice [q]thou and thine household: 27 and the [w]Levite that is within thy		p q	96 109b

14[3] 𝔊 Sam *ye shall.*

4 The relation of this list 4–20 to that of Lev 11[2–23] has been much discussed, as the facts do not seem to point to any very decisive conclusion. That the style and phraseology belong rather to **P** than to **D** is generally recognized cp 'kind' 13 15 18 P_{18^k} and 'creeping things' 19 (= *swarm* 𝔖) P_{157}. It is believed, therefore, that the list has been derived by **D** from the priestly schools, and embodies regulations which had probably been already reduced to writing. The question whether those regulations were then current in the form contained in Lev 11 is less easy to decide. On the one hand Deut 14[4] specifies the common lawful animals which Lev does not mention; on the other hand the parallels to 7–10 are much fuller and 14–20 is much briefer than Lev 11[20–23]. If the Deuteronomic version is on the whole an abridgement of the Levitical, why should 4–5 supply detail omitted by the prior list: and if, on the other hand, the Deuteronomic list is supplementary, why should it conclude so abruptly? The difficulty points to the view that neither is directly dependent on the other, but that both are derived separately from an earlier form; **D** then classes the forbidden foods under the familiar term 'abomination' 3 cp P_9, while **P** prefers the words 'detest' and 'detestation' Lev 11[10–13 20 23 41 43] (𝔖 as in Deut 7[26]). On other grounds, however, there is some reason to think Deut 11[3–21] earlier than Lev 11. For the supplement in 21 prohibits the Israelite from eating the flesh of any animal that has died of itself, but allows it to be given to the 'stranger.' In Lev 17[15], the 'stranger' (as elsewhere in **P**, see *Laws*) is placed on the same footing as the Israelite, and the practice of eating such food is recognized for all persons on condition of subsequent purification from the defilement which it involved 'till the evening.' Now the regulation of Lev 11[39] modifies the stringency of the Deuteronomic precept in the same manner, and presumably, therefore, belongs to a later date. Hommel, *Expos Times* 1897 July p 473, suggests that the substitution of 'stranger' for 'dogs' Ex 22[31] is due to a redactor of the time of Ezra, when aversion to everything foreign had reached its climax.

6 **M** 𝔖 *bringeth up.* 7 **M** See Lev 11[5].

12 **M** See Lev 11[13] &c. 21b The sequel of [3], cp Ex 22[31].

JE | D[g] | D | D[s] | P

[f]gates, thou shalt not [x]forsake him; [y]for he hath no portion nor inheritance with thee.

[28] At the end of every three years thou shalt bring forth all the tithe of thine [r]increase in the same year, and shalt [z]lay it up within thy [f]gates: [29] and the [r]Levite, [y]because he hath no portion nor inheritance with thee, and the [r]stranger, and the fatherless, and the widow, which are within thy [f]gates, shall come, and shall [s]eat and be satisfied; that Yahweh thy God may [o]bless thee in all the work of thine hand which thou doest. r 105[b] s 41[b]

15[1] [L]At the [a]end of every seven years thou shalt make a [b]release. [2] And this is the [c]manner of the [b]release: every [d]creditor shall release that which he hath [e]lent unto his neighbour; he shall not exact it of his neighbour and his [a]brother; because [/]Yahweh's release hath been proclaimed. [3] Of a [b]foreigner thou mayest exact it: but whatsoever of thine is with thy [a]brother thine hand shall [N]release. a 25 b 47

[4] [N]Howbeit there shall be no [g]poor [c]with thee; (for Yahweh will surely [d]bless thee in the [e]land which Yahweh [f]thy God giveth thee for an inheritance to [g]possess it;) [5] if only thou diligently [h]hearken unto the voice of Yahweh thy God, to observe to do all this [i]commandment which I [j]command thee this day. [6] For Yahweh thy God will [d]bless thee, as he [k]promised thee: and thou shalt [h]lend unto many nations, but thou shalt not [i]borrow; and thou shalt rule over many nations, but they shall not rule over thee. c 64 d 22[a] e 69[c] f 1[a] g 88[1] h 58[1] i 29[d] j 29[b] k 91

[7] [L]If there be [c]with thee a [g]poor man, one of thy brethren, within any of thy [l]gates in thy [e]land which Yahweh thy God giveth thee, thou shalt not [j]harden thine heart, nor [k]shut thine hand from thy poor [a]brother: [8] but thou shalt surely [l]open thine hand unto him, and shalt surely [h]lend him sufficient for his [k]need [in that] which he wanteth. [9] [m]Beware that there be not a [m]base thought in thine heart, saying, The seventh year, the [n]year of [b]release, is at hand; and thine [o]eye be evil against thy poor [a]brother, and thou give him nought; and he [p]cry unto Yahweh against thee, and it be [n]sin [c]unto thee. [10] Thou shalt surely give him, and thine heart shall not be [q]grieved when thou givest unto him: because that for this thing Yahweh thy God shall [d]bless thee in all thy work, and in [o]all that thou puttest thine hand unto. [11] For the [g]poor shall never cease out of the land: therefore I [j]command thee, saying, Thou shalt surely [l]open thine hand unto thy [a]brother, to thy [r]needy, and to thy poor, in thy land. l 51 m 108[a] n 102 o 11

[12] [L]If thy [a]brother, an [s]Hebrew man, [N]or an Hebrew [t]woman, be sold unto thee, and serve thee six years; then in the seventh year thou shalt let him go free from thee. [13] And when thou lettest him go free from thee, thou shalt not let him go empty: [14] thou shalt [d]furnish him liberally[d] out of thy flock, and out of thy [u]threshing-floor, and out of thy [v]winepress: [v]as Yahweh thy God hath [d]blessed thee thou shalt give unto him. [15] And thou shalt [p]remember that thou wast a bondman in the land of Egypt, and Yahweh thy God [q]redeemed thee: therefore I [j]command thee this thing to-day. [16] And it shall be, if he [w]say unto thee, I will not go out from thee; because he loveth [r]thee and thine house, because he is well with thee; [17] [x]then thou shalt take an awl, and thrust it through his ear unto the door, and he shall be thy [T]bondman for ever. And also unto thy [T]bondwoman thou shalt do likewise. [18] It shall not seem hard [y]unto thee, when thou lettest him go free from p 97 q 95 r 109[b]

x Ct Ex 21[6]

y Ḫ *in thine eyes* Josh 9[25]

15[3] **M** Or, *release: save when there &c.*

[4] An additional utterance of enthusiastic piety, in conflict with [7-11] (especially with [11a]) and hardly to be ascribed to the same discourse (Addis, however, urges that the original author describes an ideal distribution of wealth, consequent on ideal obedience). In view of the stylistic resemblances there seems reason in Kuenen's suggestion that the qualification may be an afterthought of the writer's own. With [5] cp 12[28] 13[18]. For further laws in protection of the poor cp 23[19]. 24[10].

[12] Some critics have regarded the extension of manumission to women as an afterthought, not contemplated by the original D who here founds himself on the 'Judgements' of E Ex 21[2]..., Cp the additional clause in favour of the bondwoman in [17b]. It is, however, impossible to determine whether the reference to female slaves was incorporated by D himself, or was a supplement.

[17a] So **M**. Ḫ as in [15]. **T** *servant*. [17b] So **M**. **T** *maidservant*.—Cp 75.

JE	D[g]	D	D[s]	P
		thee; for to the double of the hire of an hireling hath he served thee six years: and Yahweh thy God shall [d]bless thee in all that thou doest.		
19. 18b[e] 10a[k] z 12[6] cp Ex 22[30] a′ Cp P 86[d]		[19] [L]All the [z]firstling males that are born of thy herd and of thy flock thou shalt [a′]sanctify unto Yahweh thy God: thou shalt do no work with the firstling of thine ox, nor shear the firstling of thy flock.		
		[20] Thou shalt [s]eat it before Yahweh thy God year by year in the [t]place		s 41[a] t 87
21 16l[b] b′ 17[1] cp 32[5] Lev 22[20] c′ Cp JE 20[2] 22 16a[b] d′ 12[15] 23 16e[c]		which Yahweh shall choose, [r]thou and thy household. [21] [L]And if it have any [b′]blemish, [as if it be] lame or blind, [u]any ill blemish whatsoever, thou shalt not [c′]sacrifice it unto Yahweh thy God. [22] [L]Thou shalt [d′]eat it within thy [l]gates: [N]the unclean and the clean [shall eat it] alike, as the gazelle, and as the hart. [23] [NL]Only thou shalt not eat the blood thereof; thou shalt pour it out upon the [r]earth as water.		u 10
1-17 16g[c] 10a[i] 1. 16d[c] a ℌ=*do* cp 5[15] 12[27] b Ex 34[18] 13[4] c Ex 12[31] d 15[21] e Ct Ex 12[3-6] 3 16e[d] f Ex 13[6]. 34[18] g Ex 3[7] h Ex 12[11] Is 52[12]† i Cp [12] 97 j Ex 13[7] 4b-7 16c[c] 9d[c] k Ex 23[18] 34[25] l 23[11] 24[13] Josh 8[29] 1 Kings 22[36]†		**16**[1] [NL]Observe the month of Abib, and [a]keep the passover unto Yahweh [a]thy God: [b]for in the month of Abib Yahweh thy God [b]brought thee forth out of Egypt [c]by night. [2] And thou shalt [d]sacrifice the passover unto Yahweh thy God, of the [c]flock and the herd, in the [c]place which Yahweh shall choose to cause his name to [d]dwell there.		a 1[a] b 28[b] c 87 d 40
		[3] [L]Thou shalt eat no leavened bread with it; [f]seven days shalt thou eat unleavened bread therewith, even the bread of [g]affliction; for thou camest forth out of the land of Egypt in [h]haste: that thou mayest [i]remember the day [e]when thou camest forth out of the land of Egypt [f]all the days of thy life. [4] And [j]there shall be no leaven seen with thee in all thy borders seven days; [k]neither shall any of the flesh, which thou sacrificest the first day at even, [k]remain all night until the morning.		e 26[a] f 13[c]
		[5] [g]Thou mayest not sacrifice the passover within any of thy [h]gates, [i]which Yahweh thy God giveth thee: [6] but at the [c]place which Yahweh thy God shall choose to cause his name to [d]dwell in, there thou shalt sacrifice the passover at even, [l]at the going down of the sun, at the season that thou		g 76 h 5[1] i 69[c]

15[22] Possibly an addition from 12[15b] cp 12[22].

23[a] Another possible supplement cp 12[23].

23[b] **T** *ground*. ℌ as in 12[24].

16[1] The Calendar of feasts [1-17] rests on the briefer laws in **J** Ex 34[18]. . cp **E** 23[14]. ., with which it agrees in specifying three annual festivals in contrast with the longer series in Lev 23. Some differences of terminology may be observed, e g 'weeks' [10] and 'booths' [13]; but a more important divergence is noticeable in [1-8]. **E** does not mention the passover at all, and in **J** the reference to it is probably an editorial adaptation Ex 34[25] cp 23[18]. But **D** combines it [1-8] with the feast of unleavened bread. Closer examination makes it probable that the entire calendar [1-17] comprises different elements which have not been perfectly fused together. This is especially manifest in [1-8], which unites two separate sets of instructions, (1) relating to the celebration of unleavened bread in the home, and (2) enjoining the observance of the passover at the central sanctuary. The latter involved an act of sacrifice, and the fundamental law in 12 required therefore that it should be performed only at the temple in Jerusalem. The principal stress falls on this ordinance [1. 5-7]: and the analogy of the laws in 12 suggests that these passages were originally consecutive. They conclude with the direction that on the morning after the passover sacrifice the worshipper shall *return home* (cp Driver, *Deut* 194). But with the month Abib was also connected the feast of Mazzoth (or unleavened bread) Ex 13[4-7]. This feast is now formally combined with the passover in [3]. . The command seems based on two previous passages, and its affinities may be tabulated thus :—

Deut 16	*Ex*
3a Thou shalt eat no leavened bread with it.	23[18a] 34[25a] Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leavened bread.
3b Seven days shalt thou eat unleavened bread with it, even the bread of affliction; for thou camest forth out of the land of Egypt in haste: that thou mayest remember the day when thou camest forth out of the land of Egypt all the days of thy life.	13[6a] Seven days thou shalt eat unleavened bread.
4a And there shall be no leaven seen with thee in all thy borders seven days;	13[7b] And there shall be no leaven seen with thee in all thy borders:
4b neither shall any of the flesh, which thou sacrificest the first day at even, remain all night unto (ל) the morning.	34[25b] neither shall the sacrifice of the feast of the passover remain unto (ל) the morning.
	23[18b] neither shall the fat of my feast remain all night until (יר) morning.

The language of Deut 16[4] 'in all thy borders' shows that the scene of celebration was the home, in contrast with the place of Yahweh's choice [2 6]. That was originally also, it would seem, the locality likewise of the sacrifice which may now no more be slaughtered within the gates or offered at the nearest sanctuary. In uniting the regulations for the two feasts the compiler has added the words 'with it' in [3b]: but in [4b] the words 'the first day at even' were probably in some older authority. They seem to refer to the first of the seven days of Mazzoth, as if the passover were connected with the beginning of Mazzoth. The transfer of the passover to Jerusalem involved a dislocation, so that **D** arranges for it to precede the beginning of Mazzoth which was to be kept in the home. This is actually specified in the Levitical calendar Lev 23[5]., no doubt on the basis of prior usage. For other older elements in D's calendar cp 16[N]. In that passage the passover is unnamed. But in the record of Josiah's reformation the new way of celebrating the passover is specially emphasized 2 Kings 23[21-23], while Mazzoth is naturally ignored, being still observed on the old lines. Whether the incongruous elements in [3]. and [16]. were incorporated by the author of the code himself, or represent a later effort of amalgamation (Steuern assigns them to R) can hardly be determined, but it seems safest to attribute them to the hand which made so much use of older laws.

JE | D[g] | D | D[s] | P

[e]camest forth out of Egypt. [7] And thou shalt [T]seethe and eat it in the [c]place which Yahweh thy God shall choose: and thou shalt [j]turn in the morning, and go unto thy [m]tents.

m Judg 7[8] 19[9] *al*

[8] [NL]Six days thou shalt eat unleavened bread: and on the seventh day shall be [M]a solemn assembly to Yahweh thy God; thou shalt [n]do no work [therein].

s L9e*e*
n 5[14]

[9] [L]Seven weeks shalt thou number unto thee: from the time thou beginnest to put the [o]sickle to the [p]standing corn shalt thou begin to number seven weeks. [10] [L]And thou shalt [a]keep the feast of [q]weeks unto Yahweh thy God [M]with a tribute of a freewill offering of thine hand, which thou shalt give, according as Yahweh thy God [k]blesseth thee: [11] [L]and thou shalt [l]rejoice before Yahweh thy God, [m]thou, and thy son, and thy daughter, and thy [n]manservant, and thy maidservant, and the [o]Levite that is within thy [h]gates, [N]and the stranger, and the fatherless, and the widow, that are in the [p]midst of thee, in the [c]place which Yahweh thy God shall choose to cause his name to [d]dwell there.

9-12 L9f*c*
o 23[25]†
p 23[25] cp Ex 22[5]*
10 L8g*n*
q Ex 34[22]
11. L2d*h*

[12] [N]And thou shalt [r]remember that thou wast a bondman in Egypt: and thou shalt [q]observe and do these [r]statutes.

13-17 L9i*c*

[13] [L]Thou shalt [a]keep the feast of [T]booths seven days, after that thou hast [r]gathered in from thy [s]threshing-floor and from thy winepress[s]: [14] and thou shalt [l]rejoice in thy feast, [m]thou, and thy son, and thy daughter, and thy [n]manservant, and thy maidservant, and the [o]Levite, and the stranger, and the fatherless, and the widow, that are within thy [h]gates. [15] Seven days shalt thou [t]keep a feast unto Yahweh thy God in the [c]place which Yahweh shall choose: [u]because Yahweh thy God shall [k]bless thee in all [v]thine increase, and in all the [s]work of thine hands, and thou shalt be [w]altogether joyful. [16] [NL]Three times in a year shall all thy [x]males [y]appear before Yahweh thy God in the [c]place which he shall choose; in the feast of unleavened bread, and in the feast of weeks, and in the feast of [T]booths: and they shall not appear before Yahweh [z]empty: [17] every man [M]shall give as he is able, [a′]according to the [t]blessing of Yahweh thy God which he hath given thee[a′].

r Ex 23[16] 34[22]
s 15[14]
t Ex 23[14] ℌ
u ℌ=*when* 14[24b]
v 14[23]
w ℌ=*only* 28[29]
16 L7e*c*
x 20[13] Ex 23[17] 34[23]† ct [P]107
y Ex 23[17] 34[23] cp [JE]203
z Ex 23[15b] 34[20b]
a′ 12[15]

18a L4a*l*
18b-20 L4c*c*

[18] [Lu]Judges and [v]officers shalt thou make thee in all thy [h]gates, [t]which Yahweh thy God giveth thee, [w]according to thy tribes: [L]and they shall judge the people with [b′]righteous judgement. [19] Thou shalt not [c′]wrest judgement; thou shalt not [d′]respect persons: neither shalt thou [e′]take a gift; for a [f′]gift doth blind the eyes of the wise, and pervert the [M]words of the righteous[f′]. [20] [M]That which is altogether just shalt thou follow, that thou mayest [x]live, and inherit the land [t]which Yahweh thy God giveth thee.

u Cp 1[16]
c′ Cp 24[17] 27[19] Ex 23[6]
d′ 1[17]
e′ 10[17]
f′ Ex 23[8]

21. L5g*j*

[21] [NL]Thou shalt not plant thee an [g′]Asherah [of] [y]any kind of tree beside the [z]altar of Yahweh thy God, which thou shalt make thee. [22] Neither shalt thou set thee up a [M]pillar; which Yahweh thy God hateth.

g′ Cp 7[5]

j 11[3]
k 22[a]
l 96
m 109[a]
n 75
o 105[b]
p 78[b]
q 82[b]
r 104[b]
s 11[9]
t 22[b]
u 67
v 83
w 112[b]
x 72
y 10
z 16

16[7] So **M**. **T** *roast*. The word is that employed in 14[21]. In Ex 12[9] it is forbidden to eat the paschal lamb 'sodden in water.' On the question of apparent contradiction cp Driver *in loc.*

[8a] As it is specified in [8] that unleavened bread shall be eaten seven days (instead of six), and **D** does not elsewhere use the term 'solemn assembly' cp Lev 23[36] Num 29[35]*, this verse is probably from another hand. The word עצרת 'solemn assembly' is not necessarily Levitical cp Lev 23[36N]: but it certainly implies a meeting at the sanctuary: and that seems inconsistent with the instructions in [7] to return home. Sam has *hag* 'feast' as in Ex 13[6]; 𝔊 appears to combine both terms. Cp the additional words of definition in Sam and 𝔊 after 'work.'

[8b] **M** See Lev 23[36].

[10] **M** Or, *after the measure of the &c.*—ℌ†.

[11] In [14] the needy of all kinds are included in the great annual feast of rejoicing for the fruits of the earth; but they are not named as participants in the spring festival [1-8]. As the enumeration of the household-community seems completed with the Levites, it has been conjectured that their mention here (cp [14]) is supplemental cp 12[12] [18] 14[26]. (cp Staerk, *Deut* 12).

[12] This verse seems only loosely connected with the preceding context: there is no definite reminiscence attached to 'weeks' like that in [3]: and the closing reference to obedience sounds premature in the middle of an uncompleted series (cp Steuern, *Deut* 54).

[13 16b] So **M** ℌ. **T** *tabernacles*.

[16a] Founded on Ex 34[23] cp 23[17]. It will be noticed that in the enumeration of the feasts the passover [1..] is omitted, and unleavened bread [3] alone is named. Moreover only males are required to attend, as in the older law; whereas [11] and [14] prescribe the presence of whole households, together with their poor dependants. Further the phraseology of [17] differs from that of [10], being, indeed, in each case unique.

[17] **M** ℌ *according to the gift of his hand.*—ℌ†.

[19] **M** Or, *cause*.

[20] **M** ℌ *Justice, justice*.

[21] The laws in 16[21]. 17[1] seem unconnected with each other, as well as with what precedes; the affinities of 17[1] are with 15[21]. The natural continuation of [18-20] concerning the administration of justice is in 17[8..] providing a metropolitan court of appeal. The prohibition of Asheras beside altars dedicated to Yahweh belongs to the older cultus before the unity of the sanctuary was enforced in 12. On the independent character of 17[2-7] cp 17[2N].

[22] **M** Or, *obelisk*.—Cp 7[5].

JE | D^g | D | D^s | P

1 *L* 61*c*
a 15[21]

17[1] *L*Thou shalt not sacrifice unto Yahweh [a]thy God an ox, or a sheep, wherein is a [a]blemish, [or] [b]any evil-favouredness: for that is an [c]abomination unto Yahweh thy God.

2-7 *L* 5f*l*
b 21[1] 22[22] 24[7] cp 18[10]
c 16[5]
d Josh 7[11 15] 23[16]
e 4[19]
f 13[14]
g ℌ = *truth* 13[14]
h 21[19] 22[24]
i 13[10]
6 *L* 4f*d*
j 19[15]
k 13[9]

2 *NL*If [b]there be [d]found in the [c]midst of thee, [c]within any of thy [f]gates [g]which Yahweh thy God giveth thee, man or woman, that doeth that which is [h]evil in the sight of Yahweh thy God, in [d]transgressing his [i]covenant, 3 and hath gone and [j]served other gods, and worshipped them, or the [e]sun, or the moon, or any of the host of heaven[e], which I have not commanded; 4 and it be told thee, and thou hast heard of it, [f]then shalt thou inquire [k]diligently, and, behold, if it be [g]true, and the thing certain, that such [l]abomination is wrought in Israel; 5 then shalt thou [h]bring forth that man or that woman, which have done this evil thing, unto thy [f]gates, even the man or the woman; and thou shalt [i]stone them with stones, that they die. 6 *L j*At the mouth of two witnesses, or three witnesses, shall he that is to die be put to death; at the mouth of one witness he shall not be put to death. 7 The hand of the witnesses shall be [k]first upon him to put him to death, and afterward the hand of all the people[k]. So thou shalt [m]put away the evil from the [n]midst of thee.

8-13 *L* 4b*b* 10a*j*
l Cp 30[11] ℌ *ct* 1[17]
9 *L* 1*hci*
m 19[17] 26[3] Josh 20[6]†
n 10. 55
o 11 24[8] cp 33[10] ℌ Ex 24[12]
12 *L* 11*hc*
p 18[22] ℌ* cp 1[43]
q 10[8]
r 18[20] ℌ

8 *NL*If there arise a matter too [l]hard for thee in judgement, between blood and blood, between plea and plea, and between stroke and stroke, being matters of controversy within thy [f]gates: then shalt thou arise, and get thee up unto the [o]place which Yahweh thy God shall choose; 9 *L*and thou shalt come unto the [p]priests the Levites, and unto the [q]judge [m]that shall be in those days: and thou shalt inquire; and they shall [n]shew thee the sentence of judgement: 10 and thou shalt do according to the tenor of the sentence, which they shall [n]shew thee from that [o]place which Yahweh shall choose; and thou shalt [r]observe to do according to all that they shall [o]teach thee: 11 according to the tenor of the law which they shall [o]teach thee, and according to the judgement which they shall tell thee, thou shalt do: thou shalt not [s]turn aside from the sentence which they shall [n]shew thee, to the right hand, nor to the left. 12 *L*And the man that doeth [p]presumptuously, in not hearkening unto the priest that [q]standeth to minister there [r]unto Yahweh thy God, or unto the [q]judge, even that man shall die: and thou shalt [m]put away the evil from Israel.

a 1[a]
b 10
c 9[a]
d 49
e 78[b]
f 51
g 69[c]
h 37[b]
i 31
j 23[b]
k 116[c]
l 9[b]
m 92[a]
n 78[b]
o 87
p 90
q 67
r 82[a]
s 114[b]

17[2] This section has often been regarded as one of the series of cases expounded in 13; as dealing with village apostasy it has been suggested that it would fitly stand between the family 6-11 and the city 12-18. But closer examination of the phraseology does not support this view. The opening formula reappears in 21[1] 22[22] 24[7], passages which are marked by the emphatic recognition of the 'elders,' and by the formula of 'putting away' the evil from the theocratic community cp 21[9] 22[21. 24] 24[7] and 17[7] (also 13[5]). Other terms without parallel in 13 will be seen in 'transgressing his covenant,' worshipping 'the sun or the moon or any of the host of heaven,' 'such abomination is wrought,' 'bring forth unto thy gates' cp 22[15 21 24]. No witnesses are required in 13[9].; whereas in 7 they are to take the lead in carrying out the sentence. The formula in 6 is apparently derived from 19[15]; and this stress on the importance of judicial testimony further marks this law as belonging to a different cycle from the cases described in 13 (cp Staerk, *Deut* 6, and Steuern, *Deut* 22).

8 The arrangements here indicated seem to be the natural sequel of 16[18-20]. But the passage is probably not quite homogeneous, for the confused text of 9-11 appears due to the combination of different drafts of the same law. Already in 8 (𝔊) has four pairs of terms instead of three (as if separate sources had contained two each). In 9-11 the repetitions are so numerous that they can only be explained on some hypothesis of amalgamation. Two authorities are named, (1) the Levitical priests and (2) the judge. Are these the same? Or was there to be a civil tribunal by the side of the ecclesiastical? And if so, what were to be their relations? On these topics cp Dillm and Driver *in loc.* and Nowack, *Hebr Archaeol* i 323. But it will be made probable elsewhere that the priests are editorially associated with the secular functionaries cp 19[17] 20[2]. 21[5], and a similar union may perhaps be traced here. The doublets in 10 and 11 may then be sorted thus:—

I.

9b And they (so 𝔊 Sam cp 19[18]) shall inquire and they shall shew thee the sentence of judgement, 10a and thou shalt do according to the tenor of the sentence which they shall shew thee from that place which Yahweh shall choose: 11b thou shalt not turn aside from the sentence which they shall shew thee, to the right hand nor to the left.

II.

10b And thou shalt observe to do according to all that they shall teach thee: 11a according to the tenor of the teaching which they shall teach thee (ℜ adds *and according to the judgement which they shall tell thee*) shalt thou do. 12 And the man that doeth presumptuously in not hearkening unto the priest that standeth to minister there before Yahweh thy God (ℜ adds *or unto the judge*), even that man shall die.

Here I is based on the 'judgement' of the civil judge, while II rests on the 'teaching' or 'law' (ℌ *torah*) of the priests. These are set side by side in 9a but in the sources behind the combination they were distinct. 𝔊 apparently endeavoured to simplify the difficulty by omitting *unto the priests the Levites and* 9 (though Steuern suggests a possibility of confusion through the double אשׁ) and curtailing 11. (Cp Staerk 14 and Steuern *in loc.*)

12 ℌ as in 10[8] 21[5]. 𝔗 *before*. 𝔊 *in the name of*. Cp 18[5 7].

JE | D[g] | D | D[s] | P

[13] And all the people shall [t]hear, and fear, and [s]do no more presumptuously.

[14] [L1]When thou art [u]come unto the land [g]which Yahweh thy God giveth thee, and shalt possess it, and shalt dwell therein; and [w]shalt say, I will set a king over me, like as all the nations that are [v]round about me; [15] thou shalt in any wise set him king over thee, whom Yahweh thy God shall [w]choose: one from among thy [v]brethren shalt thou set king over thee: [w]thou mayest not put a [x]foreigner over thee, which is not thy brother. [16] Only he shall not multiply horses to himself, nor cause the people to return to Egypt, to the end that he should multiply horses: [N]forasmuch as Yahweh hath [y]said unto you, Ye shall henceforth return no more that way. [17] Neither shall he multiply wives to himself, that his [z]heart turn not away[z]: neither shall he greatly multiply to himself [a']silver and gold:

[18] [NL]And it shall be, when he sitteth upon the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of [x]this law in a book, out of [that which is] [b']before the [p]priests the Levites: [19] and it shall be with him, and he shall read therein [y]all the days of his life: that he [c']may [z]learn to [a']fear Yahweh his God, to keep [b']all the words of [c']this law and these statutes, to do them.

[20] that his [d']heart be not lifted up above his [v]brethren, and that he [s]turn not aside from the commandment, to the right hand, or to the left: to the end that he may [d']prolong his days in his kingdom, he and his children, in the [e]midst of Israel.

18 [1] [NLa]The priests the Levites, [M][even] [b]all the [c]tribe of Levi, shall have no [a]portion nor inheritance with Israel: they shall eat the [b]offerings of Yahweh made by fire, and his inheritance. [2] And they shall have no inheritance among their brethren: Yahweh [a]is their inheritance, as he hath [d]spoken unto them. [3] [L]And this shall be the priests' due from the people, from them that offer a sacrifice, whether it be ox or sheep, that they shall give unto the priest the [c]shoulder, and the two cheeks, and the maw. [4] [L]The [d]firstfruits of thy [e]corn, of thy wine, and of thine oil, [L]and the [d]first of the fleece of thy sheep, shalt thou give him. [5] For Yahweh [f]thy God hath [g]chosen him out of all thy [c]tribes, to [e]stand to minister in the name of Yahweh, him and his sons [h]for ever.

[6] [L]And if a Levite come from any of thy [i]gates out of [j]all Israel, where he sojourneth, and come with all the [f]desire of his soul unto the [k]place which Yahweh shall choose; [7] then he shall [e]minister in the name of Yahweh his God, as all his brethren the Levites do, which [e]stand there before Yahweh. [8] They shall have like portions to eat, beside that which cometh of the sale of his patrimony.

[9] [L]When [c]thou art come into the [l]land which Yahweh thy God giveth thee, thou shalt not [m]learn to do after the [n]abominations of those nations. [10] [L]There shall not be [c]found [p]with thee any one that maketh his son or his daughter to [h]pass through the fire[h], [L]one that [i]useth divination, one that [j]practiseth augury, or an [k]enchanter, or a [l]sorcerer, [11] or a [m]charmer,

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s 1[43] ℌ
t 58[b]
u 53
v 6[14]
w Cp **26**
x 14[21] **47**
y Cp 28[68] Ex 13[17]
z Jer 17[5]†
a' 8[13]
v 25
w 76
x 70[a]
b' 3[19]
c' 3[112]
y 13[c]
z 71[a]
a' 44[a]
b' 15
c' 104[c]
d' 8[14]
d' 73[b]
1-8 L IIa$\alpha\beta\gamma\delta$
a 10[9]
b Cp [P]11**8**[e]
a 90
b 10
c 112[a]
3 L 7**p**d
d 26[2]
d 91
c Ct Ex 29[27]. Lev 7[31-34]
4a L 8**c**e
e 10[8] cp 90[bc]
e 30
4b L 7**f**
6-8 L 10**a**k
f 12[15]
f 1[a]
g 26[a]
h 13[a]
i 5[1]
j 2[a]
k 87
9 L 5**d**f
g Cp 17[14]
10a L 5**i**a
h 2 Kings 16[3] 17[17] 21[6] 23[10] Ezek 20[31]† cp Lev 18[21]
i Josh 13[22]*
j Lev 19[26]
k Gen 44[5] Lev 19[26]
l Ex 7[11] 22[18]
m Ps 58[5]†
10b-22 L 5**j**c
l 69[c]
m 71[a]
n 9[b]
o 49
p 64

17[16] Probably a gloss cp 28[68] Ex 13[17].

[18] The allusion to the book of the law under the guardianship of the Levitical priests plainly presupposes one of the accounts in 31[9]. . or in 31[24]. . . It is not, however, necessary to regard the whole section [14-20] as a later addition to the Code on this ground. The reference in [18] may have been inserted into the older law. The context in [19-20] is not quite satisfactory, for it is not clear why the king's hear should be 'lifted up above his brethren': if, however, [18-19] be removed, the missing connexion is restored, 'neither shall he greatly multiply to himself silver and gold, that his heart be not lifted up' &c cp 8[12-14] 'lest . . . when thy silver and thy gold is multiplied, . . . then thine heart be lifted up.'

18[a] The text as it stands identifies 'the priests the Levites' with 'the whole tribe of Levi.' No doubt this is historically justifiable, but it is possible that it results in this passage from the juxtaposition of two laws regulating the Levitical revenues. An examination of the text of [1b] 'the offerings of Yahweh made by fire and his inheritance shall they eat' reveals some confusion, for to whom does the pronoun *his* refer? The phrase 'and his inheritance' can hardly be applied to Yahweh. 𝔊 omits *and*, rendering 'the offerings of Yahweh [are] their inheritance, they shall eat them.' In [2] ℌ runs 'and he shall have no inheritance among his brethren, Yahweh is his inheritance, as he spake unto him' cp 10[9], the subject here being 'the whole tribe of Levi.' [1], therefore, in its original form without the words 'all the tribe of Levi,' is parallel to [2], to which 'all the tribe of Levi' was probably the antecedent. The reference to 'the priests' in [3] connects it with [1], while the singular 'him' in [4] carries on the same pronoun in [2] (Steuern attributes [1] to **R**, and [2-5] to his 'singular' author; cp Staerk, *Deut* 10).

[1b] **M** Or [and].

JE | D[g] | D | D[s] | P

or a [n]consulter with a familiar spirit, or a [o]wizard, or a [p]necromancer.
[12] For [q]whosoever doeth these things is an [q]abomination unto Yahweh: and because of these abominations Yahweh thy God [r]doth [r]drive them out from before thee. [13] Thou shalt be perfect with Yahweh thy God.
[14] For these nations, [s]which thou shalt possess, hearken unto them that [j]practise augury, and unto [t]diviners: but as for thee, Yahweh thy God hath not [t]suffered thee so to do. [15] [L]Yahweh thy God will [u]raise up unto thee a prophet from the [s]midst [N]of thee, of the brethren, like unto me; unto him ye shall hearken; [16] according to all that thou desiredst of Yahweh thy God in [t]Horeb in the [v]day of the [u]assembly, saying, Let me not [w]hear again the voice of Yahweh my God, neither let me see this great fire any more, that I die not. [17] And Yahweh said unto me, They have [x]well said that which they have spoken. [18] I will [u]raise them up a prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee; and I will [y]put my words in his mouth, and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him. [19] And it shall come to pass, that whosoever will not hearken unto my words which he shall speak in my name, I will [z]require it of him. [20] [L]But the prophet, which shall speak a word [a']presumptuously in my name, which I have not commanded him to speak, or that shall speak in the name of [v]other gods, [b']that same prophet shall die. [21] And [c']if thou say in thine heart, [w]How shall we know the word which Yahweh hath not spoken? [22] When a prophet speaketh in the name of Yahweh, if the thing follow not, nor come to pass, that is the thing which Yahweh hath not spoken: the prophet hath spoken it [d']presumptuously, thou shalt not be [e']afraid of him[N].

19[1] [L]When Yahweh [a]thy God shall [a]cut off the nations, whose [b]land Yahweh thy God giveth thee, and thou [b]succeedest them, and dwellest in their cities, and in their houses; [2] thou shalt [c]separate three cities for thee in the midst of thy [b]land, which Yahweh thy God giveth thee to [c]possess it. [3] Thou shalt prepare thee the way, and divide the borders of thy land, which Yahweh thy God causeth thee to [d]inherit, into three parts, that every manslayer may flee thither. [4] And [N]this is the case of the [d]manslayer, which shall flee thither and live: whoso killeth his [e]neighbour [f]unawares, and hated him not in time past[f]; [5] as when a man goeth into the forest with his neighbour to hew wood, and his hand [e]fetcheth a stroke with the axe to cut down the tree, and the [M]head [g]slippeth from [N]the helve, and lighteth upon his neighbour, that he die; he shall [h]flee unto one of these cities and live: [6] lest the [i]avenger of blood pursue the manslayer, while his heart is hot, and overtake him, because the way is [j]long, and smite him [k]mortally; whereas he was not [l]worthy of death, inasmuch as he hated him not in time past. [7] [m]Wherefore I [f]command thee, saying, Thou shalt separate three cities for thee:

[8] [N]And if Yahweh thy God [n]enlarge thy border, [g]as he hath sworn unto thy fathers, and give thee all the land which he promised to give unto thy fathers; [9] [o]if thou shalt [h]keep all this [i]commandment to do it, which I [f]command thee this day, to [j]love Yahweh thy God, and to [k]walk [l]ever in his ways; then shalt thou add three cities more for thee, beside these three.

[10] that [M]innocent blood be not shed in the midst of thy [m]land, which Yahweh thy God giveth thee for an inheritance, and so blood be upon thee. [11] But if any man hate his neighbour, and [p]lie in wait for him,

n Cp Lev 20[27]
o Lev 20[27] 19[31]
p Cp Is 8[19] 𝔊†
q 22[5] 25[16]
r 9[5]
s 12[2]
t Cp JE11[8] 15–22 L11m*e*
u 18 cp 13[1]
v 9[10]
w 5[25]
x 5[28]
y Cp Ex 4[15]. Jer 1[9]
z 23[21] cp 22[2] 20 L5h*b*
a' 18[43] 𝔊
b' Cp 17[12] 𝔊
c' 7[17]
d' 17[12] 𝔊*
e' 1[17]
1-13 L2h*h*
a 12[29]
b 𝔊=*possessest* 12[29] cp 88[b]
c Cp 4[41] Num 35[11]..
d 4[42] cp Ex 21[12-14]
e 13[6]
f Ct Num 35[11]
g 28[40] 𝔊
h 4[42]
i 12 cp Num 35[19]
j 14[24]
k 11 cp 22[26] 𝔊
l 21[22] Jer 26[11 16] 𝔊†
m 15[11]
n 12[20]
o 11[22]
p Josh 8[2]..*

a 1[a]
b 69[c]
c 88[a]
d 65
e 38
f 29[b]
g 107[b]
h 82[a]
i 29[d]
j 74[b]
k 115[a]
l 13[a]
m 69[d]

18[15b] Sam 𝔊 read 'from the midst of (among) thy brethren' as in 18 17[15]. The last clause seems to break the connexion with the following verse, and its plural form is unexpected in the midst of the singular address cp 12[2N].

22 At this point the treatment of the theocratic powers of the state, monarchy, priesthood, and prophecy, is concluded. The collection of laws in 19–25 has a miscellaneous character, and may have been expanded later. With 26[1] cp 18[9].

19[4] Cp 15[2]. The formula sounds like the introduction of a citation from a legal source.

5a M 𝔊 *iron.* 5b M Or, *the tree.*

8 The expansive hortatory manner of 8. contrasted with the simpler style of 1–7 10–13 makes it probable that this is a systematizer's addition, to bring up the number of cities to the Levitical six. Cp 4[41–43].

10 M Or, *the blood of an innocent man.*—Cp 13 21[8] 27[25]*.

JE | D[g] | D | D[s] | P

and [q]rise up against him, and smite him [k]mortally that he die; and he flee into one of these cities: [12] then the [n]elders of his city shall send and fetch him thence, and [r]deliver him into the hand of the [i]avenger of blood, that he may die. [13] Thine [o]eye shall not pity him, but thou shalt [p]put away [M]the innocent blood from Israel, that it may [q]go well with thee[N].

[14] [L]Thou shalt not [s]remove thy neighbour's landmark, which they [t]of old time have set, in thine inheritance which thou shalt inherit, in the land that Yahweh thy God giveth thee to [o]possess it.

[15] [L]One witness shall not [q]rise up against a man for any iniquity, or for any sin, in any sin that he sinneth: at the [u]mouth of two witnesses, or at the mouth of three witnesses, shall a matter be [v]established. [16] [L]If an [w]unrighteous witness rise up against any man to testify against him of [M]wrong doing; [17] then both the men, between whom the controversy is, shall stand before Yahweh, [N]before the priests and the [r]judges which shall be in those days; [18] and the [r]judges shall [x]make [s]diligent inquisition: and, behold, if the witness be a [y]false witness, and hath [z]testified falsely against his [t]brother; [19] then shall [N]ye do unto him, as he had [a']thought to do unto his [t]brother: so shalt thou [u]put away the evil from the [v]midst of thee. [20] And those which remain shall [w]hear, and fear, and shall henceforth commit no more any such evil in the midst of thee. [21] [L]And thine [o]eye shall not pity; [b']life [shall go] for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot.

20[1] [NL]When thou [a]goest forth to battle against thine enemies, and seest horses, and chariots, [and] a people [b]more than thou, [c]thou shalt not be afraid of them: for Yahweh [a]thy God is with thee, which [d]brought thee up out of the land of Egypt. [2a] [L]And it shall be, when [N]ye draw nigh unto the battle,

[2b] [T]And the priest shall approach and speak unto the people, [3] and shall say unto them, [b]Hear, O Israel, ye draw nigh this day unto battle against your enemies: let not your heart [c]faint; [c]fear not, nor [f]tremble, neither be ye [g]affrighted at them; [4] for Yahweh your God is he that [h]goeth with you, to [d]fight for you against your enemies, to save you.

[5] [T]that the [o]officers shall speak unto the people, saying, What man is there that hath built a new house, and hath not [i]dedicated it? let him go and return to his house, lest he die in the battle, and another man dedicate it. [6] And what man is there that hath planted a vineyard, and hath not [M]used the fruit thereof? let him go and return unto his house, lest he die in the battle, and another man use the fruit thereof. [7] And what man is there that hath [j]betrothed a wife, and hath not taken her? let him go and return unto his house, lest he die in the battle, and another man take her. [8] And the [o]officers shall speak further unto the people, and they shall say, What man is there that is fearful and faint-hearted? let him go and return unto his house, [N]lest his brethren's heart melt as his heart. [9] And it shall be, when the [o]officers have [k]made an end of speaking unto the people, that they shall appoint [l]captains of hosts[l] at the head of the people.

P: n 42[a]; o 43[b]; p 92[b]; q 116[b]; r 67; s 116[c]; t 25; u 92[a]; v 78[b]; w 58[b]; a 1[a]; b 2[b]; c 44[c]; d 45; e 83

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q Cp 15. 22[26]
r Cp 52
14 L3b*a*
s 27[17]*
t ℌ=*ancestors* Lev 26[45]
15-20 L4f*e*
u 17[6]
v ℌ=*stand* Num 30[5]..
16.. L4b*c* 11h*e*
w Ex 23[1]
x ℌ=*inquire diligently* 13[14] 17[4] cp 9
y Ex 23[7]*
z Ct 5[20] ℌ
a' Gen 11[6]*
21 L4e*b*
b' Ex 21[24] Lev 24[18-20]
1-20 L4m*a*
a 21[10] 23[9]
b Cp 7[1 17]
c 7[18]
d Josh 24[17] cp JE136
2 L11h*f*
e Cp 8 Is 7[4] Jer 51[46]
f ℌ* cp *haste* ℌ 16[3]
g ℌ=*dread* 1[29] 44[d]
h Cp 1[30]
i 1 Kings 8[63] ‖ 2 Chron 7[5] cp Prov 22[6] ℌ†
j 28[30] cp 24[5]
k 26[12] 31[24] Josh 8[24] 10[20]
l 1 Kings 2[5] 1 Chron 27[3] ℌ†

19[13a] **M** Or, *the blood of the innocent.*

[13b] The section on expiation for a murder when the murderer is unknown 21[1-9], which now interrupts a series of regulations of military affairs, may possibly have once been connected with [11-13]: cp 'the elders' 19[12] 21[2 4 6], 'put away the innocent blood' 19[13] 21[9]. [16] **M** Or, *rebellion.* See 13[5].

[17] Probably a gloss in explanation of the phrase 'stand before Yahweh,' founded on the combined document in 17[9]..; In [18], however, only the judges are recognized. Are these civil officers or priests? Cp 21[2 5].

[19] An unexpected plural cp 12[2N]: [19b] suggests 'so shalt thou do unto him.'

20[1] On some features in this portion of the Code 20-25 cp 12[1N(2)-(3)].

[2a] 𝔊 'thou drawest nigh' cp [10]: the plural in [3] is here anticipated.

[2b] **T** *that.* The construction of [2a] is continued in [5]. The exhortation here assigned to the priest recalls phrases of the Introduction 1[6-3], and has been often regarded as supplemental, its character being quite different from the subsequent concessions. The grammatical sequence runs on quite easily at [5] which may be rendered 'that the officers' &c. For a similar unexpected reference to the priest cp 21[5]. The sudden change to the plural confirms the ascription to another hand cp 12[2N].

[5] ℌ continuous with [2a]. **T** *and.*

[6] **M** See 28[30] and Lev 19[23-25].

[8] Sam 𝔊[ABFL] *lest he cause his brethren's heart to melt.* Cp 1[28].

JE | D[E] | D | D[S] | P

[10] When thou drawest nigh unto a city to fight against it, then proclaim peace unto it. [11] And it shall be, if it make thee answer of peace, and open unto thee, then it shall be, that all the people that is found therein shall become [M]tributary unto thee, and shall serve thee. [12] And if it will make no peace with thee, but will make war against thee, then thou shalt [m]besiege it: [13] and when Yahweh thy God [f]delivereth it into thine hand, thou shalt [n]smite every male thereof with the edge of the sword: [14] [g]but the [h]women, and the little ones, and the cattle, and all that is in the city, [i]even all the [j]spoil thereof, shalt thou take for a [k]prey unto thyself; and thou shalt eat the spoil of thine enemies [l]which Yahweh thy God hath given thee. [15] Thus shalt thou do unto all the cities which are very far off from thee, which are not of the cities of these nations. [16] [L]But of the cities of these peoples, [l]which Yahweh thy God giveth thee for an inheritance, thou shalt save alive [o]nothing that breatheth: [17] but thou shalt [T]devote them; [N]the Hittite, and the Amorite, and the Canaanite, and the Perizzite, the Hivite, and the Jebusite; [m]as Yahweh thy God hath commanded thee.

[18] that they [n]teach [N]you not to do after all their [o]abominations, which they have done unto their gods; so should ye sin against Yahweh your God.

[19] [L]When thou shalt [m]besiege a city a [p]long time, in making war against it to take it, thou shalt not [q]destroy the trees thereof by [p]wielding an axe against them; for thou mayest eat of them, and thou shalt not cut them down; for is the tree of the field man, that it should be [r]besieged of thee? [20] [g]Only the trees which thou knowest that they be not trees for meat, thou shalt [q]destroy and cut them down; and thou shalt build bulwarks against the city that maketh war with thee, until it [s]fall.

21[1] [NL]If one be [a]found slain in the [b]land which Yahweh [c]thy God giveth thee to [d]possess it, lying in the field, and it be not known who hath smitten him: [2] then thy [e]elders [N]and thy [f]judges shall come forth, and they shall measure unto the cities which are round about him that is slain: [3] and it shall be, that the city which is nearest unto the slain man, even the [g]elders of that city shall take an heifer of the herd, which hath not been [a]wrought with, and which hath not drawn in the yoke; [4] and the [g]elders of that city shall bring down the heifer unto a [b]valley with running water[b], which is neither [c]plowed nor sown, and shall [d]break the heifer's neck there in the valley:

[5] [NL]And the [h]priests the sons of Levi shall come near; for them Yahweh thy God hath [i]chosen to [e]minister unto him, and to [e]bless in the name of Yahweh; and according to their word shall every [f]controversy and every stroke be.

[6] and all the [g]elders of that city, who are nearest unto the slain man, shall wash their hands over the heifer whose neck was broken in the valley: [7] and they shall [g]answer and say, Our hands have not shed this blood, neither have our [j]eyes seen it. [8] [h]Forgive, O Yahweh, thy people Israel, whom thou hast [k]redeemed, and suffer not [i]innocent blood [to remain] in the midst of thy people Israel. And the blood shall be

m 19 29
n 13[15]
16-18 L5f*e*
o Josh 10[40] 11[11] 14 1 Kings 15[29] Ps 150[6]†
19 L3d*c*
p ℌ=*many days* 1[46] 2[1] &c
q 4[31]
r 2 Kings 24[10] 25[2] ‖ Jer 52[5] ℌ†
s ℌ=*come down* 28[52]
1-9 L2h*i*
a Cp 15[19] ℌ Pu Is 14[3]†
b Am 5[24]† cp Ps 74[15]
c Cp 3[3] ℌ Niph
d Cp Ex 13[13] 34[20]*
5 L*ni*/*h*g 4b*d*
e 10[8]
f Cp 17[8-10]
g 27[14].
h Ct P25
i 19[10]
f 52
g 84
h 118
i 10
j 103
k 89
l 69
m 29[a]
n 71[b]
o 9[b]
p 38
a 49
b 69[e]
c 1[a]
d 81[a]
e 42[b]
f 67
g 42[a]
h 90
i 26[a]
j 43[c]
k 95

20[11] **M** Or, *subject to task-work*.—Cp Josh 16[10] 17[13] Judg 1[28]‥.

17a So **M** ℌ. **T** *utterly destroy*.—Cp 35.

17b The introduction of the list of the doomed peoples cp 7[1] after the command to 'devote' them, may be due to an annotator: cp Josh 24[11] Ex 3[8].

18 This verse has a supplemental air after the close in 17b: the plural pronoun perhaps indicates the presence of the expander cp 12[31]. In the last clause ct the formula 'and it be sin in thee' 102.

21[1] The sequence of the regulations concerning war 20[20] 21[10] is broken by 21[1-9] which is closely connected in subject with 19[1-13], though not allied by any special phraseological peculiarities.

2 The 'judges' are not named again, unless this be an anticipatory reference to the judicial functions of the priests 5b cp 19[17]‥. The word may be a harmonistic addition (cp Staerk, *Deut* 17, Steuern *in loc*), or possibly a trace of the amalgamation of two forms of the same law; cp in 3 'which hath not been wrought with' and 'which hath not drawn in the yoke,' which also look like doublets from separate sources.

5 With the entrance of the priests here cp 20[2]‥. They are not mentioned before (unless 'judges' 2 points to them), and they have no part in the expiatory rite described in 4 6-8; for what purpose, then, do they 'come near'? The reference to them may rest on ancient usage, but it has the air here of an afterthought. With the designation 'sons of Levi' cp 31[9], and ct 17[9 18] 18[1] 24[8].

JE | D[g] | D | D[s] | P

[h]forgiven them. [9] So shalt thou [l]put away the innocent blood from the [m]midst of thee, when thou shalt [n]do that which is right in the eyes of Yahweh.

[10] [NL]When thou goest forth to battle against thine enemies, and Yahweh thy God [o]delivereth them into thine hands, and thou carriest them away captive, [11] and seest among the [j]captives a beautiful woman, and thou [k]hast a desire unto her, and wouldest take her to thee to wife; [12] then thou shalt bring her home to thine house; and she shall shave her head, and pare her [l]nails; [13] and she shall put the raiment of her captivity from off her, and shall remain in thine house, and bewail her father and her mother a [m]full month[m]: and after that thou shalt go in unto her, and be her husband, and she shall be thy wife. [14] And it shall be, if thou have no [n]delight in her, then thou shalt let her go [o]whither she will[o], but thou shalt not sell her at all for money, thou shalt not deal with her [M]as a slave, [p]because thou hast humbled her.

[15] [L]If a man have two wives, the one beloved, and the other hated, and they have borne him children, both the beloved and the hated; and if the firstborn son be hers that was hated; [16] then it shall be, in the day that he causeth his sons to [p]inherit that which he hath, that he [q]may not make the son of the beloved the firstborn [M]before the son of the hated, which is the firstborn: [17] but he shall acknowledge the firstborn, the son of the hated, by giving him a [q]double portion of all that he hath: for he is the [r]beginning of his strength[r]; the right of the firstborn is his.

[18] [L]If a man have a [s]stubborn and rebellious[s] son, which will not obey the voice of his father, or the voice of his mother, and though they [r]chasten him, will not hearken unto them: [19] then shall his father and his mother lay hold on him, and [t]bring him out unto the [g]elders of his city, and unto the [u]gate of his place; [20] and they shall say unto the [g]elders of his city, This our son is [s]stubborn and rebellious, he will not obey our voice; he is a [v]riotous liver, and a drunkard[v]. [21] And all the [w]men of his city shall [N]stone him with stones, that he die: so shalt thou [s]put away the evil from the [m]midst of thee; and [t]all Israel shall [u]hear, and fear.

[22] [L]And if a man have committed a [v]sin [x]worthy of death, and he be [y]put to death, and thou hang him on a tree[y], [23] his body shall not [z]remain all night upon the tree, but thou shalt surely bury him the same day; for he that is hanged is [N]accursed of God; that thou [a']defile not thy land [w]which Yahweh thy God giveth thee for an inheritance.

22[1] [L]Thou shalt not see thy [a]brother's ox or his sheep [b]go astray, and [a]hide thyself from them: thou shalt [b]surely bring them again unto thy [a]brother. [2] And if thy [a]brother be not nigh unto thee, or if thou know him not, then thou shalt bring it home to thine house, and it shall be with thee until thy [a]brother [c]seek after it, and thou shalt restore it to him again. [3] And so shalt thou do with his ass; and so shalt thou do with his garment; and so shalt thou do with every [d]lost thing of thy [a]brother's, which he hath lost, and thou hast found: thou [c]mayest not [a]hide thyself.

[4] Thou shalt not see thy [a]brother's ass or his ox fallen down by the way, and [a]hide thyself from them: thou shalt surely help him to lift them up again.

[5] [L]A woman shall not wear that which pertaineth unto a man, neither shall a man put on a woman's garment: [e]for whosoever doeth these things is an [d]abomination unto Yahweh [e]thy God.

[6] [L]If a bird's nest chance to be before thee in the way, in any tree

10-14 $L_{1g}a$ 2d^{i} 4m^{b}
j 32^{42} Jer 48^{46}
k ℌ 7^{7}
l ℌ† cp Jer 17^{1} sing†
m 2 Kings 15^{13}† ct Gen 29^{14} ℌ
n Cp 25^{7} Gen 34^{19}
o ℌ = *according to her soul* cp 12^{15} 24^{15}
p 22^{29} cp 28^{47} (62) Num 25^{13}*
15-17 L_{1}da 3g^{b}
q 2 Kings 2^{9} Zech 13^{8}†
r Gen 49^{3}*
18-21 L_{1}bce l
s 20 Jer 5^{23} Ps 78^{8}†
t 17^{5}
u 22$^{15\ 24}$ 25^{7}
v Prov 23^{21}†
w 22^{21}
22. L_{6}b^{b}
x 19^{6}
y Josh 10^{26}
z Cp Josh 8^{29} 10^{27}
a' Num 35^{34}
1-4 L_{3}c^{b}
a 3. Is 58^{7} Ps 55^{1} Job 6^{16}†
b Ex 23^{4}
c ℌ *require it* 23^{21}
d Ex 22^{9} Lev 5^{22}.†
5 L_{10}
e 18^{12}
6. L_{2}g

l 92^{b}
m 78^{b}
n 37^{a}
o 52
p 65
q 76
r 66
s 92^{1}
t 2^{a}
u 58^{b}
v 102
w 69^{d}
a 25
b 38
c 76
d 9^{a}
e 1^{a}

21[10] The fourth in a series of cases arising out of war 20[1 10 19] which were probably originally all continuous.
[14] **M** Or, *as a chattel.*—Cp 24[7]†.
[16] **M** Or, *during the life time of.*
[21] ℌ רגם cp [P]152; ct סקל 13[11] 17[5] 22[21 24] [JE]216.
[23] **M** ℌ *the curse of God.*

JE | D[g] | D | D[s] | P

or on the ground, with [f]young ones or eggs, and the dam sitting upon the young, or upon the eggs, thou shalt not take the dam with the young: [7] thou shalt in any wise let the dam go, but the young thou mayest take unto thyself; that it may be [f]well with thee, and that thou mayest [g]prolong thy days. f 116[a] g 73[b]

[8] [L]When thou buildest a new house, then thou shalt make a [g]battlement for thy roof, that thou bring not blood upon thine house, if any man fall from thence. [9] [L]Thou shalt not sow thy vineyard with two [h]kinds of seed: lest the [M]whole fruit be [M]forfeited, the seed which thou hast sown, and the [i]increase of the vineyard.

[10] Thou shalt not plow with an ox and an ass together. [11] Thou shalt not wear a [j]mingled stuff, wool and linen together.

[12] [L]Thou shalt make thee [M]fringes upon the four borders of thy [k]vesture, wherewith thou coverest thyself.

[13] [L]If any man take a wife, and go in unto her, and hate her, [14] and lay [m]shameful things to her charge, and [n]bring up an evil name upon her[n], and say, I took this woman, and when I came nigh to her, I found not in her the [o]tokens of virginity[o]: [15] then shall the father of the damsel, and her mother, take and [p]bring forth the [o]tokens of the damsel's virginity unto the [h]elders of the city in the [q]gate: [16] and the damsel's h 42[a]
father shall say unto the [h]elders, I gave my daughter unto this man to wife, and he hateth her; [17] and, lo, he hath laid [m]shameful things [to her charge], saying, I found not in thy daughter the [o]tokens of virginity; and yet these are the tokens of my daughter's virginity. And they shall spread the garment before the [h]elders of the city. [18] And the [h]elders of that city shall take the man and [l]chastise him; [19] and they i 66
shall [r]amerce him in an hundred [shekels] of silver, and give them unto the father of the damsel, because he hath [n]brought up an evil name upon a virgin of Israel: [s]and she shall be his wife; he [c]may not put her away [j]all his days. [20] But if this thing be [t]true, that the [c]tokens of j 13[b]
virginity were not [k]found in the damsel: [21] then they shall bring out the k 49
damsel to the door of her father's house, and the [u]men of her city shall [v]stone her with stones that she die: because she hath [w]wrought folly in Israel[w], to play the harlot in her father's house: so shalt thou [l]put l 92[a]
away the evil from the [m]midst of thee. m 78[b]

[22] [L]If a man be [x]found lying with a woman [y]married to an husband[y], then they shall both of them die, the man that lay with the woman, and the woman: so shalt thou [l]put away the evil from Israel.

[23] If there be a damsel that is a virgin [z]betrothed unto an husband, and a man find her in the city, and lie with her; [24] then [N]ye shall bring them both out unto the gate of that city, and [N]ye shall stone them with stones that they die; the damsel, [a']because she cried not, being in the city; and the man, [a']because he hath [b']humbled his neighbour's wife: so thou shalt [L]put away the evil from the [m]midst of thee.

[25] But if the man find the damsel that is [z]betrothed in the field, and the man force her, and lie with her; then the man only that lay with her shall die: [26] [N]but unto the damsel thou shalt do nothing; there is in the damsel no sin [c']worthy of death: for as when a man [d']riseth against his neighbour, and [e']slayeth him, even so is this matter: [27] for he found her in the field; the betrothed damsel cried, and [f']there was none to save her.

[28] [L]If a man find a damsel that is a [g']virgin, which is not betrothed, and lay hold on her, and lie with her, and they be found; [29] then the man that lay with her shall give unto the damsel's father fifty [shekels]

22[29a] **M** ℌ *fulness.*—Ex 22[29] Num 18[27]†.

9[b] **M** ℌ *consecrated.*—ℌ = *become holy* Lev 6[18] Num 17[32] cp P86.

12 **M** Or, *twisted threads.*—1 Kings 7[17]† ct Num 15[38].

24[a] Perhaps originally singular as in 13[10]: cp the sing in the closing formula of the verse and in 26: 𝔏 *educes utrumque.* Steuern, on the other hand, regards the plural in these Laws as original, while the singular is part of the editorial formulae.

24[b] 𝔊 'they shall be stoned.'

26 𝔊 omits *but . . . nothing.*

JE	D^g	D	D^s	P	
h' 21[14]		of silver, and she shall be his wife, *h'*because he hath humbled her; he [c]may not put her away [j]all his days.			
30 [23[1] in ℌ]		[30] [NL]A man shall not take his father's wife, and shall not *i'*uncover his			
30 *L*1e*f*		father's skirt.			
i' 27[20] Lev 18[8]					
1-8 *L*4l		[23[1]] [NL]He that is [a]wounded in the stones, or hath his privy member			
1. *L*11*k*		cut off[m], shall not enter into the [a]assembly of Yahweh.		a	20[b]
a ℌ†		[2] A [b]bastard shall not enter into the [a]assembly of Yahweh; even to			
b Zech 9[6]†		the tenth generation shall none of his enter into the assembly of			
		Yahweh.			
3-8 *L*1a*h* 4n*c*		[3] [L]An Ammonite or a Moabite shall not enter into the [a]assembly of			
		Yahweh; even to the tenth generation shall none belonging to them			
c 22[24]		enter into the assembly of Yahweh for ever: [4] [c]because they [d]met you			
d Cp 2[19]. . 29		not with bread and with water in the [e]way, when ye [b]came forth out of		b	28[a]
e 24[9] 25[17]		Egypt[e]; and because they hired against thee [f]Balaam the son of Beor			
f Num 22[5]. .		from Pethor of [M]Mesopotamia, to curse thee. [5] Nevertheless Yahweh			
g Josh 24[10]		[c]thy God [d]would not [g]hearken unto Balaam; but Yahweh thy God		c	1[a]
		turned the [e]curse into a [f]blessing unto thee, because Yahweh thy God		d	117
				e	32
h Jer 29[7] 38[4]		[g]loved thee. [6] Thou shalt not [h]seek their peace nor their prosperity [h]all		f	22[b]
Ezr 9[12]		thy days for ever.		g	74[a]
				h	13[b]
i 7[26]		[7] Thou shalt not [i]abhor an Edomite; for he is thy [i]brother: thou		i	25
j 10[19]		shalt not abhor an Egyptian; [j]because thou wast a stranger in his land[j].			
		[8] The children of the third generation that are born unto them shall			
		enter into the [a]assembly of Yahweh.			
9-14 *L*4m*c* 6k*a*		[9] [NL]When [k]thou goest forth in camp against thine enemies, then thou			
k 20[1]		shalt keep thee from every evil thing. [10] [L]If there be [j]among you any		j	64
10. *L*6g*a*		man, that is not clean by reason of that which [l]chanceth him by night,			
l ℌ† ct Lev 15[16]		then shall he go abroad out of the camp, he shall not come within the			
		camp: [11] but it shall be, [m]when evening cometh on[m], he shall bathe			
m Gen 24[63]† cp		himself in water: and [m]when the sun is down, he shall come within			
Ex 14[27]		the camp. [12] Thou shalt have a place also without the camp, whither			
n 16[6]		thou shalt go forth abroad: [13] and thou shalt have a [M]paddle among thy			
		[a]weapons; and it shall be, when thou sittest down abroad, thou shalt			
o Ezek 4[12]†		dig therewith, and shalt turn back and cover [o]that which cometh from			
p Num 14[44] ℌ		thee[o]: [14] for Yahweh thy God walketh [p]in the midst of thy camp, to			
ct Lev 26[12]		[q]deliver thee, and to [k]give up thine enemies before thee; therefore shall		k	100[a]
q Cp Jer 1[8] 19 15[20]		thy camp [r]be holy: that he see no [M]unclean thing [s]in thee, and [s]turn			
r Cp [P]87[a]		away from thee.			
s Jer 32[40]		[15] [L]Thou shalt not deliver unto his master a servant which is escaped			
15. *L*2d*j*		from his master unto thee: [16] he shall dwell with thee, in the [l]midst of		l	78[a]
t 15[7]		thee, in the place which he shall choose within [t]one of thy [m]gates, where		m	51
u Ex 22[21] Lev 19[33]*		it liketh him best: thou shalt not [u]oppress him.			
17. *L*1m*b*		[17] [L]There shall be no [M]harlot of the daughters of Israel, neither shall			
		there be a [M]sodomite of the sons of Israel. [18] Thou shalt not bring the			

22[30] Cp the longer lists of prohibited degrees of affinity in Lev 18 and 20. The mention of one single case here suggests that the laws in this section of the code may be of various origin, but no clue to the principles of selection seems discoverable.

23[1] A peculiar group of rules in [1-8] is concerned with limitations on the right of entry into the assembly of Yahweh (a formula not found elsewhere, though cp Lam 1[10]; Neh 13[1] is founded on this passage). The term 'Yahweh's assembly' occurs also in Num 16[3] 20[4] and Mic 2[5]; and points to the derivation of these regulations from the priestly schools which were occupied with the principles of ritual purity (cp 14[3]. . and 24[8]). They have apparently received some expansion at the hands of the Deuteronomic editors or of a later scribe. In [3] the closing words 'for ever' are hardly consistent with the mention of the tenth generation cp [2]; the reasons in [4a] and [4b-5] have the air of additions, one marked by the pl, and one by the sing pronoun; the allegation in [4a] can hardly be harmonized with the view indicated in 2[29] so far as Moab is concerned, while the general attitude towards Moab and Ammon is different from that implied in 2[9 19]; [4b-5] applies to Moab alone, and as D's narrative makes no allusion to Balaam, this seems to have the character of an afterthought. The phrases of [6] have their parallel in Jeremiah (D never combines 'all thy days' and 'for ever'). Kuen held that the explanatory clauses in [4]. were parallel to those in [7], but it is plain that their style is much more expansive. Note the conjunction כי twice in [7]; but in [4] על־דבר אשר cp 22[24]. [4] M ℌ *Aram-naharaim.*

[9] The provision for the maintenance of the purity of the camp is unique in the Deuteronomic legislation. This is not really analogous to the law in Num 5[1-4]. In the Levitical Code the camp is the symbol of the normal life of Israel: here it is the scene of actual war. The regulations show hardly any of the characteristic phrases of D, but they are markedly different in style from P, which employs other terms (cp [14]). The passage seems to be related to the small group (e g 14[3]. . 23[1-8] 24[8].) concerned with the maintenance of Israel's ritual purity cp 12[1N](4); on the other hand its opening formula links it with 20[1]. . 21[10]. .

[13] M Or, *shovel.* [14] M ℌ *nakedness of any thing.*—24[1]†.
[17a] M ℌ *kedeshah.* See Gen 38[21]. [17b] M ℌ *kadesh.*

JE | D[E] | D | D[S] | P

v ℌ*

hire of a whore, or the wages of a dog, into the house of Yahweh thy God for any vow: for even both these are an [n]abomination unto Yahweh thy God.

19. *L* 3k*b*
w Hiph† cp Ex 22[25]

19 [NL]Thou shalt not [w]lend upon usury to thy [l]brother; usury of money, usury of victuals, usury of [o]any thing that is lent upon usury: 20 unto a [p]foreigner thou mayest lend upon usury; but unto thy [l]brother thou shalt not lend upon usury: [x]that Yahweh thy God may [q]bless thee in all that thou [r]puttest thine hand unto, in the land whither thou [s]goest in to [t]possess it.

x 14[29]

21-23 *L* 8f*ag*[*b*]
y Ct Num 30[3]..
z 18[19]

21 [L]When thou shalt [y]vow a vow unto Yahweh thy God, thou shalt not be slack to pay it: for Yahweh thy God will surely [z]require it of thee; and it would be [u]sin in thee. 22 But if thou shalt forbear to vow, it shall be no [u]sin in thee. 23 That which is [a']gone out of thy lips thou shalt [v]observe and do; according as thou hast vowed unto Yahweh thy God, a freewill offering, which thou hast [b']promised with thy mouth.

a' Num 30[12] Jer 17[16] Ps 89[34] cp Deut 8[3]†
b' Jer 44[25] cp 1 Kings 8[15 24]

24. *L* 3i*a*
c' ℌ=*according to thy soul* cp 12[15]
d' 16[9]

24 [L]When thou comest into the neighbour's vineyard, then thou mayest eat grapes thy fill [c']at thine own pleasure; but thou shalt not put any in thy vessel.

e' 27[5] ct [r]17*b*

25 When thou comest into the neighbour's [d']standing corn, then thou mayest [v]pluck the [a]ears with thine hand; but thou shalt not [e']move a [d']sickle unto thy neighbour's standing corn.

1-4 *L* 1h*c*
a 23[14]
b 3 Jer 3[8] Is 50[1]†
c ℌ=*put her away* 22[19 29]
d 22[13]

24[1] [L]When a man taketh a wife, and marrieth her, then it shall be, if she find no favour in his eyes, because he hath found some [a]unseemly thing in her, that he shall write her a [b]bill of divorcement[b], and give it in her hand, and [c]send her out of his house. 2 And when she is departed out of his house, she may go and be another man's [wife]. 3 And if the latter husband [d]hate her, and write her a bill of divorcement, and give it in her hand, and send her out of his house; or if the latter husband die, which took her to be his wife; 4 her former husband, which sent her away, [a]may not take her again to be his wife, after that she is [e]defiled; for that is [b]abomination before Yahweh: and thou shalt not [f]cause the land to sin, [c]which Yahweh [d]thy God giveth thee for an inheritance.

e ℌ†
f Ex 23[33][x] cp 1 Kings 14[16] *al*

5 *L* 4m*d*
g Cp 20[7]
h ℌ=*to war* Num 31[36]†
i Cp Job 13[13] ℌ
6. *L* 6h*a* nh*h*
6 *L* 3f*d*
j 17 Ex 22[26]*
7 *L* 2j*c*
k Ex 21[16]

5 [L]When a man [g]taketh a new wife, he shall not go out [h]in the host, neither shall he be [i]charged with any business: he shall be free at home one year, and shall cheer his wife which he hath taken. 6 [L]No man shall take the mill or the upper millstone to [j]pledge: for he taketh [a man's] life to pledge.

7 [L]If a man be [e]found [k]stealing any of his [f]brethren of the children of Israel, and he deal with him [M]as a slave, or sell him; then that thief shall die: so shalt thou [s]put away the evil from the midst of thee.

l Lev 13[3]
m 17[10]
n Cp Lev 13·
o 25[17] cp 97
p Num 12[10]
q 23[4]

8 [Nh]Take heed in the [l]plague of leprosy, that thou [i]observe diligently, and do according to all that the [j]priests the Levites shall [m]teach you: as I [n]commanded them, so ye shall [k]observe to do. 9 [o]Remember [l]what Yahweh thy God did unto [p]Miriam, by the [q]way as ye [m]came forth out of Egypt.

10-13 *L* 3f*e*
r 15[2]
s Prov 22[26]†
t Cp 15[6] Qal†
u 10-13†
v Ex 22[25]
w ℌ=*needy* 15[11]
x 16[6] ct Ex 22[26] ℌ
y 6[25]

10 [L]When thou dost [r]lend thy neighbour any manner of [s]loan, thou shalt not go into his house to [t]fetch his [u]pledge. 11 Thou shalt stand without, and the man to whom thou dost [v]lend shall bring forth the pledge without unto thee. 12 And if he be a [w]poor man, thou shalt not sleep with his pledge: 13 thou shalt surely restore to him the pledge [x]when the sun goeth down, that he may sleep in his garment, and bless thee: and [y]it shall be righteousness unto thee before Yahweh thy God.

n 9[a]
o 10
p 47
q 22[2]
r 11
s 53
t 88[a]
u 102
v 82[b]
a 76
b 9[a]
c 69[d]
d 1[a]
e 49
f 25
g 92[a]
h 108[b]
i 82[b]
j 90
k 82[b]
l 12
m 28[a]

23[19] Cp 15[1-11] 24[10-13]. 24[7] **M** Or, *as a chattel*.—21[14].

8 This passage contrasts with the adjoining laws in several particulars. (1) Its subject is not cognate with the social legislation of the context: (2) the hortatory form of introduction is different: (3) the address varies from the sing to the pl: (4) it presupposes regulations already communicated to the priests, to be imparted by them to Israel: (5) the word plague (=*stroke* 17[8] 21[5]) is not used elsewhere by **D** in this sense, though it is the regular term in **P**: (6) the formula in 9 occurs only in 23[4] (itself of doubtful origin) and 25[17]. It seems best, therefore, to regard it as an addition derived from priestly circles, referring to current *torah* analogous to that now embodied in Lev 13·.

JE | D[g] | D | D[s] | P

14. L2a'Ca
z Lev 19[13a]
a' 5[14]
b' Cp Lev 19[13b]
c' ℌ=*soul* 12[20]
d' 15[9]
16 L4Cd

14 L Thou shalt not [z]oppress an hired servant that is [w]poor and needy, whether he be of thy [f]brethren, or of [a']thy strangers that are in thy land within thy [n]gates: 15 in his [b']day thou shalt give him his hire, neither shall the sun go down upon it; for he is poor, and setteth his [c']heart upon it: lest he [d'] cry against thee unto Yahweh, and it be [o]sin unto thee.

16 NL The fathers shall not be put to death for the children, neither shall the children be put to death for the fathers: every man shall be put to death for his own sin.

n 51
o 102

17 L4hb
e' 16[19]
f' 22 5[15]
g' 5[15] 15[11]
19–22 L3ib
h' Lev 19[9] 23[22]
i' Ruth 2[7] 15
Job 24[10]†

17 L Thou shalt not [e']wrest the judgement of the [p]stranger, [nor] of the fatherless; nor take the widow's raiment to [j]pledge: 18 but thou shalt [f']remember that thou wast a bondman in Egypt, and Yahweh thy God [q]redeemed thee thence: [g']therefore I command thee to do this thing.

19 L When thou [h']reapest thine harvest in thy field, and hast forgot a [i']sheaf in the field, thou shalt not go again to fetch it: it shall be for the [p]stranger, for the fatherless, and for the widow: that Yahweh thy God may [r]bless thee in all the [s]work of thine hands.

p 105[a]
q 95
r 22[a]
s 119

j' Is 27[12] cp Judg 6[11]
k' ℌ†
l' Lev 25[5]
m' Lev 19[10]

20 When thou [j']beatest thine olive tree, thou shalt not [k']go over the boughs[k'] again: it shall be for the [p]stranger, for the fatherless, and for the widow. 21 When thou [l']gatherest [the grapes of] thy vineyard, thou shalt not [m']glean it after thee: it shall be for the [p]stranger, for the fatherless, and for the widow. 22 And thou shalt [f']remember that thou wast a bondman in the land of Egypt: therefore I command thee to do this thing.

1-3 L4j
1 L4Ce
a 17[8]
b Ex 23[7]*
c Ex 22[9]*
d Lev 25[26] Judg 6[5] ℌ†

25[1] L If there be a [a]controversy between men, and they come unto judgement, and [the judges] judge them; then they shall [b]justify the righteous, and [c]condemn the wicked; 2 and it shall be, if the wicked man be worthy to be beaten, that the [a]judge shall cause him to lie down, and to be beaten before his face, [d]according to his wickedness, by number. 3 Forty stripes he may give him, he shall not exceed: lest, if he should exceed, and beat him above these with many stripes, then thy [b]brother should [e]seem vile [c]unto thee.

a 67
b 25
c 43[a]

e Cp 27[16] ℌ*
4 L2f
f Cp Ezek 39[11] ℌ†
g ℌ* Hos 10[11] *al*
5–10 LIf b

4 NL Thou shalt not [f]muzzle the ox when he [g]treadeth out [the corn].

5 NL If brethren dwell together, and one of them die, and have no son, the wife of the dead shall not marry without unto a stranger: her husband's brother shall go in unto her, and take her to him to wife, and [h]perform the duty of an husband's brother unto her[h]. 6 L And it shall be, that the firstborn which she beareth shall succeed in the name of his brother which is dead, that his name be not [i]blotted out of Israel. 7 And if the man [j]like not to take his brother's wife, then his brother's wife shall go up to the [k]gate unto the [d]elders, and say, My husband's brother refuseth to raise up unto his brother a name in Israel, he [e]will not [h]perform the duty of an husband's brother unto me. 8 Then the [d]elders of his city shall call him, and speak unto him: and if he stand, and say, I [j]like not to take her; 9 then shall his brother's wife come unto him in the [e]presence of the [d]elders, and [l]loose his shoe from off his foot, and [m]spit in his face; and she shall answer and say, So shall it be done unto the man that doth not build up his brother's house. 10 And his name shall be called in Israel, The house of him that hath his shoe loosed.

h 7 Gen 38[8]†
6 LId b
i Cp 9[14]
j 8 cp 21[14] ℌ
k 21[19]
l Is 20[2]
m Num 12[14]†

d 42[a]
e 117

11 LIn
n Ex 21[22]
o ℌ†

11 L When men [n]strive together one with another, and the wife of the one draweth near for to deliver her husband out of the hand of him that smiteth him, and putteth forth her hand, and taketh him by the [o]secrets: 12 then thou shalt cut off her hand, thine [f]eye shall have no pity.

f 43[b]

24[16] The special regulations designed for the protection of the weak or helpless against social oppression are here interrupted by a statement of general principle unrelated to the context either in matter or form. It was known to the Deuteronomic redactor of the records of the monarchy 2 Kings 14[6]. cp Jer 31[29]. Ezek 18[4]; but in its present place it seems like an afterthought, and is consequently marked as an addition. It is in general harmony with 7[10], but the expression is different.

25[4] Another precept detached from its natural connexions. So far as it concerns the harvest it seems to belong to 24[19–22]; or, as a provision for kindness to animals, it has affinities with 22[1–4]. [5] Cp 21[15]. . 22[13]. . 24[1–5].

JE | D[g] | D | D[s] | P

13-16 *L4da*
p Mic 6[11] Prov 16[11]
q ℌ† cp Lev 19[36] Prov 11[1] ℌ
r 18[12]
s Lev 19[39]

13 [L]Thou shalt not have in thy [p]bag divers weights, a great and a small. 14 Thou shalt not have in thine house divers measures, a great and a small. 15 A [q]perfect and just[q] weight shalt thou have; a perfect and just measure shalt thou have: that thy days may be [g]long upon the [h]land which Yahweh [i]thy God giveth thee. 16 [r]For all that do such things, [N][even] [j]all that do [s]unrighteously, are an [k]abomination unto Yahweh thy God.

g 73[a]
h 69[c]
i 1[a]
j 10
k 9[a]

17-19 *L4nb*
t Ex 17[8]
u 23[4]
v Josh 10[19]†
w ℌ†
x 12[10]
y Ex 17[14] cp 9[14]
z 7[24]

17 [NL]Remember what [t]Amalek did unto thee by the [u]way as ye [l]came forth out of Egypt; 18 how he met thee by the way, and [v]smote the hindmost [m]of thee, all that were [w]feeble behind thee, when thou wast faint and weary; and he feared not God. 19 Therefore it shall be, when Yahweh thy God hath [x]given thee [n]rest from all thine enemies round about[x], in the [o]land which Yahweh thy God giveth thee for an inheritance to possess it, that thou shalt [y]blot out the remembrance of Amalek [z]from under heaven; thou shalt not [p]forget.

l 28[a]
m 64
n 98
o 69[f]
p 48

1-11 *L8ce*
a 17[14]
2 *L10ab*
b 10 18[4]
c 4 28[5] 17†
3 *L11aj*
d 17[9]
e 30[18]
f 10 ℌ=*lay it up* 14[28]
g Cp Gen 46[3]
h Cp Gen 47[4]
i 28[62] ℌ cp Gen 34[30]
j Ex 1[9] ℌ
k Num 20[15]
l Ex 1[12]
m ℌ=*service* Ex 1[14]
n Num 20[16] cp Ex 3[7]
o Ex 3[7] 4[31]
p Gen 41[51]
q Ex 3[9]
r 4[34]
s 1[31]

26[1] [NL]And it shall be, [a]when thou art [a]come in unto the [b]land which Yahweh [c]thy God giveth thee for an inheritance, and possessest it, and dwellest therein; 2 [L]that thou shalt take of the [b]first of all the [d]fruit of the ground, which thou shalt bring in from thy [e]land that Yahweh thy God giveth thee; and thou shalt put it in a [c]basket, and shalt go unto the place [f]which Yahweh thy God shall choose to cause his name to [g]dwell there. 3 [L]And thou shalt come unto the priest [d]that shall be in those days, and say unto him, I [e]profess this day unto Yahweh thy God, that I am come unto the land which Yahweh [h]sware unto our fathers for to give us. 4 And the priest shall [N]take the [c]basket out of thine hand, and [f]set it down before the [i]altar of Yahweh thy God. 5 And thou shalt answer and say before Yahweh thy God, A [M]Syrian [M]ready to perish was my father, and he [g]went down into Egypt, and [h]sojourned there, [i]few in number; and he became there a nation, [j]great, [j]mighty, and populous[j], 6 and the Egyptians [k]evil entreated us, and [l]afflicted us, and laid upon us hard [m]bondage: 7 and we [n]cried unto Yahweh, [k]the God of our fathers, and Yahweh [n]heard our voice, and [o]saw our affliction, and our [p]toil, and our [q]oppression: 8 and Yahweh [l]brought us forth out of Egypt with a [m]mighty hand, and with an outstretched arm, and with [r]great terribleness, and with [n]signs, and with wonders: 9 and he hath [o]brought us into [s]this place, and hath given us this land, [p]a land flowing with milk and honey. 10 And now,

a 53
b 69[d]
c 1[a]
d 50
e 69[c]
f 87
g 40
h 107[a]
i 16
j 55[b]
k 1[b]
l 28[a]
m 80[1]
n 101[a]
o 24
p 69[a]

25[16] Perhaps a gloss founded on Lev 19[35]. In ℌ the words stand at the end of the sentence.

17 Cp 24[9]: another appeal to remembrance (97) marked by the formula of the 'way,' based on the narrative in Ex 17[8-16]. The lack of connexion with the previous group of social laws suggests a doubt whether it may not be due rather to the hand of an annotator than to the original compiler. Bacon supposes it to have been incorporated by R[d] from an earlier discourse of Moses in E, but the language hardly supports such an ascription. (It may be noted that in each case the phrase relating to the Exodus employs the plural in a singular context 23[4] 24[9].)

26[1] The liturgical directions which here follow, are generally viewed as the close of the actual code 12–26: on the possibility that they were once more closely connected with 12–18 (19) cp 12[1N] (2). The want of uniformity in the Deuteronomic language raises some perplexing questions which are not without bearing on the problem of the unity of its authorship. The instructions concerning the offering of firstfruits 2–11 show a general resemblance to the law of vegetable tithe (corn, wine, and oil) 14[22–27]. Firstfruits are also named in 18[4] (corn, wine, and oil) as among the priestly dues: but in 12[6] 17 where tithes are specified, firstfruits are not mentioned. Are the firstfruits and tithe the same? So some recent writers (e g Benzinger, *Hebr Arch* 461, Steuern, Addis). If so, is the difference of nomenclature to be ascribed to difference of source? And what, then, is the meaning of designating the third year 12 (when the tithe was bestowed on the Levites in the homesteads) as 'the year of tithing'? If tithes were taken every year, why should the third year be called the 'tithe-year'? Some ancient custom must have originally given special significance to the triennial payment (cp Driver, *Deut* 173, and Driver and Nowack on Am 4[4], *Cambr Bible* and *Handkom*). It is expressly required in 12 that the whole tithe shall be assigned to the poor members of the community, while the ritual in 2 only specifies 'some of the firstfruits,' such as could be put in a basket; the word 'all' (omitted by Sam and (𝔊)) being perhaps a later definition cp 10. Firstfruits were exacted according to the First Code Ex 23[16] (בכורים instead of ראשית) at harvest-time, but nothing is said of tithes cp Ex 22[29]. D does not specify at what season or in what manner the firstfruits were to be paid to the priest 18[4], or when the festive tithe-meal was to be held at the sanctuary 14[22–27]. But it can hardly be supposed that these two passages refer to the same religious gift, and the identification of the firstfruits in 26[2] with the tithes of 14[22] cannot be regarded as assured (e g the wine and oil are not included). There remains the possibility that the passage in 18[4] represents an advance in priestly demands, or that the different laws were not actually drafted by the same hands, so that the confusion in their relations is due to slight diversities of expression within the same general school.

4 This rubric may be an additional ritual direction; in 10b the worshipper himself deposits his gift after his confession.

5a **M** ℌ *Aramean.*—Cp Gen 31[20 24].

5b **M** Or, *wandering.* Or, *lost.*

JE | D[S] | D | D[C] | P

behold, I have brought the [b]first of the [d]fruit of the ground, which thou, O Yahweh, hast given me. And thou shalt [f]set it down before Yahweh thy God, and [q]worship before Yahweh thy God: [11] and thou shalt [r]rejoice in all the good which Yahweh thy God hath given unto [t]thee, [N]and unto thine house, thou, and the Levite, and the stranger that is in the [s]midst of thee.

[12] [L]When thou hast made an end of tithing all the tithe of thine [v]increase in the [v]third year, which is the year of tithing, then thou shalt give it unto the [t]Levite, to the stranger, to the fatherless, and to the widow, that they may [u]eat within thy [v]gates, and be [w]filled; [13] and thou shalt say before Yahweh thy God, I have [w]put away the [z]hallowed things out of mine house, and also have given them unto the [t]Levite, and unto the stranger, to the fatherless, and to the widow, according to all thy [x]commandment which thou hast commanded me: I have not transgressed any of thy commandments, neither have I [y]forgotten them: [14] I have not eaten thereof in my mourning, neither have I [w]put away thereof, being unclean, nor given thereof [y]for the dead: I have [z]hearkened to the voice of Yahweh my God, I have done according to all that thou hast [a']commanded me. [15] Look down from thy [z]holy habitation, from heaven, and [b']bless thy people Israel, and the ground which thou hast given us, as thou [c']swarest unto our fathers, a [p]land flowing with milk and honey.

[16] [N]This day Yahweh thy God commandeth thee to do these [d']statutes and judgements: thou shalt therefore [e']keep and do them with all thine [f']heart, and with all thy soul. [17] Thou hast [a']avouched Yahweh this day to [b']be thy God, and that thou shouldest [g']walk in his ways, and [h']keep his [d']statutes, and his commandments, and his judgements, and [z]hearken unto his voice: [18] and Yahweh hath [a']avouched thee this day to be a [i']peculiar people unto himself, as he hath [j']promised thee, and that thou shouldest [h']keep all his commandments; [19] and to make thee [c']high above all nations which he hath made, [M]in praise, and in name, and in honour; and that thou mayest be an [k']holy people unto Yahweh thy God, as he hath [j']spoken.

27[1] [NL]And Moses and the [a]elders of Israel commanded the people,

t 12[7]
12-15 L8dc
u 14[22]
v 14[28]
w ℌ=*satisfied* 14[29]
x ℌ=*holy* 12[26]
y 14[1]
z Ct Ex 15[13]* cp Jer 25[30] *al*
a' 18 ℌ†
b' Cp [P]26
c' 28[1]
1-8 L4vb
q 23[a]
r 96
s 78[a]
t 105[b]
u 41[a]
v 51
w 92[b]
x 29[c]
y 48
z 58[a]
a' 29[a]
b' 22[a]
c' 107[b]
d' 104[a]
e' 82[b]
f' 59
g' 115[a]
h' 82[c]
i' 60[b]
j' 91
k' 60[a]
a 42[b]

26[11] ℌ *thou and thine house.*

16 The opening of the great concluding discourse in which the duty of observance of the previous laws was enforced. On the probable continuity of 28 after 16–19 cp 27[1N]. The language of 17 is not free from perplexity. The phrase 'thou hast avouched' occurs only in this passage. It seems to point to some solemn manifestation in which Yahweh and Israel entered into definite relations as God and people. Wellh supposed that this took place at Horeb, so that the code in 12–26 originally represented the legislation of the wilderness. As that does not seem consistent with other phenomena of the book, Dillm (with whom Driver agrees) regards the silent audience of the people, while Moses recites the laws, as the act of mutual adoption. Oettli evades the difficulty by an impossible emendation of the text. On the relation of this passage to other concluding discourses cp 27[9N] 29[2N].

19 **M** Or, *for a praise, and for a name, and for an honour.*— Cp Jer 13[11] *honour = glory* ℌ.

27[1] The discourse in 26[16–19] appears to be resumed in 28[1] (cp 'make thee high above all nations' 26[19] 28[1]), the connexion of 28[1] being plainly much closer with 26[19] than with 27, which contains a collection of fragments. Various elements are by general consent combined in it, but it is difficult to account for their union, or to ascertain their original attachments. The first section 1–8 is concerned with the inscription of the law on stones to be set up on Mount Ebal, and the construction of an altar 5–7a on the same spot. In 9. it seems natural to find the opening of a great discourse exhorting Israel to obedience, and its abrupt arrest at once excites surprise. The injunctions of 11–13 are not unrelated locally to the commands in 1–8, but the links between the two are not apparent. The series of dooms in 14–26 is evidently not the immediate sequel of 11–13, for whereas 12 selects Levi as one of six tribes charged to pronounce a blessing, 14 ascribes to Levi alone a liturgical collection of twelve curses. Of these several passages the first is itself, also, composite, for the injunctions for the erection and plastering of the stones 1–4 7b 8 are full of the characteristic phrases of **D**, while the directions for building the altar follow the fundamental rule of **E**. This makes it probable that other **E** elements are to be detected in the neighbourhood, and the cognate passage in Josh 8[30–35] supplies a clue (cp Bacon, *Triple Trad* 260). There Joshua builds an altar in Mount Ebal, the words of the law are inscribed upon the stones, and are afterwards solemnly read to the assembled people. This act of sacrifice is at first sight not in harmony with the Deuteronomic view of the only legitimate sanctuary 12[1..], though it may be defended on the ground that the condition of settled possession there implied was not yet realized. But it strikingly recalls another scene in **E** where not only is an altar erected and a book of divine law read, but twelve great stones are reared Ex 24[4–7]. The stones are called pillars, and their function is only temporary: but the coincidence is noteworthy. The editor of Josh 8[30–35] apparently regarded the law as carved on the stones composing the altar. This is obviously impossible when the altar was constructed of unhewn stones. The Deuteronomic version provides a suitable surface by requiring them to be plastered, and plainly distinguishes them from the materials of the altar cp Ex 24[4]. It is therefore quite possible that the original command in 2–4 [8] may be derived from **E**, altogether recast by **D**[s], and the association of the elders with Moses thus receives some little light*. The repetition of

* As ℌ omits 'the people,' Dillm proposes to read 'commanded the elders of Israel' cp 31[9b 10a].

JE | D[c] | D | D[s] | P

saying, [b]Keep [a]all the [c]commandment which I [d]command you this day.
[2] And it shall be on the day when ye shall pass over Jordan unto the
[e]land which Yahweh [f]thy God giveth thee, that thou shalt [b]set thee up
great stones, and [c]plaister them with plaister: [3] and thou shalt write
upon them [g]all the words of [h]this law, when thou art passed over; that
thou mayest go in unto the [e]land which Yahweh thy God giveth thee,
a [f]land flowing with milk and honey, as Yahweh, the God of thy fathers,
hath [j]promised thee. [4] And it shall be when ye are passed over Jordan,
that ye shall set up these stones, which I [d]command you this day, in
mount Ebal, and thou shalt plaister them with plaister.

[5] [L]And there shalt thou build an altar unto Yahweh thy God, an altar of
stones: thou shalt [d]lift up no iron [tool] upon them. [6] Thou shalt build
the [k]altar of Yahweh thy God of [N]unhewn stones: [L]and thou shalt [e]offer
[f]burnt offerings thereon unto Yahweh thy God: [7a] [L]and thou shalt sacrifice
[f]peace offerings;

[7b] and shalt [g]eat there; and thou shalt [l]rejoice before Yahweh thy God.
[8] And thou shalt write upon the stones [g]all the words of [h]this law [m]very
[h]plainly.

[31[29]→] [9] [NL]And Moses and the [n]priests the Levites spake unto [o]all
Israel, saying, [i]Keep silence, and [o]hearken, O Israel; [j]this day thou [j]art
become the people of Yahweh thy God. [10] Thou shalt therefore [p]obey
the voice of Yahweh thy God, and do his [q]commandments and his statutes,
which I [d]command thee this day. [→4[5]]

[11] [N]And Moses charged the people the same day, saying, [12] These shall
stand upon mount [k]Gerizim to bless the people, when ye are passed over
Jordan; Simeon, and Levi, and Judah, and Issachar, and Joseph, and
Benjamin: [13] and these shall stand upon mount [k]Ebal for the [r]curse;
Reuben, Gad, and Asher, and Zebulun, Dan, and Naphtali.

[14] [NL]And the Levites shall [l]answer, and say unto all the men of Israel with a [m]loud
voice[m],

[15] [L]Cursed be the man that maketh a [n]graven or [o]molten image, an [s]abomination
unto Yahweh, the [p]work of the hands of the craftsman, and setteth it up in [q]secret.
And all the people shall [l]answer and say, Amen.

[16] [L]Cursed be he that [r]setteth light by his father or his mother. And all the people
shall say, Amen.

[17] [L]Cursed be he that [s]removeth his neighbour's landmark. And all the people
shall say, Amen.

[18] [L]Cursed be he that maketh the blind to [t]wander out of the way. And all the
people shall say, Amen.

[19] [L]Cursed be he that [u]wresteth the judgement of the [t]stranger, fatherless, and
widow. And all the people shall say, Amen.

[20] [L]Cursed be he that [v]lieth with his father's wife; because he hath [w]uncovered his
father's skirt. And all the people shall say, Amen.

a 8[1]
b 4 cp Josh 4[20] 8[30]..
c ℌ†
5. L 10 d m
d Ex 20[25]
6b L 7b h
e JE 11 0
7 L 7p b
f Ex 20[24]
g 12[7]
h Cp 1[5] ℌ
9 L 11 l
i ℌ†
j Cp 26[17]
k 11[29] cp Josh 8[33]
14 L 11 i f
l 21[7]
m ℌ†
15 L 5b h
n 5[8] Ex 20[4] Lev 26[1]
o Ex 34[17] Lev 19[4]
p 4[28] 31[29] cp 119
q 24 13[6]
16 L 1b d
r 25[3] cp Ex 21[17] Lev 20[9] ℌ
17 L 3b b
s 19[14]
18 L 2k a
t ℌ[x] cp Prov 28[10]
19 L 4h c
u 16[19] 24[17] Ex 23[6]
20 L 10 g
v Lev 20[11]
w 22[30]
b 82[c]
c 29[d]
d 29[b]
e 69[c]
f 1[a]
g 15
h 70[a]
i 69[a]
j 91
k D16
l 96
m 116[c]
n 90
o 2
p 58[a]
q 104[a]
r 32
s 9
t 105[a]

2 in [4] and of [3] in [8] has led some critics to trace more than one hand in these verses also, but they seem explicable by the expansive manner of D[s]. There is, however, a further difficulty. The phraseology in [2] suggests that the stones were to be erected on the actual day of the passage of the Jordan; while [3] conceives them as set up and inscribed before the entry into the promised land. Is the distance from the Jordan to Shechem forgotten; does the writer 'looking back to a distant past' (Driver, *Deut* 295) fail to take account of the time that must have elapsed between the crossing of the river and the arrival at Ebal; or is there a vague reminiscence in his mind of the later incident when twelve stones are taken up out of the Jordan and placed upright in the Gilgal Josh 4[3 20]?

27[6] **M** ℌ *whole.*—Cp Ex 20[25] Josh 8[31].

[9] Like 26[16].. this passage has the appearance of introducing an exhortation to obedience. In spite of two unique Hebrew phrases, its language is in general harmony with that of D. Many critics, therefore, view it as a connecting link between 26[19] and 28[1]. It is not, however, by any means needed for that purpose; [9] seems an independent reference to the great adoption cp 26[17].; and no cause is apparent for the introduction of the Levites. Another connexion is suggested by 31[24-29] cp [29N].

[11] This passage [11-13] rests in its present form on 11[29] cp Josh 8[33], and is consequently ascribed to D[s]. It may, however, be founded on an earlier arrangement of **E**: Bacon (*Triple Trad* 260) points out that the position assigned to Levi in [12] places him on a footing of equality with the secular tribes (cp Gen 34[20] 49[5]), unlike the separate dignity claimed for him in **D**, and still more in **P**.

[14] The function of Levi in [14] is not identical with that of [12]: and the concluding curses do not seem to belong to the preceding directions: (1) they are unaccompanied by any blessings such as might have been expected to precede them [12]; (2) they are delivered by the Levites alone to whom the whole people respond, while in [12] Levi is one of six appointed to bless: (3) they are not founded immediately on the preceding code, as they omit matters on which it lays great stress, and include others to which it does not refer, while they show parallels both with **E**'s judgements and with P[h]. (For affinities of substance cp Table of Laws: phraseological contact is noted in the margins.) It has been conjectured that they are 'part of an old liturgical office, used on solemn occasions' (Driver, *Deut* 300). The prominence assigned to the Levites [14] may imply that they are among the latest insertions in the book.

JE | D[S] | D | D[S] | P

21 L1lc
x Ex 22[19]
22. L1eh
24 L2id
y 19[4] Ex 21[12] Lev 24[17]
25 L4Cf
z ℌ=*gift* 16[19]
a′ Cp 19[10]. ℌ Lev 24[17]
b′ ℌ=*establish* 9[5] cp 2 Kings 23[3 24]
a ℌ=*make thee high* 26[19]
b Gen 18[18]
c 15 45 30[1] ct 4[30] ℌ
d Ct 16. .
e 11 18 53 cp 50[b]
f 11 51 30[9]†
g 18 51 7[13]
h 17 26[2]
i 17 Ex 83 12[34]†
j 19 31[2] Josh 14[11]
k 142 ℌ
l Lev 25[21]
m Prov 3[10]†
n Josh 4[24]* cp 1 Kings 8[43]
o Cp Jer 14[9] 7[10] Is 63[19]
p Cp 2[25]
q 30[9]
r 11[14]
s 44 cp 15[6]
13. L5at
t 44 Is 9[14] 19[15]†
u Cp 1 43 ℌ
v 11[27]

[21] L Cursed be he that [x]lieth with any manner of beast. And all the people shall say, Amen.
[22] L Cursed be he that lieth with his sister, the daughter of his father, or the daughter of his mother. And all the people shall say, Amen.
[23] Cursed be he that lieth with his mother in law. And all the people shall say, Amen.
[24] L Cursed be he that [y]smiteth his neighbour in [q]secret. And all the people shall say, Amen.
[25] L Cursed be he that taketh [z]reward to [a′]slay an innocent person. And all the people shall say, Amen.
[26] N Cursed be he that [b′]confirmeth not the words of [h]this law to do them. And all the people shall say, Amen.

28[1] N And it shall come to pass, if thou shalt [a]hearken diligently unto the voice of Yahweh [b]thy God, to [c]observe to do all his commandments which I [d]command thee this day, that Yahweh thy God will [a]set thee on high above [b]all the nations of the earth: [2] and all these [e]blessings shall [c]come upon thee, and overtake thee, if thou shalt [a]hearken unto the voice of Yahweh thy God. [3] [d]Blessed shalt thou be in the city, and blessed shalt thou be in the field. [4] Blessed shall be the [e]fruit of thy body, and the [f]fruit of thy ground, N and the [f]fruit of thy cattle[f], the [g]increase of thy kine, and the young of thy flock[g]. [5] Blessed shall be thy [h]basket and thy [i]kneading-trough. [6] Blessed shalt thou be when thou [j]comest in, and blessed shalt thou be when thou [j]goest out. [7] Yahweh shall [g]cause thine enemies that rise up against thee to be [k]smitten before thee: they shall come out against thee one way, and shall flee before thee seven ways. [8] Yahweh shall [l]command the [e]blessing upon thee in thy [m]barns, and in [h]all that thou puttest thine hand unto; and he shall [l]bless thee in the [j]land which Yahweh thy God giveth thee. [9] Yahweh shall establish thee for an [k]holy people unto himself, as he hath [l]sworn unto thee; if thou shalt [m]keep the commandments of Yahweh thy God, and [n]walk in his ways. [10] And [n]all the peoples of the earth shall see that thou art [o]called by the name of Yahweh; and they shall be [p]afraid of thee. [11] And Yahweh shall [q]make thee plenteous for good, in the [e]fruit of thy body, and in the [f]fruit of thy cattle, and in the [f]fruit of thy ground, in the land which Yahweh [l]sware unto thy fathers to give thee. [12] Yahweh shall open unto thee his good M treasure the heaven to [r]give the rain of thy land in its season[r], and to [l]bless all the [o]work of thine hand: and thou shalt [s]lend unto many nations, and thou shalt not borrow. [13] L And Yahweh shall make thee the [t]head, and not the [t]tail; and thou shalt be [u]above [p]only, and thou shalt not be [u]beneath; if thou shalt [v]hearken unto the commandments of Yahweh thy God, which I [d]command thee this day, to [q]observe and to do [them]; [14] and shalt not [r]turn aside from any of the words which I [d]command you this day, to the right hand, or to the left, to [s]go after other gods to [t]serve them.

[15] But it shall come to pass, if thou wilt not [a]hearken unto the voice of

a 58[a]
b 1[a]
c 82[a]
d 29[b]
e 22[b]
f 50[a]
g 100[a]
h 11
i 22[a]
j 69[c]
k 60[a]
l 107[b]
m 82[c]
n 115[a]
o 119
p 84
q 82[b]
r 114[b]
s 85[a]
t 23[b]

27[26] This conclusion has probably been adapted or added to suit the present position of the preceding curses.

28[1] This great discourse seems to be the sequel of the exhortation in 26[16–19], and follows the Code in 12–26[15] much as the brief address in Ex 23[20]. . is attached to the Book of Judgements, or Lev 26[3–45] to the Holiness Legislation. The nucleus of the first portion of it is found in two sets of blessings and curses [3–6] and [16–19], with their appropriate homiletic envelopes [1–14] and [15–46]. The rest seems to fall into two distinct sections, the first [47–57] comprising a warning against a foreign invader and a delineation of the horrors of a protracted siege, the second [58–68] having no special connexion with the preceding, but containing threats of diminution of the population by disease, and of their ultimate dispersion by slavery in distant lands. Whether these passages were composed consecutively, or placed in their present collocation by their original author, has been sometimes doubted. The unity of the discourse has been maintained in substance by Kuenen and Driver. Dillm cautiously admits the possibility that it may have received additions, but thinks that their separation from the original nucleus is no longer possible. The phenomena which point in this direction are of various kinds: (1) the same threats and warnings are again and again repeated, e g of disease [21. 27 35 60], of defeat and captivity [25 36. 63.], of foreign bondage where the worship of Yahweh can no longer be practised [36 64]: (2) some passages are marked by peculiarities of matter and form e g [25b 26 36 41 58]: (3) an unusual number of parallels with the language of Jeremiah may be noticed cp [10 20 25. 29. 36. 48. 51–53 61 63 65]. Reasons will be offered for regarding [25b 26 35–37 41.] as possible later insertions, and for treating [47–57] and [58–68] as separate sections, though whether they really proceed from separate authors cannot be determined. They are at any rate homiletic products of the same school as the homilies in 5–11; and they show marked affinities with the type of prophetic preaching presented in the writings of Jeremiah (cp *Introd* X 2 i 88–90). In [49]. . the Chaldeans seem to be in view: but the concluding section does not contemplate a particular deportation by conquest, so much as a general expatriation by enslavement, Egypt being mentioned among the countries of their future servitude. In these aspects the discourse seems to precede 4[5–40], though [62] and 4[27], and [36 64] and 4[28], are not without affinities.

[4] Not in [18] or in 𝔊; probably a gloss, cp [11].

[12] M Or, *treasury*.—32[34] cp Jer 10[13] || 51[16] 50[25] Ps 33[7] Job 38[22].

JE | D[g] | D | D[s] | P

Yahweh thy God, to [e]observe to do all his [u]commandments and his statutes which I [d]command thee this day; that all these [v]curses shall [c]come upon thee, and overtake thee. [16] Cursed shalt thou be in the city, and cursed shalt thou be in the field. [17] Cursed shall be thy [h]basket and thy [i]kneadingtrough. [18] Cursed shall be the [e]fruit of thy body, and the [f]fruit of thy ground, the [g]increase of thy kine, and the young of thy flock. [19] Cursed shalt thou be when thou [j]comest in, and cursed shalt thou be when thou goest out. [20] Yahweh shall [w]send upon thee cursing[w], [z]discomfiture, and [y]rebuke, in [h]all that thou puttest thine hand unto for to do, until thou be [w]destroyed, and until thou [x]perish [y]quickly; [z]because of the evil of thy doings[z], whereby thou hast [a']forsaken [N]me. [21] Yahweh shall make the pestilence cleave unto thee, until he have [b']consumed thee from off the land, whither thou [z]goest in to [a']possess it. [22] Yahweh shall smite thee with [c']consumption, and with fever[c'], and with [y]inflammation, and with fiery heat[y], and with [M]the sword, and with [d']blasting, and with mildew[d']; and they shall pursue thee until thou [x]perish. [23] And thy heaven that is over thy head shall be [e']brass, and the earth that is under thee shall be iron. [24] Yahweh shall make the rain of thy land powder and dust: from heaven shall it come down upon thee, until thou be [w]destroyed. [25a] Yahweh shall [g]cause thee to be [f']smitten before thine enemies: thou shalt go out one way against them, and shalt flee seven ways before them:

[25b] [N]and thou shalt be [M]tossed to and fro among all the kingdoms of the earth. [26] And thy carcase shall be meat unto all fowls of the air, and unto the beasts of the earth, and there shall be none to fray them away.

[27] Yahweh shall smite thee with the [g']boil of Egypt, and with the [M]emerods, and with the [h']scurvy, and with [y]itch, whereof thou canst not be healed. [28] Yahweh shall smite thee with [i']madness, and with blindness, and with astonishment of heart[i']: [29] and thou shalt grope at noonday, as the [j']blind gropeth in darkness, and thou shalt not [k']prosper in thy ways: and thou shalt be [l']only [m']oppressed and [n']spoiled [b']alway, and there shall be [o']none to save thee. [30] Thou shalt [p']betroth a wife, and another man shall [q']lie with her: thou shalt [r']build an house, and thou shalt not dwell therein: thou shalt [r']plant a vineyard, and shalt not [N]use the fruit thereof. [31] Thine ox shall be slain [c']before thine eyes, and thou shalt not eat thereof: thine ass shall be violently taken away from before thy face, and shall not be restored to thee: thy sheep shall be given unto thine enemies, and thou shalt have [o']none to save thee. [32] Thy sons and thy daughters shall be given unto another people, and thine eyes shall look, and [s']fail with longing for them all the day: and there shall be [t']nought in the power of thine hand. [33] The [f]fruit of thy ground, and all thy labours, shall a nation which thou [d']knowest not [u']eat up; and thou shalt be [P]only [m']oppressed and [v']crushed [b']alway: [34] so that thou shalt be [w']mad for the [x']sight of thine eyes which thou shalt see.

[35] [N]Yahweh shall smite thee in the knees, and in the legs, with a sore [g']boil, whereof thou canst not be healed, from the [y']sole of thy foot unto the crown of thy head. [36] Yahweh shall bring thee, and thy [z']king which thou shalt set over thee, unto a [aa]nation which thou hast not [d']known, thou nor thy fathers; and [ab]there shalt thou [i]serve other gods, wood and stone. [37] And thou

w Mal 2[2]†
x 7[23]
y ℌ†
z Jer 4[4] 21[12] 26[3] 44[22]†
a' 29[25] 31[16] Josh 24[16 20]
b' 7[22]
c' Lev 26[16]†
d' Am 4[9] 1 Kings 8[37] *al*
e' Cp Lev 26[19]
f' Lev 26[17]
g' 35 cp 60 Ex 9[9]
h' Lev 21[20] 22[22]†
i' Zech 12[4]†
j' Zeph 1[17] Is 59[10]
k' Josh 1[8] ℌ cp JE66
l' 16[15] ct 13 33 ℌ
m' 33 Jer 50[33]
n' Jer 21[12] 22[3]
o' 31 22[27]
p' 20[7]
q' Jer 3[2] Is 13[16] Zech 14[2]†
r' Am 5[11] Zeph 1[13]
s' ℌ† cp Lam 4[17]
t' Neh 5[5] cp Gen 31[29] Mic 2[1] Prov 3[27]†
u' Lev 26[16]
v' Am 4[1]
w' Ct Hos 9[7] Jer 29[26]
x' Cp 67
y' Cp Is 1[6]
z' 17[15]
aa Jer 9[16] cp 16[13]
ab 64 4[28]

u 104[a]
v 32
w 34[b]
x 86[c]
y 93
z 53
a' 88[a]
b' 13[a]
c' 43[a]
d' 68[c]

28[20] For a similar transition to the first person, as if Yahweh himself were the speaker cp 7[4].

22 **M** Or, according to some ancient versions, *drought*.

25b The unusually close resemblance of this passage to some utterances of Jeremiah suggests that words of that prophet may have been combined and inserted here by a later hand. With 25b cp Jer 15[4] 24[9] 29[18] 34[17]†; 26 cp Jer 7[33] 16[4] 19[7] 34[20]†.

25b' **M** Or, *a terror unto*.

27 **M** Or, *tumours*. Or, *plague boils*.

30 **M** See 20[6] and Lev 19[23–25].

35 The return at this point to the infliction of disease is unexpected after the list of maladies in 27. In 36 the threat of exile for king and people is without parallel elsewhere, and 36. strangely interrupts the description of suffering in their own land continued from 34 in 38. The language has again a strongly Jeremian tinge: with 36 cp Jer 9[16] 16[13]: in 37 'astonishment' is frequent in Jer e g 25[9 11 18 38] 44[12] 49[13 17]; 'a proverb and a byword' Jer 24[9] ('byword' = 'taunt' ℌ 1 Kings 9[7] ‖ 2 Chron 7[20]†). The phrases all seem to belong to a common prophetic vocabulary.

JE | D[g] | D | D[s] | P

shalt become an [ac]astonishment, a [ad]proverb, and a byword[ad], among [e']all the peoples [ae]whither Yahweh shall lead thee away.

[38] Thou shalt carry much seed out into the field, and shalt gather little in; for the locust shall [y]consume it. [39] Thou shalt [v']plant vineyards and dress them, but thou shalt neither drink of the wine, nor [af]gather [the grapes]; for the worm shall eat them. [40] Thou shalt have olive trees [ag]throughout all thy borders, but thou shalt not [ah]anoint thyself with the oil; for thine olive shall cast [its fruit].

[41] [N]Thou shalt beget sons and daughters, but they shall not be thine; for they shall go into captivity. [42] [N]All thy trees and the [f]fruit of thy ground shall the [y]locust [y]possess.

[43] [L]The stranger that is in the [f']midst of thee shall mount up above thee [u]higher and higher; and thou shalt come down [u]lower and lower. [44] He shall [s]lend to thee, and thou shalt not lend to him: he shall be the [t]head, and thou shalt be the [t]tail. [45] And all these [v]curses shall [c]come upon thee, and shall pursue thee, and overtake thee, till thou be [w]destroyed; because thou [s]hearkenedst not unto the voice of Yahweh thy God, to keep his [u]commandments and his statutes which he commanded thee: [46] and they shall be upon thee for a [g']sign and for a wonder, and upon thy seed for ever.

[47] [N]Because thou [h']servedst not Yahweh thy God with [ai]joyfulness, and with [aj]gladness of heart, by reason of the abundance of all things: [48] therefore shalt thou serve thine enemies which Yahweh shall send against thee, in hunger, and in thirst, and in [y]nakedness, and in [ak]want of all things: and he shall put a [al]yoke of iron[al] upon thy neck, until he have [i']destroyed thee. [49] Yahweh shall bring a nation against thee from [am]far, from the end of the earth, [an]as the eagle flieth; a nation whose [ao]tongue thou shalt not understand; [50] a nation of [ap]fierce countenance, which shall not [aq]regard the person of the old, nor shew favour to the young: [51] and he shall [ar]eat the [f]fruit of thy cattle, and the [f]fruit of thy ground, [N]until thou be [w]destroyed: which also shall not leave thee [j']corn, wine, or oil, the [g]increase of thy kine, or the young of thy flock, until he have caused thee to [k']perish. [52] And he shall [as]besiege thee in all thy [l']gates, until thy high and [at]fenced walls come down, [au]wherein thou trustedst, throughout all thy land: [N]and he shall besiege thee in all thy gates throughout all thy land, [j]which Yahweh thy God hath given thee. [53] And thou shalt eat the [e]fruit of thine own body, the [av]flesh of thy sons and of thy daughters which Yahweh thy God hath given thee; [aw]in the siege and in the straitness, wherewith thine enemies shall straiten thee. [54] The man that is [ax]tender [m']among you, and very delicate[ax], his [ay]eye shall be evil toward his brother, and toward the [az]wife of his bosom, and toward the remnant of his children which he hath remaining: [55] so that he will not give to any of them of the flesh of his children whom he shall eat, because he hath nothing left him; [aw]in the siege and in the straitness, wherewith thine enemy shall straiten thee in all thy [l']gates. [56] The [ax]tender and delicate woman [m']among you, which would not adventure to set the sole of her foot upon the ground for delicateness and tenderness, her [ay]eye shall be evil toward the husband of her bosom, and toward her son, and toward her daughter; [57] and toward her [N]young one that cometh out from between

[ac] Jer 25[9] 11 18 38 *al*
[ad] Jer 24[9] 1 Kings 9[7] ‖ 2 Chron 7[20]†
[ae] 4[27]
[af] Prov 6[8] 10[5] ℌ†
[ag] 16[4] Ex 13[7]
[ah] Mic 6[15]
[ai] Cp 12[7] 16[15]
[aj] Is 65[14]†
[ak] 57 Am 4[6]†
[al] Jer 28[14]†
[am] Is 5[26]
[an] Jer 48[40] 49[22]†
[ao] ℌ=*language* Jer 5[15] cp Is 33[19]
[ap] Dan 8[23]†
[aq] Cp Lam 4[16] 5[12].
[ar] Cp Jer 5[17]
[as] Cp 1 Kings 8[37] Jer 10[18] Zeph 1[17] ℌ
[at] 1[28]
[au] Jer 5[17] cp Is 37[10]
[av] Cp Lev 26[29]
[aw] 55 57 Jer 19[9]†
[ax] 56 Is 47[1]†
[ay] 56 15[9]
[az] 13[6]

[a'] 14
[b'] 78[b]
[c'] 101[b]
[d'] 23[c]
[e'] 34[a]
[f'] 30
[g'] 86[a]
[h'] 51
[i'] 64

28[41] Cp [32]: perhaps another repetition. For the use of דולר 'beget' (P30) cp 4[25]: the counterpart as in JE7 does not occur in D.

[42] Parallel in substance to [38]: the word 'locust' in [42] is ound nowhere else.

[47] *RV* treats [47]. as continuous with [45]. But the lack of connexion rather suggests a fresh departure: [46] reaches a solemn close, and the failure in joyful service [47] is a different cause for punishment compared with the positive disobedience of [45].

[48] prepares the way for the description of the dreaded invader (apparently, as the parallels with Jeremiah imply, the Chaldeans), and the incidents and results of a siege, with a rhythmic refrain in [53] [55] [57]. In this section phrases of distinctively Deuteronomic character are rare (for חדה אשר at the opening cp 2 Kings 22[17] 2 Chron 21[12]).

[51] Not in ℌ; perhaps a duplicate of the last clause of the verse.

[52] Probably an accidental repetition from the first half of the verse.

[57] **M** Or, *afterbirth*.—ℌ†.

JE	D[S]	D	D[S]	P
		her feet, and toward her children which she shall bear; for she shall eat them for [ak]want of all things secretly: [aw]in the siege and in the straitness, wherewith thine enemy shall straiten thee in thy [l']gates.		
		[58] [N]If thou wilt not [c]observe to do [n']all the words of [o']this law that are [p']written in this book, that thou mayest [q']fear this glorious and fearful name, YAHWEH THY GOD; [59] then Yahweh will make thy [ba]plagues wonderful, and the plagues of thy seed, even great plagues, and of long continuance, and sore sicknesses, and of long continuance. [60] And he will bring upon thee again all the [bb]diseases of Egypt, which thou wast [bc]afraid of; and they shall cleave unto thee. [61] Also every [bd]sickness, and every plague[bd], which is not [p']written in the book of [o']this law, them will Yahweh bring upon thee, until thou be [w]destroyed. [62] And ye shall be [be]left few in number, whereas ye were as the [bf]stars of heaven for multitude; because thou didst not [a]hearken unto the voice of Yahweh thy God. [63] And it shall come to pass, that as Yahweh [bg]rejoiced over you to [bh]do you good, and to [r']multiply you; so Yahweh will rejoice over you to cause you to [k']perish, and to [l']destroy you; and ye shall be [bi]plucked from off the land whither thou [z]goest in to [a']possess it. [64] And Yahweh shall [bj]scatter thee among [c']all peoples, [bk]from the one end of the earth even unto the other end of the earth; and [ab]there thou shalt [t]serve other gods, which thou hast not [d']known, thou nor thy fathers, even wood and stone. [65] And among these nations shalt thou [bl]find no ease, and there shall be no rest for the sole of thy foot: but Yahweh shall give thee there a [y]trembling [N]heart, and [bm]failing of eyes, and [bn]pining of soul: [66] and thy life shall [y]hang in doubt before thee[y]: and thou shalt fear night and day, and shalt have none [bo]assurance of thy life: [67] in the morning thou shalt say, Would God it were even! and at even thou shalt say, Would God it were morning! for the fear of thine heart which thou shalt fear, and for the [x']sight of thine eyes which thou shalt see. [68] And Yahweh shall bring thee into Egypt again with ships, by the way whereof I [bp]said unto thee, Thou shalt see it no more again: and there ye shall sell yourselves unto your enemies for bondmen and for [N]bondwomen, and no man shall buy you[N].		n' 15 o' 7[0a] p' 120 q' 44[a]
		29[1] [NL]These are the words of the [a]covenant which Yahweh commanded Moses to make with the [a]children of Israel in the land of Moab, [b]beside the covenant which he made with them in [b]Horeb.		a 31 b 7
		[2] [N]And Moses [c]called unto [c]all Israel, and said unto them, [d]Ye have seen all that Yahweh did [d]before your eyes in the land of Egypt unto Pharaoh, and unto all his servants, and unto all his land; [3] the great [M]temptations [e]which thine eyes saw, the [f]signs, and those great wonders: [4] but Yahweh hath not given you an [e]heart to know, and eyes to see,		c 2[a] d 43[a] e 43[c] f 101[4]

28[58] In [58–68] there are renewed allusions [59–61] to various forms of sickness cp [21. 27 35]. According to [58 61] the book of the law is already written cp 29[20. 27] 30[10], though no mention of writing it occurs till 31[9]. The unique description of the 'glorious and fearful name' [58] seems to imply the growth of special reverence for the divine name cp Lev 24[10]. The presence of Deuteronomic phrases is more frequent, but parallels also abound with Jer: in [65] the word 'heart' is used in the form לֵב as in 4[11] 29[4 19] (elsewhere in D לֵבָב) common in Jer, and the term שִׁפְחָה 'bondwoman' [68] only appears here in D cp Jer 34[9–11 16], while Jer never employs D's usual word אָמָה. These slight stylistic differences lend some confirmation to the view that [58–68], which has no particular relation to the description of the invasion and siege [49–57], owes its place here, perhaps, to some later editorial hand.

[65] Cp 59, and [58N]. [68a] Cp [JE]41 and 99; and [58N].

[68b] On the probability that 30[1–10] may have originally formed the conclusion of this discourse cp 30[1N].

29[1] Cp 1[1 5]. Driver, agreeing with Knobel, Kuen, and Westphal, attaches this verse to 5–26 28. On the other hand Ewald, Keil, Dillm, Oettli, and more recently Addis and Steuern connect it with 29. This view is adopted here; on grounds partly of matter and partly of form. (1) The opening phrase may point either forwards or backwards. But in 5–26 28 there is no reference to a covenant in Moab; the language of 26[16 27] points to some solemn act of divine adoption, but its nature is not specified. On the other hand in [12]. . the Covenant is not yet formally instituted, but the people are assembled to 'passover' into it. (2) The language has a somewhat different cast from that of D: on 'children of Israel' cp 4[44N]: for 'beside' see [P]31.

[2] The discourse in [2–29] is distinguished by many peculiarities both of thought and style, though it obviously belongs to the great Deuteronomic school. The retrospect in [2–8] curiously omits any reference to Horeb; it is further assumed that the covenant which is about to be made [12]. with Israel (including future generations [15b]) is already recorded in 'this book of the law' [21]; and it seems to include the curses of 28, though they are described [19]. by another term. In [28] the writer speaks of exile as a present fact; and his language does not seem sufficiently explained by the deportation of the Ten Tribes after 722. That which is still future in Jer 12[14]. . 24[6], is here contemplated as past, and the terrible consequences have arrived. The parallels with the language of Jeremiah are numerous, as in 28; and a number of expressions may be noted which are not found elsewhere in D or are used in slightly different senses. Such will be found in [6] 'that ye may know' &c; [9] 'prosper'; [12] 'enter into the covenant' †; [12] 'oath' אָלָה [14 19]. cp 30[7]; [17] 'abominations and idols' cp 2 Kings 23[24] Ezek 20[7]. [18] 37[23] ('abominations' 7[26*] cp Jer 4[1] 7[30] *al*; 'idols' Lev 26[30*] in Jer only 50[2], thirty-nine times in Ezek); [18] 'a root that beareth' †; [18] 'gall and wormwood' cp Am 6[12] Jer 9[15] 23[15] Lam 3[19] †; [19] 'bless himself in his heart' †; 'stubbornness of mine heart' Jer 3[17] 7[24] 9[14] 11[8] 13[10] 16[12] 18[12] 23[17] Ps 81[12] †; [20] 'smoke,' nowhere else of jealousy cp Ps 74[1]; [21] 'separate for evil' † cp 'for evil' Am 9[4] Jer 21[10] 24[9] 29[11] 38[4] 39[16] 44[11 27 29] Judg 2[15]; [22] 'the generation to come' cp Ps 48[13] 78[4 6] 102[18] †; [22] 'the foreigner that shall come' &c ct 1 Kings 8[41]; [22] 'sicknesses' cp Jer 14[18] 16[4] Ps 103[3] 2 Chron 21[19] †; [25] 'forsook the covenant' Jer 22[9] 1 Kings 19[10 14] Dan 11[30] †; [28] 'rooted them out' ℌ = 'pluck up,' a favourite word in Jer e g 1[10] 12[14]. . 18[7] 24[6] *al*; [29] 'the secret things' 'the things that are revealed,' feminine participles not occurring in this sense elsewhere (cp the frequent use of fem pl in Is 40. .). Peculiar turns of thought and phrase will further be found in 4 10–13 15b 19b 23 26 29.

[3] M See 4[34].

JE	D^g	D	D^s	P

f 8² cp Am 2¹⁰
g Cp 8⁴
h Cp 8³
i Cp 1³¹
j 2³²–3¹³
k 3⁸ ¹²

and ears to hear, [s]unto this day. ⁵ And I have [f]led you forty years in the wilderness: your [g]clothes are not waxen old upon you, and thy shoe is not waxen old upon thy foot. ⁶ Ye have not eaten [h]bread, neither have ye drunk wine or strong drink: that ye might [N]know that [h]I am Yahweh [i]your God. ⁷ And when ye [i]came unto this place, [j]Sihon the king of Heshbon, and Og the king of Bashan, came out against us unto battle, and we smote them: ⁸ and we [k]took their land, and gave it for an inheritance unto the Reubenites, and to the Gadites, and to the half tribe of the Manassites. ⁹ [J]Keep therefore the words of this [a]covenant, and do them, that ye may [M]prosper in all that ye do.

g 33ᵇ
h 63
i 1ᵃ
j 82ᵇ

10–15 *L*¹¹*l*ⁿ
11 *L*²*a*ᵏ
l Ct 2¹⁴ (sing)
m Cp Josh 9²¹ 23³⁷†
n Cp 2ᴺ
o 28⁹
p Ct 2617.
q 2617 cp P26

¹⁰ [L]Ye stand this day all of you before Yahweh your God; your [l]heads, your [N]tribes, your [m]elders, and your [n]officers, even [k]all the men of Israel, ¹¹ your [o]little ones, your wives, [L]and thy [N]stranger that is in the midst of thy [l]camps, from the [m]hewer of thy wood unto the drawer of thy water[m]: ¹² that thou shouldest [n]enter into the [a]covenant of Yahweh thy God, and into his [n]oath, which Yahweh thy God maketh with thee this day: ¹³ that he may [o]establish thee [P]this day unto himself for a people, and that he may [q]be unto thee a God, as he [P]spake unto thee, and as he [q]sware unto thy fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob. ¹⁴ Neither with you only do I [a]make this covenant and this oath; ¹⁵ but with him that standeth here with us this day before Yahweh our God, and also with him that is not here with us this day: ¹⁶ (for ye know how we dwelt in the land of Egypt; and how we came through the midst of the nations through which ye passed; ¹⁷ and ye have seen their [n]abominations, and their [n]idols, [r]wood and stone, [s]silver and gold, which were among them:) ¹⁸ lest there should be among you man, or woman, or family, or [l]tribe, whose [t]heart turneth away this day from Yahweh our God, to go to [r]serve the gods of those nations; lest there should be among you a [n]root that beareth [M]gall and wormwood; ¹⁹ and it come to pass, when he heareth the words of this [M]curse, that he [n]bless himself in his heart, saying, I shall have peace, though I walk in the [n]stubbornness of mine [e]heart, [y]to destroy the moist with the dry: ²⁰ Yahweh [s]will not [u]pardon him, but then the [t]anger of Yahweh and his jealousy shall [n]smoke against that man, and all the curse that is [u]written in this book shall lie upon him, and Yahweh shall [v]blot out his name from under heaven. ²¹ And Yahweh shall [n]separate him unto evil out of all the [l]tribes of Israel, according to all the curses of the [a]covenant that is [u]written in [v]this book of the law. ²² And the [n]generation to come, your children that shall [w]rise up after you, and [n]the [w]foreigner that shall come from a far land, shall say, when they see the [x]plagues of that land, and the [n]sicknesses wherewith Yahweh hath made it sick; ²³ [and that] the whole land thereof is [y]brimstone, and salt, [and] a burning, [that] it is not sown, nor beareth, nor any grass groweth therein, like the [z]overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah, [a']Admah and Zeboiim, which Yahweh overthrew in his anger, and in his wrath: ²⁴ even all the nations shall say, [b']Wherefore hath Yahweh done thus unto this land? what meaneth the heat of this great anger? ²⁵ Then men shall say, Because they [n]forsook the [a]covenant of Yahweh, the [x]God of their fathers, which he made with them when he [r]brought them forth out of the land of Egypt; ²⁶ and went and [r]served other gods, and worshipped them, gods whom they [z]knew not, and whom he had not [T]divided unto them: ²⁷ therefore the [t]anger of Yahweh was kindled against this land, to bring upon it all the [a']curse that is [u]written

l 57
m 42ᵇ
n 83
o 118
p 91
q 107ᵇ
r 23ᵇ
s 117
t 17
u 120
v 70ᵇ
w 47
x 1ᵇ
y 28ᵇ
z 68ᵉ
a' 32

r 4²⁸
s Cp 7²⁵
t 30¹⁷
u Cp Jer 5¹ 7 50²⁰ 1 Kings 8⁵⁰
v 9¹⁴
w Cp Judg 2¹⁰
x 28⁵⁹
y Gen 19²⁴*
z Am 4¹¹ Is 1⁷ 13¹⁹ Jer 49¹⁸ 50⁴⁰†
a' Gen 14² Hos 11⁸†
b' Jer 22⁸ 1 Kings 9⁸

29⁶ Cp Driver *in loc.* For the phrase cp Ex 7¹⁷ 8²²ᵇ 10² and P179: for the transition to the first person cp 7⁴.

⁹ **M** Or, *deal wisely.*—Cp Josh 1⁷. 1 Kings 2³.

¹⁰ Probably 'your judges' cp Josh 8³³ 23² 24¹ (Dillm, Driv, Addis).

¹¹ A peculiar adaptation of the usual phrase concerning the stranger within the gates 105ᶜ.

¹⁸ **M** ℌ *rosh*, a poisonous herb.—Cp 32³². Am 6¹² Hos 10⁴ Jer 8¹⁴ 9¹⁵ 23¹⁵ Lam 3⁵ ¹⁹ Ps 69²¹ Job 20¹⁶†.

19ᵃ **M** Or, *oath*, and so ²⁰.

19ᵇ **M** Or, *to add drunkenness to thirst.*—†.

²⁶ So **M** ℌ. **T** *given.*—Cp 4¹⁹.

JE	D^E	D	D^S	P
		in this book: [28] and Yahweh [n]rooted them out of their land in [e']anger, and in wrath, and in great indignation[e'], and [d']cast them into [e']another land, [b']as at this day.		b' 33[a]
		[29] [N]The [n]secret things belong unto Yahweh our God: but the things [n]that are revealed belong unto us and to our children for ever, that we may do [e']all the words of this law.		e' 15
		30[1] [N]And it shall come to pass, when [a]all these things are come upon thee, the [a]blessing and the [b]curse, which I have [c]set before thee, and thou shalt [b]call them to mind among all the [c]nations, whither Yahweh [d]thy God hath [d]driven thee, [2] and shalt [e]return unto Yahweh thy God, and shalt [e]obey his voice according to all that I [f]command thee this day, thou and thy children, with all thine [g]heart, and with all thy soul; [3] that then Yahweh thy God will [M]turn thy captivity, and have [f]compassion upon thee, and will return and [g]gather thee from [h]all the peoples, whither Yahweh thy God hath [h]scattered thee. [4] If [any of] thine [i]outcasts be in the [j]uttermost parts of heaven, from thence will Yahweh thy God [g]gather thee, and from thence will he [k]fetch thee: [5] and Yahweh thy God will [l]bring thee into the land which thy fathers possessed, and thou shalt [l]possess it; and he will [m]do thee good, and [j]multiply thee above thy fathers. [6] And Yahweh thy God will [n]circumcise thine heart, and the heart of thy seed, to [k]love Yahweh thy God with all thine [g]heart, and with all thy soul, [o]that thou mayest [l]live.		a 22[b] b 32 c 100[b] d 1[a] e 58[a] f 29[b] g 59 h 14 i 24 j 81 k 74[b] l 72
		[7] [N]And Yahweh thy God will put all these [P]curses upon thine enemies, and on them that hate thee, which persecuted thee.		
		[8] And [N]thou shalt return and [e]obey the voice of Yahweh, and [q]do all his commandments which I [f]command thee this day. [9] And Yahweh thy God will make thee [r]plenteous in all the [m]work of thine hand, in the fruit of thy body, and in the fruit of thy cattle, and in the [n]fruit of thy ground, for good[r]: for Yahweh will again [s]rejoice over thee for good, as he rejoiced over thy fathers: [10] if thou shalt [e]obey the voice of Yahweh thy God, to [o]keep his [p]commandments and his statutes which are [q]written in [f]this [t]book of the law; if thou [e]turn unto Yahweh thy God with all thine [g]heart, and with all thy soul.		m 119 n 50 o 82[c] p 104[a] q 120 r 70[b]
		[4[40]→] [11] [N]For this [s]commandment which I [f]command thee [M]this day, it is not too [M]hard for thee, neither is it far off. [12] It is not in heaven that thou shouldest say, Who shall go up for us to heaven, and bring it unto us, and make us to hear it, that we may do it? [13] Neither is it beyond the sea, that thou shouldest say, Who shall go over the sea for us, and bring it unto us, and make us to hear it, that we may do it? [14] But the word is very nigh unto thee, in thy mouth, and in thy [v]heart, that thou mayest do it.		s 29[c]

D^E: *d'* Jer 21[5] 32[37]† cp 16[13]; *e'* Jer 22[26]

D: *a* Cp 28[2] 15; *b* ℌ=*lay to heart* 4[39]; *c* Jer 29[18]; *d* Cp Jer 8[3] 23[3 8] *al* D38; *e* 4[30]; *f* 13[17] cp Jer 12[15] 33[26]; *g* 4 ℌ* Jer 23[3] 29[14] *al*; *h* 28[64] Jer 9[16] 30[11] *al*; *i* Cp Mic 4[6] Zeph 3[19] Jer 30[17]; *j* ℌ=*end* 4[32]; *k* ℌ=*take* Jer 3[14] Ezek 36[24]; *l* ℌ 17[14] 26[1]; *m* 28[63]; *n* 10[16] Jer 4[4]; *o* ℌ† cp 16 19; *p* Ct 1 19 cp 29[19-21]; *q* 28[1] cp **29**[9]; *r* 28[11]; *s* 28[63]; *t* 28[58] 29[21]; *u* 4[8]; *v* Cp 6[6] 11[18] Jer 31[33]

D^S: *a* 22[b]; *b* 32; *c* 100[b]; *d* 1[a]; *e* 58[a]; *f* 29[b]; *g* 59; *h* 14; *i* 24; *j* 81; *k* 74[b]; *l* 72; *m* 119; *n* 50; *o* 82[c]; *p* 104[a]; *q* 120; *r* 70[b]; *s* 29[c]

P: *b'* 33[a]; *c'* 15

29[29] Perhaps a later addition enforcing the contrast between the hidden future cp Is 48[6], and the revelation of present guidance in the law. The use of the first person pl suggests a form of liturgical response after hearing the reading of the law.

30[1] The discourse in [1-20] seems to fall asunder into two parts [1-10] and [11-20], loosely joined by the particle 'for' cp [11N]. Does the first section [1-10] belong to the address in 29? It is commonly so treated: but it seems preferable to connect it rather with 28. (1) The liturgical close in 29[29] suggests that the discourse is concluded: (2) the style of 30[1-10] shows no special affinity with that of 29 (save in [7]) while it is full of phrases referring to 28, cp [1] 'the blessing and the curse,' [3] 'scattered,' [5] 'do thee good,' [9] 'make thee plenteous' &c: (3) the parallels with Jeremiah are in general harmony with the manner of 28, and the devotional language is much nearer the Deuteronomic type than that of 29. The law is already recorded in writing [10] as in 28[58] (and 29[21]), and the promise of restoration conditional upon repentance forms a suitable sequel to the terrible threats of exile in 28[63-68].

[3] **M** Or, *return to*.—Cp Jer 29[14] 30[3] Ezek 39[25] *al*: Preuschen, *ZATW* (1893) 1 ff.

[7] This verse appears to interrupt the context, and contains the peculiar word אלה translated 'oath' 29[12] and 'curse' 29[19-21]. The implications of 'hatred' and 'persecution' are somewhat different in tone from the threats of penal doom in 29, ct the same ℌ 'pursue' 28[22]. The word occurs in Jer 15[15] 17[18] 20[11] of the prophet's personal sufferings, but is not applied by him to Israel: its use here suggests a later hand cp Lam 1[3 6] 4[19] and (of Yahweh) 3[43].

[8] Driver remarks that the pronoun is emphatic in contrast to 'enemies' [7]. But it may equally well indicate the response of converted Israel to its divine Regenerator [6]; cp a similar contrast (in another field of action) 21[9].

[11a] Driver (*Deut* lxxiii lxxv 331) points out that [11-14] (introduced by *for*) 'clearly states the reason for a *present* duty': the paragraph cannot, therefore, be intended to explain the obedience of Israel in the contingency of its future return to Yahweh. In other words [11-20] can hardly have formed the original sequel of [1-10]. On its probable connexions elsewhere see 31[28N]. Here its points of contact with the discourse in 4 need only be noted; see the parallels to [15 17 18 19 20].

[11b] **M** Or, *wonderful*.—Cp 17[8].

JE | D[S] | D | D[S] | P

w 19 cp Jer 21[8]
x 8[1]
y 29[18]
z 4[19]
a' ℌ = *profess* 26[3]
b' 4[26]
c' 11[26]
d' 4[1]
e' Cp 4[40]

[15] [t]See, I have [c]set before thee [u]this day [w]life and good, and [w]death and evil; [16] [N]in that I [f]command thee this day to [k]love Yahweh thy God, to [u]walk in his ways, and to keep his [p]commandments and his statutes and his judgements, that thou mayest [l]live and [z]multiply, and that Yahweh thy God may [r]bless thee in the land whither thou [w]goest in to [x]possess it. [17] But if thine heart [y]turn away, and thou wilt not hear, but [z]shalt be [y]drawn away, and [z]worship other gods, and serve them; [18] I [a']denounce unto you [b']this day, that ye shall [a']surely perish; ye shall not [b']prolong your days upon the land, whither thou passest over Jordan to [w]go in to [x]possess it. [19] I [b']call heaven and earth to witness against you this day, that I have [c']set before thee [w]life and death, the [a]blessing and the [b]curse: therefore choose life, [d']that thou mayest [l]live, thou and thy seed: [20] to [k]love Yahweh thy God, to [c]obey his voice, and to [c']cleave unto him: for [M]he is thy life, and the [e']length of thy days: that thou mayest dwell in the land which Yahweh [d']sware unto thy fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, to give them. [→32[45]]

t 99
u 115[a]
v 22[a]
w 53
x 88[a]
y 38
z 23[b]
a' 86[b]
b' 73
c' 27
d' 107[a]

1-8 *L*4w*b*
a Cp 34[7]
b 28[6]
c 3[27]
d 9[3]
e Cp 19[1] ℌ 88[b]
f 3[28]
g 3[21] cp 12
h 2[33]..
i 3[3]..
j 29 cp 29
k 8 20[4]
l 8 4[31] Josh 1[5]*
m 3[28]
n Ct 2[3] cp 1[38] Sam 𝔖 ℒ *bring*
o 7[30]
p 23 Josh 1[5] 3[7] JE 13[0]
9-13 *L*4v*e* 9i*d* 10*a* *n* 11*a* *ch* *i* *g* *l* *o*
q 25 10[8]
r 15[1]
s 16[6] cp Ex 23[13] 34[18]
t 15[9]
u 16[13]
v 16[16]
w ℌ = *ears* 28 30 5[1] 32[44]
x 28 4[10] cp P 24[a]

[1] [NL]And Moses [N]went and spake these words unto [a]all Israel. [2] And he said unto them, I am an [c]hundred and twenty years old this day; I can no more [b]go out and [b]come in: and Yahweh hath said unto me, [c]Thou shalt not go over this Jordan. [3] Yahweh [b]thy God, he will [d]go over before thee; he will [c]destroy these nations from before thee, and thou shalt [e]possess them: [and] Joshua, [f]he shall go over before thee, as Yahweh hath [d]spoken. [4] And Yahweh shall [g]do unto them as he [e]did to [h]Sihon and to [i]Og, the [f]kings of the Amorites, and unto their land; whom he [c]destroyed. [5] And Yahweh shall [g]deliver them up before you, and ye shall do unto them according unto all the [h]commandment [j]which I have commanded you. [6] [l]Be strong and of a good courage, [j]fear not, nor be [k]affrighted at them: for Yahweh thy God, [k]he it is that doth go with thee; he will not [l]fail thee, nor forsake thee. [7] And Moses called unto [m]Joshua, and said unto him in the [l]sight of [a]all Israel, [l]Be strong and of a good courage: for thou shalt [n]go with this people into the land which Yahweh hath [m]sworn unto their fathers to give them; and thou shalt cause them to [n]inherit it. [8] And Yahweh, [k]he it is that doth go [o]before thee; he will [p]be with thee, he will not [l]fail thee, neither forsake thee: [j]fear not, neither be dismayed.

a 2[a]
b 1[a]
c 34[a]
d 9[1]
e 12
f 3[c]
g 100[a]
h 29[1]
i 106[a]
j 44[c]
k 44[d]
l 43[a]
m 107[a]
n 65

[9] [NL]And Moses wrote [o]this law, and delivered it unto the [p]priests the sons of Levi, which [q]bare the [q]ark of the covenant of Yahweh, and unto all the [r]elders of Israel. [10] And Moses commanded them, saying, [r]At the end of [every] seven years, in the [s]set time of the [t]year of release, in the feast of [u]tabernacles, [11] when [a]all Israel is come to [v]appear before Yahweh thy God in the [s]place which he shall choose, [N]thou shalt read [o]this law before [a]all Israel in their [w]hearing. [12] [x]Assemble the people,

o 70[a]
p 90
q 19
r 42[b]
s 87

30[16] 𝔊 reads 'If thou wilt hearken to the commandment of Yahweh thy God which I command thee this day... then shalt thou live and multiply, and Yahweh thy God will bless thee' cp [17]. So Dillm, Oettli, Driver, Addis, Steuern.

[20] **M** Or, *that*.

31[1a] The materials of the concluding portion of Deut are derived from different sources, and the process of their combination as conceived by the present annotator is sketched in 34[12N]. The section 31[1-8] is generally recognized as detached from its original context. The phrase 'went and spake these words' implies that Moses proceeded to convey to the people a communication already made to himself. It is inappropriate to the preceding discourse cp 29[2]: and the sequel shows that it properly belongs to 3[27]. The passage appears to be editorially placed here, as a preparation for the story of the Conquest in which Joshua assumes the leadership vacated by the death of Moses cp Josh 1[1-9]. Its dependence on 1-3 is obvious: beside the phrases traceable through the margins, it may be noted that Og is described as a 'king of the Amorites' cp 4[47] ct 1[4] 3[3]... It would seem probable, however, that different materials have been here combined. In [3] it can hardly be supposed that the two clauses 'Yahweh thy God, he will go over before thee' and 'Joshua, he will go over before thee,' were set in sequence by the same author; [4] reads like a duplicate of [3a]; while [7]. addressed to Joshua runs parallel with [6]. In [7]. it appears reasonable to find a Deuteronomic parallel with [23] cp [14N]: and it may be conjectured that in the union of D with JE it became necessary to find a fresh place for [3b 4 7]. so that it was amalgamated with the promises now immediately preceding it. There is also some awkwardness in the sudden change in the application of the 2nd pers pronoun from [2] (Moses) to [3] (Israel); but this seems hardly a sufficient reason for suspecting discontinuity.

[1b] 𝔊 reads 'and Moses made an end of speaking' as in 32[45]; and Klostermann and Steuernagel adopt it; but Driver thinks the textual change implied not a very probable one.

[9] In [9-13] Kuen (*Hex* 127) saw the close of the main work of D[1], probably following the final discourse (28 30[1-10] according to the arrangement above adopted). The margins show the normal Deuteronomic character of the language: and the passage explains the mode in which the law was supposed to have been entrusted for preservation to the ecclesiastical and civil powers, who were charged to keep up the knowledge of it by instituting a septennial reading at the feast of booths.

[11] 𝔊 'ye shall read.'

J E | D[g] | D | D[s] | P

the men and the [t]women and the little ones, and [u]thy stranger that is within thy [v]gates, that they may [z]hear, and that they may [y]learn, and [w]fear Yahweh your God, and [x]observe to do [y]all the words of [o]this law; [13] and that their children, [a']which have not known, may [z]hear, and [y]learn to [w]fear Yahweh your God, [z]as long as ye live in the land whither ye [a']go over Jordan to [b']possess it.

[14] [NL]And Yahweh said unto Moses, Behold, [b']thy days approach that thou must die: call Joshua, and [c']present yourselves in the tent of meeting, that I may [d']give him a charge. And Moses and Joshua went, and [c']presented themselves in the tent of meeting. [15] And Yahweh appeared [N]in the Tent in a pillar of cloud: and the [e']pillar of cloud stood [T]by the door of the Tent.

—[23] And he [d']gave Joshua the [f']son of Nun a charge, and said, [1]Be strong and of a good courage: for thou shalt [g']bring the children of Israel into the land which I [h']sware unto them: and I will [p]be with thee.—

[16] [NL]And Yahweh said unto Moses, Behold, thou shalt [i']sleep with thy fathers; and this people will rise up, and [j']go a whoring after the [k']strange gods [N]*of the land, whither they go to be* among them, and will forsake me, and [l']break my covenant which I have [m']made with them. [17] [L]Then my [n']anger shall be kindled against them in that day, and I will forsake them, and I will [o']hide my face from them, and they shall be devoured, and many [p']evils and troubles shall [q']come upon them; so that they will say in that day, Are not these evils come upon us because our God is not [r']among us? [18] And I will surely [o']hide my face in that day for all the [s']evil which they shall have wrought, in that they are [t']turned unto other gods. [19] Now therefore write [N]*ye* this song for *you*, and [c']teach thou it the children of Israel: [u']put it in their mouths, that this song may be a [v']witness for me against the children of Israel. [20] For when I shall have [d']brought them into the land which I [m]sware unto their fathers, [e']flowing with milk and honey; and they shall have [f']eaten and filled themselves, and [w']waxen fat; then will they [t']turn unto other gods, and [g']serve them, and [x']despise me, and [l']break my covenant. [21] And it shall come to pass, when many [p']evils and troubles are come upon them, that this song shall [y']testify before them as a witness; for it shall not be forgotten out of the mouths of their seed: for I know their [z']imagination which they go about, even now, [a']before I have [c']brought them into the land which I [m]sware.

[22] So Moses wrote this song the same day, and [c']taught it the children of Israel.

[24] [NL]And it came to pass, when Moses had made an end of writing the

y 5[14]
z 13 cp 58[b]
a' 11[2]
14-23 L4w*a* IIa/i*f*
b' Gen 47[29] 1 Kings 2[1]†
c' ℌ=*take your stand* Num 11[16] JE**214**
d' 23 ct 3[28]
e' Ex 33[9-11] Num 12[5]
f' Ex 33[11]
g' Cp 7 ℌ
h' JE**217**
16-21 L5b*i*
i' Gen 47[30]ᵛ
j' Ex 34[15] Lev 17[7] 20[5]. Num 15[39]*
k' Gen 35[2 4] Josh 24[20 23]*
l' Cp P**46**[a]
m' Ex 34[27] Deut 5[2] P**31**[b]
17 L5a*u*
n' JE**233**[a]
o' 18. cp 32[20]
p' 21 32[23] ℌ
q' 4[30] Ex 1[88]
r' Cp JE**58**
s' Cp 29
t' 20 Lev 19[4] 31 20[6] ct P**113**
u' Ex 4[15] Num 22[38]
v' 21 26 Gen 31[44]
w' 32[15]
x' Num 14[11 23] 16[30]Pi* cpDeut 32[19]=*abhorred* Qal*
y' 5[20] 19[18] ℌ
z' Ct 27 cp Gen 65 821*
a'' JE**132**
24-26 L4v*d*

t 118
u 51
v 71[a]
w 44[a]
x 82[a]
y 15
z 13[a]
a' 54
b' 88[a]
c' 71[b]
d' 24
e' 69[a]
f' 41[b]
g' 23[b]

31[14] According to [7]. Moses has already solemnly charged Joshua 'in the sight of all Israel.' The charge by Yahweh, therefore, in [14]. of which [23] is the obvious conclusion, must be derived from another account. This is identified with **E** on the following grounds: (1) the prominence ascribed to Joshua the son of Nun cp Ex 33[11] Josh 24; (2) the reference to the Tent of Meeting cp Ex 33[7]··; (3) the appearance of Yahweh in the pillar of cloud, Ex 33[9] Num 12[5]; (4) the promise of Yahweh to be with Joshua [23] as with Moses cp Ex 3[12]. It is possible that in [23] one or two phrases may be due to Deuteronomic redaction e g 'be strong and of a good courage': but on the whole [7]. seems rather to depend on [23] than vice versa; cp especially the clauses in [7b 8] 'thou shalt cause them to inherit it,' 'Yahweh doth go before thee,' 'he will not fail thee··,' 'fear not··,' all of them Deuteronomic additions. On the phrase 'children of Israel' in **D** cp 4[44N], frequent in **E** cp Ex 3[10–13].

15[a] **E** nowhere represents Yahweh as appearing inside the Tent, and this is in fact inconsistent with his presence at the entrance. ℌ reads 'and Yahweh came down in the cloud and stood at the door of the Tent of Meeting' cp Num 12[5]. The words 'in the Tent' are probably harmonistic cp Ex 40[34]··.

15[b] So **M**. **T** *over*.—Ex 33[9]. Num 12[5] the pillar stands at the door. It is, however, possible that the preposition here is due to the same influence as the words 'in the tent.' עַל may be legitimately rendered 'by,' but it is regularly employed by **P** to denote the presence of the cloud 'over' or 'upon' the Dwelling Ex 40[38] Num 9[15]·· ℌ here has *παρὰ τὰς θύρας*.

16[a] The source of [16–22] is a perplexing problem. The passage is plainly designed as an introduction to the Song in 32. This poem is universally recognized as an independent composition incorporated in **D** (cp *Introd* XIV 4 i 161), but the process by which it has acquired its present place can only be conjecturally determined. As long as the Song was assigned to an early date, it was usual to regard it as inserted in **E** or **JE** before the composition of **D** (so Addis, *Hex* i 188). If, however, it is ascribed to a later age, it must either (1) have been added to **JE** before its union with **D**, or (2) have been attached to **D**, or (3) have been embodied in the combined document **JED**. The peculiar position of [16–22] in the midst of a passage ascribed to **E**, makes (1) or (3) more probable than (2). Driver, accepting Kuenen's date, about 630 B C, inclines to the first alternative (*Deut* 347). If the later date suggested in *Introd* i 162 be accepted, then it may be inferred that the poem was added to **JED**. Some slight linguistic indications confirm this view: (1) the language shows little or nothing that is distinctively Deuteronomic, for even the formulae in [20] may be found elsewhere: (2) it abounds in expressions characteristic of **JE**, not found in **D**, such as [16] 'behold' followed by the ptcp of the future, 'sleep with thy fathers,' 'strange gods' &c; but (3) it also contains other phrases which point in the direction of the Holiness-legislation, and the school of Ezekiel, e g [16 20] 'break my covenant,' [18 20] 'turn' to other gods, and perhaps [16] 'go a whoring after.' The phrases which describe Yahweh [17] as 'forsaking' Israel, or 'hiding his face' from them, seem also to belong (on the whole) to a later date; 'forsake' cp 31[6 8] Jer 12[7] Ezek 8[12] 9[9] Is 41[17] 42[16] 49[14] 54[7] (on the other hand Gen 28[15]); 'hide my face' 32[20] Jer 33[5] Ezek 39[23. 29] Is 54[8] (but also Is 8[17] Mic 3[4]).

16[b] The awkwardness of ℌ 'whither they go-in in their midst' suggests the interpolation of a gloss; so Klosterm, *Pent* 239, and Dillm. Cp the formulae in **69**.

19 The pl is inappropriate in instructions addressed to Moses only; it may be an accidental variation, or a correction referring to 32[44].

24 In [24–27] it seems hard to recognize a 'manifest sequel' of

JE	D[g]	D	D[s]	P
		words of [o]this law in a book, until they were finished, [25] that Moses commanded the Levites, which [q]bare the [q]ark of the covenant of Yahweh, saying, [26] Take this book of the law, and put it by the side of the [q]ark of the covenant of Yahweh your God, that it may be there for a [v']witness against thee. [27] For I know thy [b'']rebellion, and thy [c'']stiff neck: behold, while I am yet alive with you this day, ye [d'']have been [h']rebellious against Yahweh; and how much more after my death?		h' 94
		[28] [Nz]Assemble unto me all the [r]elders of your tribes, and your [l']officers, that I may speak these words [w]in their ears, and [e'']call heaven and earth to witness against them. [29] For I know that after my death ye will utterly [f'']corrupt yourselves, and [j']turn aside from the way [j]which I have commanded you; and evil will [g'']befall you in the latter days[g'']; because ye will [k']do that which is evil in the sight of Yahweh, to [h'']provoke him to anger through the [l']work of your hands. [→27[9]]		i' 83 j' 114 k' 37[b] l' 119[b]
		[30] And Moses spake [w]in the ears of [i'']all the assembly of Israel the words of this song, until they were finished.		
		32[1] [N]Give ear, ye [a]heavens, and I will speak; And let the [a]earth hear the words of my mouth:		
		[2] My [b]doctrine shall [c]drop as the rain, My [d]speech shall distil as the dew; As the [e]small rain[e] upon the tender grass, And as the [f]showers upon the herb[f].		
		[3] For I will proclaim the name of Yahweh: [b]Ascribe ye [g]greatness unto our God.		
		[4] The [b]Rock, his work is perfect; For all his ways are judgement: A God of [h]faithfulness and without [i]iniquity, Just and right is he.		
		[5] They have [M]dealt corruptly with him, [they are] not his [j]children, [M][it is] their blemish; [They are] a [b]perverse and [c]crooked generation.		
		[6] Do ye thus requite Yahweh, O [k]foolish people and unwise? Is not he thy father that hath [m]bought thee? He hath [l]made thee, and [l]established thee.		
		[7] Remember the [m]days of [b]old, Consider the years of many [b]generations:		

$^{9-13}$ (Driver, *Deut* 343), for ^{24} starts from the same point as ^{9}. According to ^{9} Moses has already written the law and handed it to the priests and elders, with directions for its public reading every seven years. But at the opening of ^{24} the words of the law are not yet completely recorded; while on the completion of the book it is given to the Levites to be deposited beside the ark. Thus the sections are rather parallel than continuous. In each the reduction of the law to writing is recorded. In each the sacred book thus written is entrusted to the care of certain recognized authorities, though they are not the same in the two cases. The author of $^{9-13}$ could hardly have written ^{24}.. If $^{9-13}$ formed one close to the original D, ^{24}.. must have formed another. It has already been suggested that different editions may have received different introductions (cp $1^{1N}(4)$ 4^{45N}). In a similar manner, the Code may also have received more than one form of conclusion. (Steuernagel, conscious of the incompatibility, proposes to read 'song' for 'law' in $^{24\ 26}$, and thus treats $^{24-30}$ as the introduction to the song.)

31[28] The language of ^{27} seems really addressed not to Levi but to Israel generally; and that reference appears still more clearly in ^{28} 'your tribes' and 'your officers' (between 'elders' and 'officers' 𝔊 inserts 'your judges'). The purpose of the assembly is to give Moses an opportunity of speaking 'these words.' What, then, were they? Driver, Addis, and Steuernagel (to cite no older authorities) identify them with the Song. But it may be doubted whether the Song can be fitly introduced at a distance by the phrase 'speak these words.' Save in Ex 20^{1} where it is immediately followed by the words in question, it always seems to refer to what precedes Gen 20^{8} 29^{13} 43^{7} 44^{6} Ex 4^{30} 19^{7} 24^{3} Num 14^{39} 16^{31} Deut (4^{30}) 5^{19} 6^{6} 12^{28} 31^{1}. The phrase as it stands would thus denote the warning in ^{27} which is to be repeated with the utmost solemnity, heaven and earth being summoned to attest them. It is true that the Song opens with such an appeal: but on the other hand it contains no parallels to the predictions in ^{29}. On the other hand, important parallels are found elsewhere; and they point to the view indicated by Dillm (*NDJ* 390) and elaborated by Westphal and (to a less extent) by Oettli (cp Driver, *Deut* lxxiv–v), according to which ^{28}. forms the preface to a parting exhortation by Moses. This address, however, can hardly be identified with $^{29-30}$, the elements of which do not seem continuous. The parallels in ^{29} point strongly to the discourse in 4^{5-40} which probably once followed instead of preceding the exposition of the law; while the appeal to 'heaven and earth' announced in ^{28} is there solemnly issued 4^{26} cp 30^{19}. This last coincidence suggests that the passage in 30^{11-20} for which a suitable connexion could not be found with 30^{1-10} may be the sequel of the discourse in 4^{5-40} (cp other parallels in $30^{11\ 17}$). Supposing that 4^{5-40} 31^{11-20} are really parts of the same address, where is its beginning? Could 27^{9}. have once stood at the head of the whole? Moses is there associated with the priests in an exhortation to all Israel. There is certainly a slight flavour of difference between 'the priests the Levites' in 27^{9} and the plain Levites of 31^{25}; and the tribal elders and officers are merged in 'all Israel' (cp ^{30}); but the connexion in other respects seems not inappropriate. The solemn words 27^{10} 'become the people' may indicate the ceremonial adoption of Israel by the gift of the law; 'commandments and statutes' cp 4^{40}. The conclusion then naturally follows in 32^{45-47}; cp ^{45} 'all Israel' 27^{9}; ^{46} 'testify' cp 4^{26} 8^{19}; interest in 'children' cp 4^{9}.; ^{47} 'your life' cp 30^{20}; 'prolong' 30^{18}. The primary cause of the dislocation was the insertion of the Song, which threw out the discourse. The Song also was designed for a 'witness' 31^{19} cp ^{26}. In ^{30} **R** connects the Song with the original introduction to the exhortation by the phrases 'assembly' cp ^{28} and 'spake in the ears.'

32[1] On the date of this poem cp *Introd* XIV **4** i 161.

[5a] **M** Or, *corrupted themselves*, they &c.—Cp 9^{12}.

[5b] **M** Or, but *a blot upon them.* [6] **M** Or, *possessed.* Or, *gotten.*

JE	D^s	D	D^s	P
		[n]Ask thy father, and he will shew thee ;		
		Thine elders, and they will tell thee.		
		8 When the [b]Most High gave to the nations their inheritance,		
		When he [o]separated the children of men,		
		He set the bounds of the peoples		
		According to the [b]number of the children of Israel.		
		9 For Yahweh's [p]portion is his people ;		
		Jacob is the lot of his [p]inheritance.		
		10 He found him in a desert land,		
		And in the [q]waste [e]howling wilderness ;		
		He compassed him about, he [e]cared for him,		
		He kept him as the [r]apple of his eye :		
		11 As an [s]eagle that stirreth up her nest,		
		That [t]fluttereth over her [u]young,		
		[M]He spread abroad his wings, he took them,		
		He bare them on his [v]pinions :		
		12 Yahweh [w]alone did lead him,		
		And there was no [b]strange god with him.		
		13 He made him ride on the [x]high places of the earth,		
		And he did eat the [b]increase of the field ;		
		And he made him to [y]suck honey out of the rock,		
		And oil out of the [z]flinty rock ;		
		14 Butter of kine, and milk of sheep,		
		With fat of [b]lambs,		
		And [b]rams of the breed of Bashan, and [b]goats,		
		With the fat of kidneys of wheat ;		
		And of the [a']blood of the grape thou drankest wine.		
		15 But [b]Jeshurun waxed fat, and kicked :		
		Thou art waxen fat, thou art grown thick, thou art become [e]sleek :		
		Then he forsook God which made him,		
		And [b']lightly esteemed the [b]Rock of his salvation.		
		16 They [b]moved him to jealousy with [b]strange [gods],		
		With [b]abominations [b]provoked they him to anger.		
		17 They sacrificed unto [c']demons, [which were] no God,		
		To gods whom they knew not,		
		To new [gods] that came up of late,		
		Whom your fathers [b]dreaded not.		
		18 Of the [b]Rock that [M]begat thee thou art [e]unmindful,		
		And hast [d']forgotten God that [b]gave thee birth.		
		19 And Yahweh saw [it], and [e']abhorred [them],		
		Because of the provocation of his sons and his daughters.		
		20 And he said, I will [f']hide my face from them,		
		I will see what their end shall be :		
		For they are a very [b]froward generation,		
		Children in whom is no faith.		
		21 They have [b]moved me to jealousy with that which is not God ;		
		They have provoked me to anger with their [b]vanities :		
		And I will move them to jealousy with those which are not a people ;		
		I will provoke them to anger with a foolish nation.		
		22 For a fire is [b]kindled in mine anger,		
		And burneth unto the [g']lowest [M]pit,		
		And devoureth the earth with her [h']increase,		
		And setteth on fire the [b]foundations of the mountains.		
		23 I will heap mischiefs upon them ;		
		I will spend mine [i']arrows upon them :		
		24 [They shall be] wasted with hunger, and [b]devoured with [M]burning heat		
		And [e]bitter [j']destruction ;		
		And the teeth of [k']beasts will I send upon them,		
		With the poison of [l']crawling things of the dust.		
		25 [m']Without shall the sword bereave[m'],		
		And in the chambers terror ;		
		[It shall destroy] both [w]young man and virgin,		
		The suckling with the man of gray hairs.		
		26 I said, I would [e]scatter them afar,		
		I would make the remembrance of them to cease from among men :		
		27 Were it not that I [o']feared the provocation of the enemy,		
		Lest their adversaries should [p']misdeem,		
		Lest they should say, Our [q']hand is exalted,		
		And Yahweh hath not [b]done all this.		
		28 For they are a nation [r']void of counsel,		

n 4^{32} Job 8^{8} 12^{7}
o Gen 10^{32} ℌ
p 10^{9}
q Gen 1^{2}* Jer 4^{23} Job 6^{18} 12^{24} *al*
r Prov 7^{2} Ps 17^{8} cp Prov 7^{9} 20^{20}†
s Ex 19^{4}
t Gen 1^{2}†
u Gen 15^{9}†
v Ps 68^{13} 91^{4} Job 39^{13}†
w 33^{28} Lev 13^{46}*
x Cp 33^{29} Hab 3^{19}
y 33^{19}
z 8^{15}
a' Gen 49^{11}
b' ℌ Pi Mic 7^{6} Jer 14^{21} Nah 3^{6}†
c' Ps 106^{37}†
d' Hos 2^{13} 13^{6} Is 17^{10} *al*
e' Lam 2^{6} ct 31^{20} Pi
f' 31^{18}
g' Ps 86^{13} cp Ezek 31^{14}
h' 11^{17}
i' 4^{2} Ezek 5^{16} Ps 7^{13} 38^{2} Job 6^{4}
j' Ps 91^{6} cp Hos 13^{14}†
k' Cp Lev 26^{22}
l' Cp Mic 7^{17}†
m' ℌ=*abroad* Lam 1^{20}
n' Jer 51^{22} Lam 2^{21}
o' 1^{17}
p' Cp Jer 19^{4}
q' Cp Ex 14^{8} Is 26^{11}
r' Cp Jer 49^{7} ℌ

32^{11} M Or, *Spreadeth abroad her wings, taketh them, beareth them on her pinions.* **18 M** Or, *bare.*
22 M ℌ *Sheol.* **24 M ℌ** *burning coals.* See Hab 3^{5}.

JE	D^s	D	D^t	P
		And there is [s']no understanding in them.		
		[29] Oh that they were wise, that they understood this,		
		That they would [t']consider their latter end!		
		[30] How should [w']one chase a thousand,		
		And two put ten thousand to flight,		
		Except their Rock had [b]sold them,		
		And Yahweh had delivered them up?		
		[31] For their rock is not as our Rock,		
		Even our enemies themselves being [v']judges.		
		[32] For their vine is of the vine of Sodom,		
		And of the fields of Gomorrah:		
		Their grapes are grapes of [M]gall,		
		Their clusters are [w']bitter:		
		[33] Their wine is the poison of dragons,		
		And the cruel venom of [x']asps.		
		[34] Is not this [e]laid up in store with me,		
		Sealed up [M]among my treasures?		
		[35] [b]Vengeance is mine, and recompence,		
		At the time when their foot shall [y']slide:		
		For the day of their [b]calamity is at hand,		
		And the things that [b]are to come upon them shall make haste.		
		[36] For Yahweh shall [b]judge his people,		
		And [z']repent himself for his [b]servants:		
		When he seeth that [their] power is [a'']gone,		
		And there is none [remaining], [b]shut up or left at large.		
		[37] And he shall say, Where are their gods,		
		The rock in which they [M]trusted;		
		[38] Which did eat the fat of their sacrifices,		
		[And] drank the wine of their [N]drink offering?		
		Let them rise up and help you,		
		Let them be your [e]protection.		
		[39] See now that I, even I, [b]am he,		
		And [b]there is no god with me:		
		[b'']I kill, and I make alive;		
		I have [c'']wounded, and I heal:		
		And [d'']there is none that can deliver out of my hand.		
		[40] For I [b]lift up my hand to heaven,		
		And say, [b]As I live for ever,		
		[41] If I whet [M]my glittering sword,		
		And mine hand take hold on judgement;		
		I will render [b]vengeance to mine adversaries,		
		And will recompense them that hate me.		
		[42] I will make mine [f']arrows [e'']drunk with blood,		
		And my [f'']sword shall devour flesh;		
		With the [g'']blood of the slain and the captives,		
		[M]From [M]the head of the leaders of the enemy.		
		[43] [M]Rejoice, O [M]ye nations, [with] his people:		
		For he will [b]avenge the blood of his servants,		
		And will render vengeance to his adversaries,		
		And will [h'']make expiation for his land, for his people.		
		[44] [N]And Moses came and spake all the words of this song in the ears of the people, he, and [N]Hoshea the son of Nun.		
		[30[20]→] [45] [N]And Moses made an end of speaking all these words to [a]all Israel: [46] and he said unto them, Set your heart unto all the words which I testify unto you this day; which ye shall command your children, to [b]observe to do [c]all the words of this law. [47] For it is no vain thing for you; because it is your life, and through this thing ye shall [d]prolong your days upon the land, whither ye [e]go over Jordan to [f]possess it[N].		a 2[a] b 8[2a] c 15 d 73[b] e 54 f 88[a]

Obad 7 — s' — Ps 73[17] — t' — Josh 23[10] Lev 26[8] Is 30[17] — w' — Ex 21[22] Job 31[11]† — v' — Job 13[26] 20[14] 25† — w' — Is 11[8] Ps 58[4] 91[13] Job 20[14] 16† — x' — Ps 38[16] 66[9] 94[18] 121[3] — y' — Cp Ps 90[13] 135[14] — z' — 1 Sam 9[7] Job 14[11] — a'' — 1 Sam 2[6] 2 Kings 5[7] — b'' — Cp Hos 6[1] Is 19[22] 30[26] Job 5[18] — c'' — Is 43[13] Job 10[7] — d'' — Is 34[5]. 49[26] 63[6] — e'' — Jer 12[12] 46[10] — f'' — Num 23[24] — g'' — Ps 8[2] — h'' — ☊=*forgive* 21[8]

32[32] **M** See 29[18]. [34] **M** Or, *in my treasuries*.—Cp 28[12]. [37] **M** Or, *took refuge*. [38] In this sense the word occurs here only. [41] **M** ☊ *the lightning of my sword*.—Cp Nah 3[3] Hab 3[11] Ezek 21[15]. [42a] **M** Or, *From the beginning of revenges upon the enemy*. [42b] **M** Or, *the hairy head of the enemy*.—For 'hairy' cp Num 6[5] Ezek 44[20]†. [43a] **M** Or, *Praise his people, ye nations*. [43b] **M** Or, *ye nations, his people*. [44a] The conclusion by the author of 31[16–22]. Immediately before it 𝔊 repeats 31[22], and then reads 'And Moses came and spake all the words of this law' &c. [44b] Sam 𝔊 𝔏 𝔖 read *Joshua*. Hoshea occurs only in Num 13[8 16] (**P**). The form here seems due either to an accident of transcription or (if intentional) to the harmonistic effort of a later age. [45] The close of the address to which 31[24–29] served as introduction cp 31[28N]. [47] At this point the hortatory supplements to D^s come to an end. The code and its discourses are incorporated into **JE** with the Blessing of Moses 33 and the narrative of Moses' death in 34. The treatment of **JE** by R^d in 34 is analogous to the Deuteronomic editing of the **JE** narratives in Josh, cp *Introd to Josh* 4.

J E P

i'' Num 27[12]

j'' Gen 17[8] Lev 14[34]

k'' Num 20[23]..

l'' Num 20[12].

[48] [N]And Yahweh [g]spake unto Moses that [h]selfsame day, saying, [49] *i''*Get thee up into this mountain of Abarim*i''*, unto mount Nebo, [N]*which is in the land of Moab,* that is [i]over against Jericho; and behold the [j]land of Canaan, which I *j''*give unto the children of Israel for a [k]possession: [50] and die in the mount whither thou goest up, and be [l]gathered unto thy people; as Aaron thy brother died in *k''*mount Hor, and was [l]gathered unto his people: [51] because ye [m]trespassed against me in the midst of the children of Israel at the *l''*waters of Meribah of Kadesh, in the [n]wilderness of Zin; because ye [o]sanctified me not in the midst of the children of Israel. [52] For thou shalt see the land before thee; but thou shalt not go thither into the land which [p]I give the children of Israel.

g 188[a]
h 138
i 64
j 4[a]
k 127[b]
l 75
m 164[a]
n 9
o 86[c]
p 94

a Josh 14[6] Ps 90 (title)†
b Gen 27[7]
c Judg 5[4] cp Hab 3[3]
d Ps 50[2] 80[1] 94[1]
e Hab 3[3]†
f ℌ†
g Ex 6[8]*
h Neh 5[7]†
i [26] 32[15] Is 44[2]†
j 21 Num 25[4c] cp [D]57
k Gen 49[16] Ex 24[4]
l Gen 49[8]
8-10 [L]IIa/i*b*
m Ex 17[1bN]
n Ex 17[2a] 7b Num 20[3] 13
o Is 5[24] ℌ
p Ex 34[7] ℌ
q Cp 17[10].
r Ct Num 16[7] 40
s ℌ=*wealth* 8[17]
t Ct 32[4] ℌ*
u ℌ=*wound* 32[39] Num 24[8]

33 [1] [N]And this is the blessing, wherewith [a]Moses the man of God[a] blessed the children of Israel [b]before his death. [2] And he said,

Yahweh [c]came from Sinai,
And rose from Seir unto them;
He [d]shined forth from [e]mount Paran[e],
And he came from the ten thousands of [M]holy ones:
At his right hand [M]was a fiery law unto them.
[3] Yea, he *f*loveth the [M]peoples;
All [M]his saints are in thy hand:
And they sat down at thy feet;
[Every one] [M]shall receive of thy words.
[4] Moses commanded us a law,
An [g]inheritance for the [h]assembly of Jacob.
[5] And [M]he was king in [i]Jeshurun,
When the *j*heads of the people*j* were gathered,
All the [k]tribes of Israel together.
[6] Let Reuben live, and not die;
[M]Yet let his men be few.
[7] And this is [the blessing] of Judah:
and he said,
Hear, Yahweh, the voice of Judah,
And bring him in unto his people:
[M]With his [l]hands he contended [M]for himself;
And thou shalt be an help against his adversaries.
[8] [L]And of Levi he said,
Thy Thummim and thy Urim are with [M]thy godly one,
Whom thou didst prove at [m]Massah,
With whom thou didst strive at the waters of [n]Meribah;
[9] Who said of his father, and of his mother, I have not seen him;
Neither did he acknowledge his brethren,
Nor knew he his own children:
For they have observed thy [o]word,
And [p]keep thy covenant.
[10] They shall [q]teach Jacob thy judgements,
And Israel thy law:
They shall [r]put incense [M]before thee,
And whole burnt offering upon thine altar.
[11] Bless, Yahweh, his [s]substance,
And accept the [t]work of his hands:
[u]Smite through the loins of them that rise up against him,
And of them that hate him, that they rise not again.

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32 [8] Cp Num 27[12N].

[49] The double location here points to editorial expansion. Dillm assigns the words to R[d] cp 1[5] 29[1] ct [P]2 and employs the passage to support his view of the priority of **P**. Similar phenomena may occasionally be found in Josh: they are considered in the *Introd to Josh* 5 2γ.

33[1] On the 'Blessing of Moses' and the ascription of [6-25] to an Ephraimite source (i e **E**) cp *Introd* XIV 5 i 163. According to the view there indicated [2-5] [26-29] are regarded as later additions, together with the designation 'man of God' in [1].

[2a] **M** ℌ *holiness.*—For textual emendations see the Comm.
[2b] **M** Or, *was fire, a law.* Or, as otherwise read, *were streams for them.*
[3a] **M** Or, *tribes.*
[3b] **M** Or, *their holy ones.*
[3c] **M** Or, *received.*
[5] **M** Or, *there was a king.*
[6] **M** Or, *And let* [not] *his men.*
[7a] **M** Or, [Let] *his hands* [be] *sufficient for him.*
[7b] **M** Or, *for them.*
[8] **M** Or, *him whom thou lovest.*
[10] **M** ℌ *in thy nostrils.*

J	E	J	E	P
	12 Of Benjamin he said,			
v Cp Is 5[1] Jer 11[15] *al*	The [v]beloved of Yahweh shall dwell in safety by him;			
	He [f]covereth him all the day long,			
w Cp 12[11] Is 8[18]	And he [w]dwelleth between his shoulders.			
	13 And of Joseph he said,			
x Gen 49[25].	[x]Blessed of Yahweh be his land;			
y 13-16 Cant 4[13] 16 7[13]†	For the [y]precious things of heaven, for the dew,			
	And for the [x]deep that coucheth beneath,			
z Gen 47[24] Lev 25[15]. pl*	14 And for the precious things of the [z]fruits of the sun,			
	And for the precious things of the growth of the moons,			
	15 And for the chief things of the [x]ancient mountains,			
	And for the precious things of the [x]everlasting hills,			
a' Is 6[3] Mic 1[2] Ps 24[1] *al*	16 And for the precious things of the earth and the [a']fulness thereof,			
b' Ex 3[2]	And the good will of him that [w]dwelt in the [b']bush:			
	Let [the blessing] come upon the [x]head of Joseph,			
	And upon the [x]crown of the head of him [M]that was separate from his brethren.			
	17 [M]The firstling of his bullock, majesty is his;			
	And his horns are the horns of the [M]wild-ox:			
c' Mic 5[4] *al*	With them he shall [M]push the peoples all of them, [even] the [c']ends of the earth:			
	And they are the ten thousands of Ephraim,			
	And they are the thousands of Manasseh.			
	18 And of Zebulun he said,			
	Rejoice, Zebulun, in thy going out;			
	And, Issachar, in thy tents.			
	19 They shall call the peoples unto the mountain;			
d' Ps 4[5] 51[19]†	There shall they offer [d']sacrifices of righteousness[d']:			
	For they shall suck the [f]abundance of the seas,			
	And the [f]hidden treasures of the sand.			
	20 And of Gad he said,			
e' Gen 26[22] Ex 34[24] cp Deut 12[20] 19[8]*	Blessed be he that [e']enlargeth Gad:			
f' Gen 49[9] Num 23[24] 24[9]*	He dwelleth as a [f']lioness,			
	And teareth the arm, yea, the crown of the head.			
	21 And he [M]provided the first part for himself,			
g' ℌ=*hidden* 19	For there was [M]the lawgiver's portion [g']reserved;			
	And he came [M][with] the [j]heads of the people,			
	He executed the justice of Yahweh,			
	And his judgements with Israel.			
	22 And of Dan he said,			
h' Gen 49[9]	Dan is a [h']lion's whelp,			
	That [j]leapeth forth from Bashan.			
	23 And of Naphtali he said,			
	O Naphtali, satisfied with favour,			
	And full with the blessing of Yahweh:			
	Possess thou the [M]west and the south.			
	24 And of Asher he said,			
	Blessed be Asher [M]with children;			
	Let him be acceptable unto his brethren,			
	And let him dip his foot in oil.			
	25 Thy [M]bars shall be iron and brass;			
	And as thy days, so shall thy [M]strength be.			
i' Cp *Introd* i 164	26 There is [i']none like unto God, O [i]Jeshurun,			
	Who [i']rideth upon the heaven for thy help,			
j' Ps 76[2] cp Am 3[4]	And in his [i']excellency on the [i']skies.			
	27 The [i']eternal God is [thy] [j']dwelling place,			

33[16] **M** Or, *that is prince among.*
17[a] **M** Or, *His firstling bullock.* 17[b] **M** See Num 23[22]. 17[c] **M** Or, *gore.*
21[a] **M** Or, *chose.* ℌ *saw.* 21[b] **M** Or, *a ruler's portion.*—Cp Gen 49[10]. 21[c] **M** Or, [to].
23 **M** Or, *sea.* 24 **M** Or, *above sons.*
25[a] **M** Or, *shoes.*—ℌ†. 25[b] **M** Or, *rest.* Or, *security.*—ℌ†.

J	E	JER[d]	J	E	P	
		And underneath are the i'everlasting k'arms:				
		And he l'thrust out the enemy from before thee,				
		And said, m'Destroy.				
		[28] And Israel i'dwelleth in safety,				
		The i'fountain of Jacobi' alone,				
		In a i'land of corn and wine;				
		Yea, his heavens i'drop down dew.				
		[29] Happy art thou, O Israel:				
		Who is like unto thee, a people i'saved by Yahweh,				
		The i'shield of thy help,				
		And that is the sword of thy excellency!				
		And thine enemies shall [M]submit themselves unto thee;				
		And thou shalt i'tread upon their high places.				
					34[1a] [N]And Moses [a]went up from the [a]plains of Moab unto [a]mount Nebo,	a P2
	[1b] [And Moses went up] to the [b]top of Pisgah,					
					[1c] that is [b]over against Jericho,	b P64
	[1d] And Yahweh [c]shewed him all the land [N]of Gilead, unto Dan; [2] and all Naphtali, and the land of Ephraim and Manasseh, and all the land of Judah, unto the [M]hinder sea; [3] and the South, and the [N]Plain of the [d]valley of Jericho[d] the [e]city of palm trees, unto Zoar. [4] And Yahweh said unto him, This is the [f]land which I [c]sware unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, saying, I will give it unto thy seed[f]: I have [c]caused thee to see it [g]with thine eyes, but thou shalt not go over thither.					c JE2 17
	[5] [T]And Moses the [h]servant of Yahweh died there in the land of Moab,					
					[d]according to the word of Yahweh.	d P19[c]
	[6] And [M]he buried him in the [i]valley in the land of Moab [j]over against Beth-peor: but no man knoweth of his [k]sepulchre [e]unto this day.					e JE14 2[b]
					[7] And Moses [l]was an [f]hundred and twenty years old when he died: [N]his [m]eye was not dim, nor his [n]natural force abated. [8] And the children of Israel [o]wept for Moses in the [a]plains of Moab[o] thirty days: so the days of weeping in the mourning for Moses were ended. [9] And Joshua the son of Nun was full of the [p]spirit of wisdom; for Moses [q]had [g]laid his hands upon him: and the children of Israel [r]hearkened unto him, and [h]did as Yahweh commanded Moses.	f P119[a] g P102 h P189[b]
	[10] And there hath not [s]arisen a prophet					

a 32[49]
b 3[27]
c ℌ=*caused to see* 4 cp Gen 12[1]
d †cp ℌ Gen 11[2] Josh 11[8] 17 12[7]
e Judg 1[16] 3[13]
f Cp Ex 33[1]
g Cp 3[27]
h Ex 14[31] Num 12[7]. cp Josh 1[1]
i 3[29] cp Num 21[20] ct 3
j 3[29]
k ℌ=*burying place* Gen 35[20] 47[30]*
l Cp Ex 7[7] Num 33[39]
m Cp Gen 27[1]
n ℌ†
o Num 20[29]
p Cp Ex 28[3] 31[3]
q Num 27[18]
r ℌ=*obey* Num 27[20].
s 13[1] 18[15 18]

33[29] M Or, *yield feigned obedience.*—Ps 66[3] cp Ps 18[44] 81[15]†.

34[1a] Each of the early versions of the Traditions, **J** and **E**, would seem to have narrated the death of Moses. In fitting the Deuteronomic Code into its historic framework, and combining it with **JE**, the Deuteronomic editors added their own touches e g probably in [1 5]. with a supplement [10–12]. The independent account of the priestly narrator (see the margins) was afterwards incorporated by the general redactor; and this passage is, therefore, an amalgam of all the chief documents of the Hexateuch.

1d The peculiar enumeration in [2]. is probably due to a later hand; it is absent from the Samaritan text, which reads 'from the river of Egypt to the great river, the river Euphrates, even unto the hinder sea' cp 11[24], and there are also one or two very slight divergences in ⑤. Moreover the grammatical structure is complete at 'all the land': 'of Gilead' should be '*even*' or '*namely* Gilead' cp Driver, *Deut* 420. Ct 3[27].

2 M That is, *western.*—Cp 11[24].

3 'The Round, *even* the Plain [valley] of Jericho,' 'not "of" (*RV*); the words are in apposition to "the Round," and define its extent,' Driver, *Deut* 422. For the 'Round' or Plain cp Gen 14[10] 19[17 25 28].

5 So ℌ. **T** so.

6 M Or, *he was buried.*

7 This clause has been sometimes referred to **J**, and its poetic vigour of expression makes that attribution possible. On the other hand the connexion with [7a] is satisfactory and **P** may have incorporated the familiar phrases of an older source.

	J	JER[d]	E	P	
		since in Israel like unto Moses, whom			
t Gen 32[30] Ex 33[11] cp Num 12[8]		Yahweh knew [t]face to face ; [11] in all the [i]signs and the wonders, which			i 10[1a]
u 6[22]		Yahweh sent him to do in the land of [u]Egypt, to Pharaoh, and to all his servants, and to all his land ; [12] and			
		in all the [j]mighty hand, and in all			j 8[0b]
v 4[34]		the [v]great terror, which Moses			
w 31[7]		wrought [w]in the [k]sight of [l]all Israel[N].			k 43[a] l 2[a]

34[12] At this point it may be well to sum up very briefly the main results of the analysis of Deuteronomy (apart from occasional glosses due to subsequent scribal redactions). (1) The nucleus of the whole book is to be found in the Code 12–26; when first produced this was probably considerably shorter 12[1aN](2); its original title may possibly be preserved in 4[44] (adopted, it may be, from an introduction to an earlier code) afterwards enriched by the addition in 4[45–49]. (2) To this Code were prefixed different hortatory introductions, which would seem to have been attached separately to different editions. Earliest, perhaps, is the series of homilies in 5–11, which appear to have proceeded from the author of the main groups of law in 12–18 and 26. These had a didactic and religious aim. But a second introduction, consisting chiefly of historical retrospect, may be traced in 1[1a] 4–4[4] : this may be assigned to a different hand, and has been augmented with a number of archaeological and other notes, especially in 2–3. (3) Similarly different forms of conclusion were appended to the main legislative core. The elements of these were twofold : (i) a parting address from Moses exhorting the people to obedience, and warning them against unfaithfulness ; and (ii) a record of the writing of the Code. Such a close seems to have been provided by the author (or authors) of the Code and the Homilies in 26[16–19] followed by the original form of 28 (afterwards enlarged by expansion) 30[1–10], together with the account of the writing of the law and the provision for its septennial reading at the Feast of Booths 31[9–13]. A second narrative of the writing of the law and its deposition by the ark is found in 31[24–29], where instructions are given for the summons of a great national assembly at which Moses may deliver his solemn testimony. Remains of this discourse may be traced in 27[9]. 4[5–10] 30[11–20] with a conclusion in 32[45–47]. No definite connexion can be established between this closing group and the secondary introduction in 1–4[4], though the narrative in 3[23–28] seems to be resumed in 31[1..] and finds its term in Moses' death in 34. Yet a third farewell address distinguished by marked peculiarities of style may be discerned in 29[2–29]. The Code and its envelopments, homiletic and narrative, hortatory or retrospective, must thus be regarded as the product of a long course of literary activity to which various members of a great religious school contributed, the affinities with the language and thought of Jeremiah being particularly numerous. (4) To this Deuteronomic group other additions were made from time to time, involving further dislocations. The Code and the Homilies seem to imply acquaintance with **JE** (*Introd* XVI **1γ** i 173), and in due time **JE** and **D** were amalgamated (cp *Introd* XVI **2** i 174). This appears to be the explanation of the insertion of a fragment from an itinerary of **E** in Deut 10[6.], of the expansion of **E**'s instructions for the erection of the altar on Ebal 27[1–8], of the introduction of the charge to Joshua 31[14. 23], and the incorporation of the accounts of Moses' death in 34. Other insertions will be found in the liturgical curses 27[11–26], the Song of Moses and its preface 31[16–22] 32[1–44] (which caused the dispersion of the second farewell discourse), and the Blessing of Moses 33, which appears to contain a nucleus due to **E** framed in a lyric setting of much later time. (5) Lastly, the extended **JED** was united with **P**. This involved the addition of the date in 1[3], the preparation for Moses' death 32[48–52], and the final description of his departure in 34. Latest of all 4[41–43] was inserted in connexion with Josh 20. [On **D** elements in Josh, and their relation to the constituents of Deut cp *Introd to Josh* **4**.]

INTRODUCTION TO JOSHUA

THE Book of Joshua stands in the Hebrew Canon at the head of the collection of 'the Prophets.' It is marked off from the preceding books by its subject, for it contains no law: the era of legislation closed with the death of Moses. Yet it is plainly related to them in the most intimate manner. Its main theme is the establishment of Israel in the promised land, and it falls apart at once into two main divisions, (1) the narrative of the conquest 1–12, and (2) the account of the distribution of the territory among the tribes 13–21; while farewell addresses of Joshua 23 and 24, corresponding to the discourses in Deuteronomy, prepare for the record of the leader's death. The book thus describes the great change in the national life to which the whole Pentateuch looks forward. The gift of the land to the posterity of Abraham, so often announced, is at last effected: it is justly asserted that the Law without its continuation in Joshua would be but '*a torso*[a].' At stage after stage in the preceding narrative provision has been made for the duties and privileges of Israel when they should enter on their inheritance. At last the long discipline of the wanderings is over, and a nation which did not look back longingly to the comforts of Egyptian plenty, is ready for the strenuous march to victory. Caleb alone survives from the Israel of the desert, besides Joshua, to claim the reward of his loyalty to Yahweh Josh 14^{6-15} cp Num 14^{24} Deut 1^{35}. At the outset of the book the commission to Joshua imparted through Moses Num 27^{18}.. Deut 3^{28} $31^{7.\ 14.\ 23}$ is solemnly renewed 1^{2}.. The promise of the Reubenites, the Gadites, and the half tribe of Manasseh to take their share in the labours of the conquest Num 32 Deut 3^{18}.. is reinforced by Joshua Josh 1^{12}.., and fulfilled by the tribes in question 4^{12}, so that when they have loyally discharged their obligations to their brethren they receive for themselves the inheritance they had desired 13^{8}.. The provisions instituted by Moses for the distribution of the land Num 34, for the Levitical cities and the cities of refuge 35, are successively enforced Josh 13–19 20 21. Even the daughters of Zelophehad Num 36 are not forgotten Josh 17^{3}.. The first great religious act of the victorious Joshua in the middle of the new country is to carry out one of the last commands of Moses Deut 27^{1-8} by rearing an altar on Ebal and solemnly inscribing the law upon its stones. In the valley of Shechem below are deposited the bones of Joseph 24^{32}, in obedience to his dying request Gen 50^{25}. The whole scheme of Joshua is thus the necessary sequel of the books which precede; and the closeness of this relation extends not only to its substance, but (as will be seen hereafter) also to its form. In spite of considerations to be urged below concerning differences in the actual processes of compilation, the essential identity of their literary sources and their forms of historic presentation justifies the treatment of the six books as bound together by a common unity on which the name Hexateuch has been fittingly bestowed[b].

[a] Steuernagel, *Das Buch Josua* (in *Hdkomm*) 131.

[b] This was already in the view of Du Maes in the sixteenth century (*Introd* i 23) and others who supposed the Mosaic history and Joshua to have been compiled from the records of the keepers of the public archives. Geddes stated the connexion most clearly when he explained that he

1. A brief inquiry suffices to show that Joshua displays many of the phenomena already adduced from the Pentateuch in proof of diversity of authorship. It contains no statement professing to record the circumstances of its composition; it comprises duplicate and sometimes inconsistent accounts of the same events; and even within the same narrative details which cannot be harmonized betray the presence of materials which have been imperfectly reconciled.

(1) Thus, in 13^{8-12}, the Reubenites and Gadites receive the inheritance which Moses had allotted to them beyond the Jordan; but in $^{15-32}$ a fresh description follows defining the territory assigned to the 'tribe of the children of Reuben according to their families,' and the corresponding possessions of the tribe of Gad and the half tribe of Manasseh, each section closing with similar statements concerning Levi ^{14} and ^{33}. Much common matter belongs to each; but the second passage is marked by greater amplitude of detail, by new designations and fresh formulae. In like manner two farewell addresses are reported from Joshua. In 23 he summons 'all Israel,' their elders, their heads, their judges, and their officers, exhorts them to observe the law of Moses ^{6}, announces his approaching death ^{14}, and warns them against the worship of other gods ^{16}. But 24 records another speech, addressed to a similar audience ^{1}, and conveying corresponding exhortations not to forsake Yahweh ^{14}... In the accounts of the conquest Hebron is taken by Joshua 10^{36}. with its dependent cities, and all their inhabitants are put to the sword, not one being permitted to survive. Debir ^{38}. shares the same fate. The Anakim also, from Hebron, Debir, and the adjoining local cities are similarly 'devoted' 11^{21}. In 15^{13-19}, however, Hebron and Debir are still unreduced; the three sons of Anak are driven out from the former by Caleb, who offers his daughter as a bride to whoever succeeds in capturing the latter.

(2) These indications of variety of literary materials are strengthened bythe discovery of incompatible stories of the same transaction. At the passage of the Jordan the whole nation has passed over to the western shore 3^{17} 4^{1}, when Joshua instructs twelve men to 'pass over before the ark into the midst of Jordan' ^{5} and there take up twelve stones. The narrative thus returns to the eastern bank to find the people there too, for in 4^{10b} 'the people hasted and passed over.' What, then, is the destiny of the stones? According to ^{8b} they are carried across and deposited on the camping-ground where the people spent the night after the passage of the river. But in ^{9} twelve stones are set up in the midst of the stream in the place where the feet of the priests had stood, and the writer appeals to them as evidence, 'they are there unto this day.' The devices of the versions cp $3^{1a\alpha}$ betray their consciousness of the incongruity; the difficulty is solved by the recognition of the fact that the narrative is composite, and the compiler has not succeeded in reducing the details to uniformity. This clue further explains why Joshua, after posting thirty thousand men in ambush on the west side of Ai $8^{3\ 9}$, should dispatch five thousand more the next morning for the same purpose to the same spot ^{12}. Similar considerations make it probable that Rahab did not exact the promise of future safety from her visitors after she had let them down over the wall of Jericho, and urged them to flight 2^{15}.; and they point to a way through the maze of difficulties attending the narrative of the various circuits round the city before it fell into the hands of the Israelites 6^{3}..

2. The literary examination of Joshua reveals corresponding facts. In some passages the language is full of reminiscences of the exhortations or narratives of Deuteronomy; while others are founded on the institutions and couched in the formulae of the Priestly Code. Thus in 8^{30-35} the writer records in his own fashion the fulfilment of the instructions of Moses in Deut 27^{1-8}; the discourse of Joshua in 23 is little more than

included the book of Joshua with the Pentateuch in the first volume of his translation of the Old Testament (1792), because he 'conceived it to have been compiled by the same author' (*ante* i 44).

a cento of the phrases of **D**; while the divine summons to the new leader 1^{3-9} naturally reproduces the solemn terms of the previous charge in Deut 31^{7}. On the other hand, the 'ark of the testimony' is named in 4^{16}, and a glimpse is thus opened into the conceptions of **P**, which become clearer when the passover is celebrated on the fourteenth day of the first month 5^{10}, and the manna ceases on the entry of the people into the land of Canaan. In due time appear the 'congregation' and their 'princes' 9^{18}, and finally Eleazar the priest takes precedence of Joshua the son of Nun 14^{1}, and proceeds with the heads of fathers' houses to distribute the inheritances to the tribes at the door of the Tent of Meeting 19^{51}, making due provision of cities of refuge 20, and cities 'with the suburbs thereof' for the orders of priests and Levites 21. The documents represented by the symbols **D** and **P** in the Pentateuch thus find their continuations in the book of Joshua. Their definite literary characteristics enable them to be recognized with certainty so far as their main passages are concerned. They can be separated, therefore, with tolerable precision from the general mass. But when they are withdrawn by the aid of the usual criteria, what is the nature of the materials which are left? The examination of passages like 2 6 8^{1-29} 10^{1-27} discloses diversities which seem only explicable on the assumption that two sources have been combined. The analogy of the preceding books at once suggests that these sources may be **J** and **E** respectively; and this presumption seems to be confirmed by various marks of literary parallelism and allusions to earlier incidents. Thus in some passages the population of the country is designated as Canaanite 7^{9} 16^{10} 17^{12-18} **J**, whereas in others it is described as Amorite 10^{5}. 24^{8} **E**. The parallels to $2^{12\ 14\ 21}$ $3^{5\ 9}$. 4^{6} 5^{15} 10^{21} &c plead strongly for **J**; so does the reference in 15^{14}, and the group of fragments named in $13^{13^{R}}$ (cp *infra* 3 1*a*). Similarly **E** seems to furnish the description of Joshua in 1^{1} $2^{1\ 23}$ 6^{6}, the allusion to the idolatry of Israel's ancestors 24^{14}, and the record of the burial of Joseph 24^{32}. The combined document **JE** may be traced in like manner behind the language of 14^{6-12a}. These marks lie, as it were, upon the surface: how far does minuter investigation confirm the expectations which they awaken?

3. When the contributions to Joshua editorially derived from **D** and **P** have been eliminated, it is found that the remaining portions designated as **JE** are concerned rather with the conquest than with the division of the promised land. The mission of the spies, the passage of the Jordan, the capture of Jericho, the defeat at Ai and the discovery of Achan's theft, the successful attack on Ai, the covenant with the Gibeonites, the catastrophe to the confederation of the southern kings under Adoni-zedek, and the overthrow of the northern alliance under Hazor,—these follow in definite succession though without any specification of time, and lead up to Joshua's old age 13^{1}, and the preparations for the actual settlement. But at this point the traces of **JE** become more faint, and only a few fragments, obviously incongruous with their context, survive out of its record of the tribal inheritances cp 13^{13} $15^{14-19\ 63}$ $16^{1-3\ 10}$ 17^{11-18} 19^{47}, to which must perhaps be added 18^{2-10}. When these narratives are disentangled, so far as probability permits, what is the result of the analysis?

(1) The critical problem appeared at one time so difficult, that Wellhausen supposed that **J** broke off suddenly after the Balaam episode, and only left a trace here and there, as in Num 25^{1-5} Deut $34^{7b\,b}$, though its presence was afterwards recognized in Josh 9^{6}.[c]. Meyer also[d] denied to **J** any share in the account of the conquest of Canaan in Josh 1–12 save a fragment out of the story of the treaty with the Gibeonites in 9. But this view (though practically shared by Stade) has not been maintained by subsequent criticism[e]. Kuenen, indeed, asserted that **J** and **E** could not be satisfactorily

[a] Cp 'wholly followed' $^{9\ 14}$ with Num 14^{24}.
[b] *Composition des Hexateuchs* in *Skizzen* ii (1885) 116. [c] *Ibid* 126. [d] *ZATW* i 133-4 cp 122^{2}.
[e] On its revival by Steuernagel, see below, p 318, note [d].

eliminated from the complex product in which they had been welded together, but he admitted their original existence[a]. Later investigation has done something to relieve these difficulties. Dillmann's great commentary (on the basis of Knobel, concluded in 1886) again attempted what Kuenen had declared impossible; and Budde[b], Kittel[c], Albers[d], Bennett[e], have all concurred in believing that the main elements of J and E are not disguised beyond recognition, though their results do not always run side by side[f].

(α) The principal obstacle to the recognition of J in Josh 2–11 arose from the circumstance that another view of the conquest and settlement of the Israelites in Canaan is to be found in Judges 1. This document includes passages which are plainly related to corresponding passages in Joshua; Adoni-bezek Judges 1^{5-7} seems a counterpart of Adoni-zedek Josh 10^{3}··; the capture of Hebron Judg 1^{10} is also related in Josh 15^{14} (Caleb), and that of Debir Judg 1^{11-15} in Josh 15^{15-19}; further cp Judg 1^{21} Josh 15^{63}, Judg 1^{27} Josh 17^{12}·, and Judg 1^{29} Josh 16^{10}. Various considerations concurred in pointing to J as the source from which this survey was derived[g]. But it contained no allusion to Joshua, and it was inferred, therefore, by some eminent critics, that J had not originally regarded him as the national leader, or even mentioned his name. The narrative of his victories, therefore, could owe nothing to J. The investigations of Budde[h], however, showed good ground for believing that the contrast between the representations in Judg 1 and Josh 2–11 had been exaggerated; the admitted presence of J in the story of the covenant with the Gibeonites presupposed a narrative of the capture of Ai, and that in its turn was possible only when Jericho had fallen. J, therefore, had presumably related both these incidents, and these involved the passage of the Jordan also. Moreover, the general movement indicated in Josh 6–11 and in the survey in 14·· showed that the southern part of Canaan was the first to receive the new settlers as in Judg 1, while the northern tribes only made their way among the Canaanites more slowly, after the house of Joseph had taken up its position in the centre 16^{1}· 17^{14-18}. But, on the other hand, it became clear that the representations of the complete destruction of the Canaanite populations e g 10^{28-43} 11^{10-23} were entirely inconsistent with the numerous cases recorded where the Canaanites proved too strong for the invaders, so that the tribes of Israel only secured a precarious footing in their midst cp 13^{13} 15^{63} 16^{10} 17^{12}. Such generalized summaries of universal massacre do not, however, show the characteristic features of J. They are far more closely connected with D (cp 4 *infra*); they have a distinct theological significance; they are not founded on historical tradition, they are editorial expressions of the horror felt in later times for the temptations of Canaanite idolatries, and of the triumphant conviction that Yahweh had given Israel the land. They are not part, therefore, of J's narrative, and need not be cited in contrast with Judg 1.

(β) But when these later elements are withdrawn, and the distribution of the remaining sections which betray diversity of source has been effected, there remains the question how far the elements which can be plausibly ascribed to J really constitute a harmonious whole. It seems difficult to form any estimate of the relative antiquity of J's narratives of the spies at Jericho or the passage of the Jordan compared

[a] *Hexateuch*, 157 159. [b] *Die Bücher Richter und Samuel* (1890). [c] *Hist of the Hebr* i 263.
[d] *Die Quellenberichte in Josua* i–xii (1891). [e] *Joshua* in Haupt's *SBOT*.
[f] Driver, *LOT*[6] 104 and 'Judges' in Smith's *DB*[2] vol i pt ii, treats JE as the basis of Joshua, though with reserve concerning the actual elements of the constituent documents. Similarly, G A Smith, 'Judges' in Hastings' *DB*. For Steuernagel's view see below, 318[d].
[g] Cp Moore, *Judges* in *ICC* 6–10. The chief reason is found in the contrast between this group of representations and that in Josh 24, the substance of which is universally ascribed to E. There the conquest is depicted as far more complete than the survey in Judg 1, and the Joshua parallels, allow. These passages, therefore, which seem to have been derived from a common source, must be assigned to J. Cp Driver, in Smith's *DB*[2] vol i pt ii p 1816.
[h] *Richter und Samuel* 1–83: cp *Das Buch der Richter* in the *Kurzer Hand-Commentar* (1897) xii–xiii.

with earlier stories such as the mission of the explorers to Canaan or the march across the sea at the Exodus[a]. On the other hand, the accounts of the fall of Jericho 6, and the defeat of the two great coalitions, southern and northern, in 10-11, certainly seem to be couched in a more exalted strain than the story of the overthrow of Sihon Num 21, or the various references to the position of the different clans and tribes, whether the successes of Caleb and Othniel 15^{14-19}, or the relative failures of Judah 15^{63}, Ephraim 16^{10}, and Manasseh 17^{11}·. Moreover, Jabin the king of Hazor in 11^{1} can hardly be unrelated to the sovereign of the same place, bearing the same name, Judg $4^{2\ 17}$. It may be questioned, therefore, whether the passages assigned to J are really all homogeneous, or whether they do not rather constitute a collection of stories and a picture of the settlement not by any means identical in age or origin, though bound together by certain common tendencies of thought and representation. In such a collection there must necessarily be diversities of date. On general grounds it is natural to expect that the simpler view will be the older, and the recognition of the Canaanite superiority in certain quarters will precede the later generalizations of their overthrow. The group of fragments 13^{13} $15^{14-19\ 63}$ 16^{10} 17^{11-18} 19^{47} may therefore be referred (like the corresponding passages in Judg 1) to an early survey of the position of the tribes belonging to the school of J. Such a survey may have included a more detailed account of their settlement (cp 16^{1-3}) to which the narrative of the passage of the Jordan and the advance to the hill country would form the appropriate introduction. The language of Judg 1^{3} implies some kind of preliminary allotment of the land before the tribes attempted the task of conquest. If this existed in the primitive narratives of J, a basis would be supplied out of which subsequent representations might be developed. That the episodes of victory rest on older material is proved in one case by a citation from a poem in the lost book of Jashar[b] 10^{12}·, where it may be safely conjectured that the poetical version is a more ancient composition than the prose story[c]. There seems reason, therefore, for the view that the J sections may be of various dates, but the discrimination of the earlier is a task of the gravest difficulty. A growing consensus of criticism fixes on $10^{12(r)\ 13a}$ 13^{13} $15^{14-19\ 63}$ 16^{10} 17^{11-18} $19^{47\,d}$, to which may perhaps be added $5^{2.\ 9}$. The story of the spies in 2 has also a simple and primitive air; in ^{9}, however, there seems a reminiscence of Ex 15^{16} (unless the order of dependence be inverted, or the last clauses be assigned to the later editorial expansion). Much editorial work may be traced in J's share of 3-4, and the suddenness of the miracle announced in 3^{13} cp 4^{18} is not quite after the manner of J's employment of the east wind Ex $14^{21b\ 27b}$. The sevenfold procession round Jericho in 6 has no analogy in the records of the Trans-jordanic conquest: while the narratives in 8 10 and 11 are conceived upon a larger scale, and may be assigned to a later stage of tradition compared with the records of the capture of Hebron and Debir 15^{14-19}. The representation of the action of the united people seems further removed from historical reality than the view of their advance in groups of tribes presented in Judg 1: and the total impression created by this portion of J suggests a much completer reduction of Canaanite opposition than the fragments from 13^{13} onwards justify[e]. How far these fragments may be connected with any definite scheme of territorial location according to J it seems impossible now to determine. If 16^{1-3} is rightly assigned to J, a probability is established that it may have contained other geographical descriptions now

[a] Imitation is probably to be seen in 5^{15} and perhaps in 4^{6}.

[b] Cp *Introd* II 1ε i 19.

[c] As Judges 5 may be taken to precede 4, cp Moore, *Judges* (in *ICC*) 110; Budde, *Richter* (in *Kurz Hdcomm*) 33.

[d] Bennett, in Haupt's *SBOT*, adds $5^{2.\ 8}$·.

[e] This impression is heightened if (with Budde and Albers) the generalizing summaries in 10-12 may be partly referred to J^{s}. See below, 4.

perhaps absorbed into **P**'s more detailed survey cp $18^{11a\text{N}}$. But it appears to be beyond the power of any critical method to discover the clues to their separation.

(2) The original scope and significance of **E** are hardly less difficult to determine. One feature, however, appears in strong relief. At the opening of the book 1^{1}· Joshua is solemnly commissioned to conduct the people across the Jordan. He is designated in terms elsewhere peculiar to **E** (in contrast with **J**) as 'Joshua the son of Nun, Moses' minister.' At the close of his career, when the conquest is substantially completed, he summons a national assembly at Shechem 24^{1}, exhorts the people to obedience, makes a covenant with them to serve Yahweh ^{25}, and sets them 'a statute and an ordinance.' To Joshua, therefore, as to Moses, is assigned the double function of military leadership and religious legislation. By general consent the farewell address of Joshua is referred in its original form to **E**, and it is natural to accept its retrospect as a clue to the conception of the conquest and settlement which **E** contained. It proves in reality, however, to be somewhat barren of detail. The people are reminded of the passage of the Jordan and the fall of Jericho ^{11}, but the steps of subsequent victory are veiled under the figure of the 'hornet' which expelled the native populations cp $^{12\text{N}}$, and of the actual process of occupation not a word is said, any more than of the desert incidents between Egypt and the land of Moab. The narratives themselves, however, are not equally silent. The first step of 'Joshua the son of Nun' is to prepare for the great enterprise by obtaining the necessary information 2^{1}, and though the details of distribution in the story of the spies may be uncertain, the conclusion ^{23} indicates clearly that **E** related their mission and brought them back successful. The passage of the Jordan and the capture of Jericho followed. From Gilgal Joshua proceeds to the attack on Ai; peace is concluded with the Gibeonites; and the five kings of the Amorites are 'discomfited' before Israel 10^{10a}, their rout being completed by a great hailstorm as they fled down the pass from Beth-horon ^{11}. With this scene the extracts from **E**'s history of the conquest apparently terminate. The further episodes of advance and settlement seem to have been suppressed in favour of the more general editorial summaries in 10^{28}·· 11^{10-12}. Had **E**, however, no account of the allotment of the land, and the situations of the several tribes? A comparison of 19^{49}· with 24^{30} shows that materials from **E** were employed by **P**; and if this happened in one instance which can still be traced, it may have occurred in others which can no longer be recovered cp $18^{11a\text{N}}$; though it may be doubted whether some fragments would not have survived, like those already rescued for **J**, had **E** included any detailed description of the settlement. The parallel of the general presentation of **E** with that of **J** shows that from the passage of the Jordan to the overthrow of the central alliance they kept step side by side. The details occasionally vary: if **J** dwells on the marvels of the arrest of the waters 3^{13}, **E** can emphasize the sudden collapse of the walls of Jericho $6^{5\ 20b}$, or the dire effect of Joshua's outstretched javelin $8^{18\ 26}$: while each gives its own version of the divine aid against the five kings 10^{10-14}. Of the time occupied by the entire settlement but little indication is afforded. From 24^{29} it may be conjectured that Joshua was regarded as near his end when the great convocation took place at Shechem cp 23^{1} and 13^{1}. That the advance of the invaders would be slow was predicted in Ex 23^{28-30}. The 'hornet,' therefore, would only pursue its work of expelling the native peoples by degrees; and this does not, accordingly, seem incompatible with the general view that Israel must encounter resistance as it penetrated further and further into the land, and that such resistance must be overcome by force. It has, indeed, been supposed[a] that the language of 24^{12}· was incompatible with the ascription to **E** of any narratives of military exploits after the capture of

[a] Cp Kuenen, *Hex* 157, who finds an absolute incongruity between the language of 24^{11-13} and the stories in 1–11.

Jericho. But the uncertainty of the original text renders this inference highly precarious, and there seems no adequate objection, therefore, to the recognition of **E** as the involuntary partner of **J** in the compound narrative in 2–10. Whether the elements of **E** are all of one piece, or whether like **J** it may be regarded as woven from strands of various date, it is more difficult to conjecture. Bennett[a] assigns to E^1 6^5 ^{7a} ^{20} (mainly, 'and it came to pass . . . straight before him') 19^{49}. Reasons are given in the Analysis for ascribing the latter passage to **P**; in the story of the fall of Jericho it may be conceded that the most ancient element was the shout, but it does not seem possible to isolate the passages referring to it as an older *literary* product. The Analysis, therefore, does not venture to make any partition of age.

(3) If the presence of **J** and **E** be admitted in Josh 1–10, it is natural to infer that their union took place under the same conditions as those which produced **JE** in Gen Ex and Num. The Joshua sections of these documents were in fact integral parts of them, as the position of Joshua in **E** shows with especial clearness; the work of Moses being definitely assigned to him as its continuator, and the retrospect in 24 binding the entire story from Abraham's migration to the Shechem assembly into one whole. It may be assumed, therefore, that the general method of R^{Je} in dealing with the earlier narratives will be traceable also in the latter. The larger portion of the material appears to be derived from **J**, though the chronological framework 1^1 24^{29} is supplied by **E**. The actual extracts have been woven together with extraordinary closeness, as in some parts of the Joseph series; but the hand of the compiler is occasionally to be traced in verses designed to harmonize conflicting situations, or combine discordant data 2^{17} 8^{13}. In 14^{6-15} the story of Joshua's gift of Hebron to Caleb is related on the basis of the combined narrative of **JE** in Num 13–14 (cp 14^{6N}), and seems due, therefore, in its original form to a writer who might be provisionally identified with R^{Je}. But it has been recast (if it really existed at an earlier date) under Deuteronomic influence, and its present shape is due to R^d (cp below, 4)[b]. There remains a passage 18^{2-10} which does not seem to belong to either document, nor to show the characteristic marks of origin in the schools of **D** or **P** cp 18^{2N}. It is founded on a theory of the completed conquest, and appears designed to introduce a survey of the settlement. That **J** at least once contained such a survey is highly probable; though the surviving fragments show that in its oldest form it was not conceived on the basis of universal subjugation assumed in 18^{2-10}. But as the documents passed from hand to hand, receiving fresh additions, it may be conjectured that a later editor desired to gather into one view the various data and fuse them in one general representation. To such a description of the tribal inheritances, which may now lie at the basis of **P**'s delineation 18^{11-19}, R^{Je} may have prefixed as a suitable introduction the story of the travels of the twenty-one deputies, their description of the land in seven portions, and the distribution of the inheritances by lot before Yahweh in Shiloh.

[a] *Joshua* in Haupt's *SBOT*.

[b] It does not, however, follow that all the passages ascribed to the school of **J** belonged to the book of **JE**. Thus a second narrative of the gift of Hebron to Caleb is found in 15^{14-19}, introduced by ^{13} which bears strong marks of R^P. The recurrence of this passage in Judg 1^{10-15} connects it with the group already specified in $3 1\beta$ 13^{13} 15^{63} 16^{10} 17^{11-18} 19^{47}, most of which are now embedded in portions of **P**, where they have the air of editorial insertions qualifying larger claims. In 13^{13}, however, this qualification affects a section of **D**. The generalizations of the Deuteronomic editor, however, are so absolute (see 4 below) as to render his admission of such a correction highly surprising: and it would seem probable that the Deuteronomic edition of Joshua dropped the passages in which **J** surveyed the progress of the settlement with frank recognition of Israel's limitations, and that these were only inserted in a much later revision, when an effort was made to incorporate all the records of the past. Similarly, Judg $1-2^5$ was not included in the Deuteronomic Judges-book, cp Cornill, *Einl*[4] 94, Moore, *Judges* (in *ICC*) xxxiii, Budde, *Richter* (in *Kurz Hdcomm*) x. This argument may be pushed further back, and applied similarly to **JE**, the editor of which (if 18^{2-10} be rightly assigned to him) held a similar view. In any case the **J** source of Judges 1 and its parallels in Joshua still remained distinct, and could be used separately.

4. Far more important was the revision to which **JE** was submitted in the Deuteronomic school. The indications of this process are numerous, but even the most careful scrutiny still leaves many points in doubt, and the significance of different details is variously estimated by students who approach the problems along independent lines [a].

(1) The general phenomena are so obvious as to strike even the most casual reader. Reference has already been made to the fulfilment in 8^{30-35} of the instructions in Deut 27^{1-28}. In a similar manner the language of 1 is founded on the incidents and exhortations of **D**. After the death of Moses, Joshua is divinely confirmed in the leadership to which he has already been solemnly dedicated. As the successor of Moses he receives fresh assurance that the promises made to the great Liberator of his people will be accomplished on the due observance of the law imparted through him $^{3-9}$. The following parallels will suffice to show the connexion:—

Josh 1	*Deut*
^{3} Every place whereon the sole of your foot shall tread, to you have I given it. . . . ^{4} From the wilderness, and this Lebanon, even unto the great river, the river Euphrates, . . . and unto the great sea toward the going down of the sun, shall be your border.	11^{24} Every place whereon the sole of your foot shall tread shall be yours: from the wilderness, and Lebanon, from the river, the river Euphrates, even unto the hinder sea shall be your border.
^{5} There shall not any man be able to stand before thee.	7^{24} There shall no man be able to stand before thee.
^{5} All the days of thy life.	4^{9} 6^{2} 16^{3} 17^{19} All the days of (thy) life.
^{5} As I was with Moses, so I will be with thee; I will not fail thee, nor forsake thee.	31^{8} He will be with thee, he will not fail thee, nor forsake thee.
$^{6\,9\,18}$ Be strong and of a good courage.	$^{7\,23}$ Be strong and of a good courage.
^{6} Thou shalt cause this people to inherit the land which I have sworn unto their fathers to give them.	^{7} Thou shalt go with this people into the land which Yahweh hath sworn unto their fathers to give them; and thou shalt cause them to inherit it.

The address to the Reubenites, Gadites, and the half tribe of Manasseh 1^{12-18}, is based on the recital in Deut $3^{12.\,18-20}$: while the discourse of Joshua in 23 is a Deuteronomic counterpart to the farewell address in 24, with especial reference to the Mosaic warnings in the concluding exhortations in Deut 28 and 29. In other cases, however, the Deuteronomic additions do not thus stand alone; they are woven into the context of the narrative as in the explanations of the circumcision at Gilgal 5^{4-8}, and the erection of the stones commemorating the passage of the Jordan 4^{21-24}. And yet again two remarkable summaries of Joshua's victories seem best explicable as Deuteronomic additions 10^{28-43} and $11^{10-12^{24}}$. The first of these is couched in a series of paragraphs repeated with rhythmical regularity. Joshua is accompanied by 'all Israel' $^{D}2^{a}$; city after city is delivered by Yahweh into their hands $^{D}52$; the inhabitants are smitten with the edge of the sword Deut 13^{15} 20^{13}, and none are left remaining Deut 2^{34} 3^{3} Num 21^{35}; Yahweh is emphatically said to have fought for Israel ^{42} $^{D}45$; and the 'devotion' of 'all that breathed' ^{40} is expressly based on the injunction of the law cp Deut 20^{16} 'thou shalt save alive nothing that breatheth, but thou shalt devote them.' Whatever materials may lie behind these sweeping surveys, such as the list of kings in 12^{9-24}, there can be no doubt that the present form of these sections is due to an editor of the Deuteronomic school, anxious to show that Joshua fulfilled the divine commands as the faithful successor of Moses cp 10^{40} 11^{15} $^{23\,b}$. Parallel phenomena though in another field may be observed in the general summaries of Israelite idolatries presented in the book of Judges e g 2^{11-23} 10^{6-16}, which bear a strongly

[a] The more recent criticism of D in Joshua starts from Hollenberg's essay 'Die Deuteronomischen Bestandtheile des Buches Josua,' *Studien und Kritiken* (1874) 462–506.

[b] Albers has endeavoured to rescue an earlier summary for J^{2}; but the evidence does not seem conclusive.

marked Deuteronomic character; or, again, in the prayer composed for Solomon at the dedication of the Temple 1 Kings 8^{23-53}[a].

(2) But a closer examination of Josh 1–12 reveals the interesting fact that the labours of the Deuteronomists were not confined to the addition of longer sections of narrative or address, or even of shorter explanations. The stories of **JE** bear upon them numerous touches due to the same hands. Traces of the influence of this great school have already been discovered in legislative passages such as Ex $13^{3}\cdot\cdot$ $23^{20}\cdot\cdot$ and $34^{10}\cdot\cdot$, while the origin of Num 21^{33-35} is to be sought in the same direction. In Joshua 2–11, however, the indications of editorial handling by **D** are more constant and pervading. The general method of treatment may perhaps best be introduced by a comparison of the two versions of the conquest of Sihon here placed side by side:—

Num 21	*Deut* 2
21 And Israel sent messengers unto Sihon king of the Amorites, saying, 22 Let me pass through thy land: we will not turn aside into field, or into vineyard; we will not drink of the water of the wells: we will go by the king's [high] way, until we have passed thy border.	26 And I sent messengers out of the wilderness of Kedemoth unto Sihon king of Heshbon with words of peace, saying, 27 Let me pass through thy land: I will go along by the high way, I will neither turn unto the right hand nor to the left. 28 Thou shalt sell me food for money, that I may eat; and give me water for money, that I may drink: only let me pass through on my feet; 29 as the children of Esau which dwell in Seir, and the Moabites which dwell in Ar, did unto me; until I shall pass over Jordan into the land which Yahweh our God giveth us. 30 But Sihon king of Heshbon would not let us pass by him: for Yahweh thy God hardened his spirit, and made his heart obstinate, that he might deliver him into thy hand, as at this day. 31 And Yahweh said unto me, Behold, I have begun to deliver up Sihon and his land before thee: begin to possess, that thou mayest inherit his land.
23 And Sihon would not suffer Israel to pass through his border:	32 Then Sihon came out against us, he and all his people, unto battle at Jahaz. 33 And Yahweh our God delivered him up before us; and we smote him, and his sons, and all his people. 34 And we took all his cities at that time, and devoted every inhabited city, with the women and the little ones; we left none remaining: 35 only the cattle we took for a prey unto ourselves, with the spoil of the cities which we had taken.
but Sihon gathered all his people together, and went out against Israel into the wilderness, and came to Jahaz: and he fought against Israel. 24 And Israel smote him with the edge of the sword, and possessed his land from Arnon unto Jabbok, even unto the children of Ammon: for the border of the children of Ammon was strong. 25 And Israel took all these cities: and Israel dwelt in all the cities of the Amorites.	

The specifically Deuteronomic additions here can be easily traced. Thus 29^{a} depends on 4 and 9: 29^{b} cp $^{D}69^{c}$. In 30 'would' $^{D}117$, 'Yahweh thy God' $^{D}1$, 'deliver him into thy hand' $^{D}52$, 'as at this day' $^{D}33^{a}$, come from a common phraseological mint. Similarly 31 'behold' $^{D}99$, 'begin to possess' 24; 32. 'he and all his people' $^{D}56$; 33 'delivered him up' $^{D}100^{a}$; 34 'at that time' $^{D}110$, 'devoted' $^{D}35$, 'the women and the little ones' $^{D}118$, 'left none remaining' 3^{3} (Num 21^{35}) cp Deut 20^{16}. Josh $10^{28\ 30\ 33\ 37\ 39}$.; 35 'only' $^{D}84$, 'a prey' $^{D}89$, the spoil' $^{D}103$. The Deuteronomic reciter has thus reproduced the older story with his own variations and expansions. The marked character of their language usually enables these to be identified with ease. Such expansions frequently recur in the narratives of the conquest, as one or two instances will suffice to show:—

Josh	D
3^{7} This day will I begin to magnify thee in the sight of all Israel, that they may know that, as I was with Moses, so I will be with thee.	Deut 2^{25} This day will I begin . . .
4^{14} On that day Yahweh magnified Joshua in the sight of all Israel; and they feared him, as they feared Moses, all the days of his life.	'all Israel' $^{D}2^{a}$: 'that' ℌ Deut $4^{10\ 40}$ 6^{3} 32^{46}: 'as' &c. Josh 1^{5}.
	'all the days of (his) life' Deut 4^{9} 6^{2} 16^{3} 17^{19} Josh 1^{5}.

[a] On the Deuteronomic revision of Judges cp Driver, *LOT*[6] 164–7, and Moore, *Judges* in *ICC* and Haupt's *SBOT*: on Solomon's prayer, Driver, *LOT*[6] 191.

Josh	D
4^{21b} When (ℌ Deut 11^{27}) your sons shall ask their fathers in time to come, saying, What mean these stones? ^{22} then ye shall make your sons know, saying, Israel came over this Jordan on dry land. ^{23} For Yahweh your God dried up the waters of Jordan from before you, until ye were passed over, as Yahweh your God did to the Red Sea, which he dried up from before us, until we were passed over: ^{24} that all the peoples of the earth may know the hand of Yahweh, that it is mighty; that they may fear Yahweh your God all the days.	Deut 6^{20} When thy son shall ask thee in time to come, saying, What mean . . . 4^{9} 'make your sons know them,' 8^{3} 'make thee know.' 'Yahweh your God' $^{D}1$. 'did to' $^{D}12$. 'all the peoples of the earth' 1 Kings 8^{60}. 'mighty hand' $^{D}80^{b}$. 'fear' $^{D}44^{a}$: 'all the days' $^{D}13^{a}$.

But this passage carries with it 5^{1}· ('dried up the waters of Jordan until we were passed over'), and similarly 2^{10}·:—

Josh	D
2^{10} For we have heard how Yahweh dried up the water of the Red Sea before you, when ye came out of Egypt; and what ye did unto the two kings of the Amorites, that were beyond Jordan, unto Sihon and to Og, whom ye devoted. ^{11} And as soon as we had heard it, our hearts did melt, neither did there remain any more spirit in any man, because of you: for Yahweh your God, he is God in heaven above, and upon the earth beneath.	'dried up' Josh 4^{23} 5^{1}. 'when ye came out of Egypt' Deut 23^{4} 24^{9} 25^{17}. 'two kings of the Amorites' $^{D}3^{c}$, 'beyond Jordan' $^{D}21^{a}$. 'devoted' $^{D}35$. 'melt' 5^{1} 7^{5}, 'made our heart to melt' Deut 1^{28}. 'spirit' 5^{1}. 'Yahweh your God' $^{D}1$. 'he is God in heaven above and upon the earth beneath' Deut 4^{39}.

But the Deuteronomic revision enters still more closely into some portions of the narrative, as may be seen in 3^{4b} $10b$ $17b$ 4^{1a} 12; and this renders it almost certain that the designations 'ark of the covenant' and 'the Levitical priests' have been introduced in the same process cp 3^{3N}. It is hardly necessary to cite further instances; but the following parallels deserve consideration:—

Josh	*Josh*	D
6^{2} And Yahweh said unto Joshua, See, I have given into thine hand Jericho, and the king thereof, the mighty men of valour.	8^{1} And Yahweh said unto Joshua, Fear not, neither be thou dismayed: take all the people of war with thee, and arise, go up to Ai: see, I have given into thy hand the king of Ai, and his people, and his city, and his land: ^{2} and thou shalt do to Ai and her king &c.	'fear' &c. 10^{25} Deut 1^{21} $31^{6\ 8}$. 'see, I have given' Deut 2^{24} cp $^{D}99$ 52 cp Deut 3^{2a}. 'mighty men' Josh 1^{14} 8^{3} 10^{7}. 'thou shalt do' Deut 3^{2b}.

Here also it is probable that the hand of R^{d} has been at work; and so numerous are the traces of his handling in 1–12 that some critics (with Kuenen at their head) have regarded the narratives of the conquest as so completely welded together by him that no distribution of the antecedent sources was practicable. More recent investigations have not confirmed this judgement; but whatever view be formed of the possibilities of success in this direction, one fact remains clearly established—the story of the western conquest has undergone a kind of redaction to which the records of the previous traditions were not submitted. For this there must plainly be a cause. That the Deuteronomic school could work in its own way on the older material has been already shown in the comparison of the two accounts of the overthrow of Sihon. But the actual Trans-jordanic story of **JE** remained untouched (save for the incorporation of the episode of Og Num 22^{33-35}). This difference of treatment seems explicable only on the assumption that when the Deuteronomic editors took the traditions of the conquest in hand, the narrative of the Mosaic age was regarded as practically closed. The death of Moses made an obvious pause, and formed the fitting conclusion to the combination **JED**. When once the incorporation of the Deuteronomic law-book with its hortatory settings into the historic framework of **JE** had been effected, the remaining records were severed more markedly from the Mosaic age. The continuity

of the story was broken by the interposition of the great book of law to which the whole previous narrative only served as introduction; and the elevation of the code into regulative or canonical authority, while it secured what went before from further revision, left what came after to the pious activity of editors who sought to show how the commands of Yahweh had been fulfilled. Joshua, therefore, could be handled more freely, and the traces of subsequent handling are consequently more numerous and varied.

(3) The general indications already cited make it probable that the Deuteronomic elements in Joshua are not to be regarded as extracts from a completer work on the conquest, but are supplemental to the earlier product of **JE**[a]. It is more difficult to decide on the grounds of Joshua alone whether $\mathbf{R}^{d}$ worked on **JE** in union or on **J** and **E** separately. The analogy of the previous books (cp *Introd* XVI 1γ i 173) suggests that the fusion had already taken place; and this conclusion may receive some slight confirmation from the phenomena of 2, where two narratives are undoubtedly blended, and where also a Deuteronomic addition can be easily detected $10^{\cdot}$. But there is no sign of $\mathbf{R}^{d}$ in the passage which seems due to the harmonist of the separate sources $17^{}$: while $\mathbf{R}^{d}$ can be eliminated from the account of the march through the Jordan in 3–4 and leave **JE** nearly intact. Other questions, however, suggest themselves which deserve a passing word.

(a) In the first place, what are the connexions of $\mathbf{R}^{d}$ in Joshua with the different elements of Deuteronomy itself? Is it possible to discriminate more than one deposit of revision, and, if so, can they be attached to the separate groups of homilists whose work has been already distinguished, cp Deut $34^{1\,2\,8}$? These questions raise difficult problems, to which answers can only be given with reserve. That the additions made by $\mathbf{R}^{d}$ were not all incorporated at one time is rendered probable by the general facts of the editorial treatment of the preceding books. And this probability is obviously increased by the circumstance that the symbol $\mathbf{R}^{d}$ covers incongruities which can hardly be due to the same writer. Thus after the kings of Hebron and Debir have been devoted together with the entire populations belonging to them $10^{36-39\,b}$, so that none remain, Joshua subsequently proceeds to cut off the Anakim of the same places 11^{21}. These representations are hardly coherent; the second seems to be generalized from the ancient narrative in $14^{14}\cdot\cdot$, but it cannot be accommodated in the same view as the first. Similarly it may be doubted if the following two summaries are from the same hand:—

10^{40} So Joshua smote all the land, the hill country, and the South, and the lowland, and the slopes, and all their kings; he left none remaining: but he devoted all that breathed, as Yahweh, the God of Israel, commanded. 41 And Joshua smote them from Kadesh-barnea even unto Gaza, and all the country of Goshen, even unto Gibeon. And all these kings and their land did Joshua take at one time, because Yahweh, the God of Israel, fought for Israel.

11^{16} So Joshua took all that land, the hill country, and all the South, and all the land of Goshen, and the lowland, and the Arabah, and the hill country of Israel, and the lowland of the same; 17 from mount Halak, that goeth up to Seir, even unto Baal-gad in the valley of Lebanon under mount Hermon: and all their kings he took, and smote them, and put them to death.... 20 For it was of Yahweh to harden their hearts, to come against Israel in battle, that he might devote them, that they might have no favour, but that he might destroy them.

The secret of Joshua's victories is found in the one case in the simple explanation that Yahweh fought for Israel: in the second, it is carried a stage further back, as

[a] Dillmann, however, conjectured that such an independent work by **D** had existed, though only small portions of it had been preserved by **R** cp *NDJ* 600. The view expressed below concerning the different materials here assigned to $\mathbf{R}^{d}$ seems sufficiently to account for the facts. Steuernagel, in assigning the main contents of the narratives to $\mathbf{D}^{2}$, gives much greater extension to Dillmann's surmise.

[b] This representation would itself seem to be later than the touches of $\mathbf{R}^{d}$ in 10^{1-27}, e g $^{8\ 12\ 25}$.

the resistance of the native kings is contrasted with the peaceful submission of the Gibeonites, and is set down to the same providential process which had already brought the divine dooms on Pharaoh and his people. In other instances, also, it is probable that Deuteronomic additions have themselves been subsequently expanded, cp 1^{7}·. On the other hand there do not seem any clear reasons for attributing 3^{7} 4^{14} (with Albers) to $\mathbf{R}^{d1}$ and 4^{21-24} to $\mathbf{R}^{d2}$. The Analysis does not, therefore, save in rare cases, attempt to distinguish typographically between different elements of $\mathbf{R}^{d}$: it must be enough to recognize the general evidence that the Deuteronomic revision was a process to which more than one writer of the school contributed[a]. There are even signs that additions continued to be made in the Deuteronomic spirit till a very late date, as the peculiar phenomena of 20 indicate. This may, indeed, be an exceptional case of harmonizing; but in other instances there seem to be marks of late character in additions bearing the general stamp of $\mathbf{R}^{d}$ (see below, δ).

(β) That the Deuteronomic editors based themselves on **D** as we now possess it (apart from the song of Moses 32 and the few passages due to **P**) cannot, indeed, be affirmed with certainty, but it appears highly probable. The reference to Joshua in 1^{3-9} implies Deut 11^{24}· and 31^{7}·; while the address to the tribes who wished to settle on the east of Jordan 1^{12-18} is founded on Deut $3^{12.\,18-20}$. The description of Sihon and Og as the 'two kings of the Amorites' 2^{10} 9^{10} belongs to the later strata of **D** cp Deut 3^{8N}; the designation of Yahweh as 'God in heaven above and on earth beneath' 2^{11b} seems to rest on Deut 4^{39}; and the homilist of Josh $23^{3\,15}$ shows points of contact with the discourses in both Deut 28 and 29. The historic and hortatory settings of the Deuteronomic code seem thus within the view of $\mathbf{R}^{d}$; and it may be surmised that the work which was begun on the basis of **JE** in Deut 1–3 31 34 was continued by the same group though on a different method through the traditions of the conquest and settlement.

(γ) The phraseological indications of this process are necessarily slight. But they are not wholly wanting. The designation of Sihon and Og as 'the two kings of the Amorites' has just been cited. New phrases creep into the survey of their dominions: each is described as 'ruling' $12^{2\,5}$, a term not employed in Deut 2· (in **D** only in 15^{6}); or as 'reigning' $13^{10\,12}$, another verb also absent from the earlier accounts[b]. Fresh geographical data also appear, such as the reference to the sea of Chinnereth and to Beth-jeshimoth 12^{3}; while the word 'possession' 12^{6}· carries on the usage of Deut $2^{5\,9}$ $12\,19$ 3^{20} Josh 1^{15}. Other peculiarities are probably to be found in the phrases 'meditate' in the law 1^{8} cp Ps 1^{2}; 'mighty men of valour' 1^{14} 6^{2} 8^{3} 10^{7} (2 Kings 15^{20} 24^{14} Chron [20] Neh 11^{14}†) ct Deut 3^{18} 'all the men of valour'; 'dried up' 2^{10} 4^{23} 5^{1}*; 'all the people of war' (?) $8^{1\ 3\ (11)}$ 10^{7} 11^{7}†, ct 'men of war' $5^{4\ 6}$ 6^{3} 10^{24} Deut $2^{14\ 16}$; תחנה 'favour' $11^{2\,3}$* 1 Kings 8^{28}·· 9^{3} Jer 36^{7} 37^{20} 38^{26} $42^{2\ 9}$ Pss Chron; 'according to their divisions' 11^{23} 12^{7} 18^{10}*; 'wealth' 22^{8} 2 Chron 1^{11}· Ezr 6^{8} 7^{26} Eccles 5^{19} 6^{2}†; and the Hebrew forms אותם 10^{25}, אותי 14^{12}, המסיו 14^{8}[c].

(δ) There remains an interesting class of cases in which the language of $\mathbf{R}^{d}$ shows curious approximations to that of **P**. The phrase 'according to their divisions' just cited seems kindred with **P**'s legal terminology cp $^{P}18$; in 13^{6} 23^{4} 'allot it (ℌ cause it to fall) unto Israel for an inheritance' finds its sole parallel in Ezek 45^{1} 47^{22}; while the terms 'priesthood' and 'beyond Jordan' ℌ 18^{7} occur elsewhere in *Hex* only in **P**, and the 'thorns' of 23^{13} belong to the hortatory vocabulary of which another specimen

[a] This seems probable, for instance, in the case of the list of kings in 12, appended at the close of the summary of the conquest 11^{23}. Its source is unknown, but it does not appear needful to call into conjectural existence a larger independent Deuteronomic work, the rest of which has perished.

[b] This difference supplies another faint indication of diversity of authorship between $\mathbf{R}^{d}$ sections cp ante a. The duplicates in 12^{2-6} and 13^{8-14} are hardly from the same hand.

[c] Cp Dillmann, *NDJ* 442; König, *Einl* 249.

occurs in Num 33^{55}. It is no doubt to be expected on general grounds that the characteristic terminology of one great school should find antecedents in its predecessor. The style of R^{je} already approaches that of **D**; why should not the style of R^{d} in like manner prepare the way for **P**? The Deuteronomic editors of the national histories during the exile were contemporary with the priestly schools of Ezekiel and his successors, and some interchange of phraseology would be only natural. Such interchange may be detected in 5^{4} 8^{33} $10^{27.}$ 11^{20} 22^{4}. To what is it due? Are these the spontaneous outshoots of R^{d} towards kindred workers in the same great field, or do they suggest that R^{p} has been upon his track with his own additions and modifications? The phenomena of $10^{28..}$ compared with ^{40} and 𝔊 10^{28N} seem to prove clearly that an editor of the school of **P** has introduced the word 'souls' at a quite late stage of the history of the text. If such revision has happened in one case, it may have operated elsewhere also. Thus the phraseology of 6^{19} ^{24b} points to R^{p}. But ^{19} is evidently a supplement to R^{d} in ^{18}; and a clue is thus gained to the priority of the Deuteronomic revision before the Priestly annotator took the work in hand. Is this view sustained by other phenomena in Joshua? In other words, what is the relation of the **P** sections to the rest of the book?

5. The inquiry just suggested is full of difficulty, and the seemingly conflicting facts have been differently interpreted in different critical schools.

(1) The obvious indications of the presence of elements continuing the arrangements of Num 34^{17}–35^{34} have been already mentioned (*ante* **2**). They prove at once that **P** is not unrepresented in the narrative of the settlement. But it is less clear at first sight whether **P** contained any story of the conquest, and, if so, what has become of it. That he related the entry into Canaan is admitted by general consent 4^{19}, and the passage at once creates a presumption that his narrative also described the crossing of the Jordan. Traces of such a narrative may be seen in 3^{4a} ^{8} $^{15.}$ 4^{7b} ^{8a} ^{13} $^{15–17}$. The record of the passover and the note on the food-supply $5^{10–12}$ are plainly derived from the same source. But the account of the events which follow seems to owe little to his hand. Jericho falls and he is apparently silent. He breaks in at the beginning of the story of Achan's trespass 7^{1}; a clear glimpse of the 'congregation' and its 'princes' is afforded in the dealings with the Gibeonites 9^{15c} $^{17–21}$; the delineation of the tribal settlements is chiefly due to him (the Trans-jordanic tribes $13^{15–14^{5}}$, Judah $15^{1–12}$ $^{20–62}$, Ephraim $16^{4–9}$, Manasseh $17^{1–10}$, the remaining tribes 18^{1} $^{11–19^{46}}$ ^{48}, cities of refuge 20, cities for the Levites $21^{1–42}$); and the last echoes of his language are heard in the story of the altar by Jordan $22^{9–34}$. It is at once plain from the irregularity of these fragments that **P** has not been adopted as the groundwork of the compilation of Joshua in the same way in which it was laid at the base of the preceding books. The chronological articulation from Gen 1 to Deut 34^{7} is here entirely lacking[a]. Of the victories of Israel, of the overthrow of the Canaanite confederations, no word has been preserved. It can hardly be doubted that some allusions to these events were contained in **P**. One incident is especially significant; the oath to the Gibeonites cannot have been a mere detached episode; it must have been derived from a connected scheme[b]. The gift of the land is formally promised in Ex 6^{4} ^{8}; the war of subjugation is anticipated Num $32^{20–22}$, and the warriors of the Trans-jordanic tribes cross with their brethren ready for battle Josh 4^{13}. The way is thus prepared for a narrative of

[a] So far as this exists in Joshua it is supplied by **JED**. The book opens with a renewal of the commission to Joshua and closes with his death, but in 1 and 24 **P** has no share. Even the passages of the survey extracted from **P** are placed in a Deuteronomic framework cp 11^{23} $13^{1–14}$ $18^{2–10}$ $21^{43–45}$. In the final compilation, therefore, **P** is inserted into **JED**, whereas in the Pentateuch **JED** is fitted into **P**.

[b] In the case of Achan the phenomena of 7^{1} $^{18.}$ $^{24.}$ seem sufficiently explained by the conjecture of a late priestly revision, rather than of the incorporation of passages from an independent narrative. But the **P** verses in 9 have not this supplemental air; they imply a story of their own.

the conquest which may have taken the main stages of advance for granted after the manner of **P**'s reference to the 'overthrow' of Sodom and Gomorrah Gen 19^{29}, while it enlarged on incidents calculated to shed some light on Israel's dealings with the conquered peoples and the sanctuary-claims on person and property. But such a narrative was not so well adapted for the foundation of the combined account of the conquest as that of the product symbolized by **JER**^{d}. It stands, therefore, in the background in the first half of the book, and only becomes prominent in the second. On this and other grounds it has already been argued (*Introd* i 178) that the combination of **P** with **JED** was not effected in Joshua by the same hand or on the same method as in the Pentateuch.

(2) What, then, is the relation of the **P** sections in Joshua to the great document of which it is the sequel? That document has been shown to be by no means homogeneous (*Introd* XIII 7–10). To which among its various strata does the continuation in Joshua appear to belong? The promise of Ex $6^{4\,8}$ suggests that the general plan of **P**^{g} originally included the entry into Canaan and the distribution of the land. In this it followed the general method of **JE**. But it is doubtful how far the existing sections are to be ascribed to this source, for they show many traces phraseologically of secondary character. Thus in 4^{19} the common designation 'the children of Israel' is replaced by 'the people,' of rare occurrence in **P**, Ex $16^{27\ 30}$ Num 16^{47} 31^{3} 33^{14}, four out of the five passages being already independently marked as late. The description of the passover 5^{10} employs **D**'s term for 'even' instead of **P**'s. Achan's pedigree 7^{1} depends on Num 26^{20}, and the usual phrase in **P** to describe the divine anger $^{P}178$ gives way to the familiar language of **JE** which only appears in **P** elsewhere in the curious amalgam Num $32^{10\ 13}$. On the other hand the account of the allotment of the land opens with the erection of the 'tent of meeting' at Shiloh 18^{1} (on the original place of the verse see 14^{1N}), where **P** might have been expected to mention the Dwelling. It has been previously urged Ex 25^{1N} that many parts of **P**'s legislation seem based on this conception of the sanctuary, and represent an older stage of codification afterwards adapted to the newer form. In the same way it is quite possible that the narrative of the distribution may rest on an older survey, and this may be the explanation of some of the peculiarities discussed in 18^{11N}. In any case it is worth observing that the account takes no notice of the men whom Moses expressly selected for this function Num 34^{18-28}. Where are the ten princes whom he associated with Eleazar and Joshua? They are hardly to be identified with the 'heads of the fathers' 19^{51}; and it may be conjectured therefore that the description of the settlement is earlier than the provision in Num 34^{16-29}. The assignment of the cities of refuge and the Levitical cities 20· (following the full close 19^{51}) is, however, plainly dependent on Num 35, and the **P** sections in Joshua, therefore, must be grouped in their present form under the general heading of **P**^{s}.

(3) The relation of **P** to **JE** in Joshua is sufficiently implied in the foregoing exposition. The details which **P** contributes, for instance, to the Achan story in 7, or a comparison of the items of the survey from 13^{5} onwards, can leave no doubt of the priority of **JE**. But there are other phenomena of a more perplexing kind, involved in the comparison of **P** with **D**.

(*a*) The general reasons founded on institutional development which place the Deuteronomic code before the Levitical legislation in order of time remain unaffected by the narratives of Joshua. But the literary affinities of **P** and **D** in Joshua are somewhat intricate and have led different critics to opposite inferences. The materials for investigation are scanty, as they are mostly confined to the traces of editorial revision. There is, however, one clear case of duplication where a comparison may prove suggestive, if not decisive, viz the account of the territories assigned to the tribes

east of the Jordan 13^{8-14} and $^{15-33}$. Here, on the face of it, P seems expanded from D (the common elements are printed in italics):—

Josh 13^{8-10} D

8 With him the Reubenites and the Gadites received their inheritance, which Moses gave them, beyond Jordan eastward, even as Moses the servant of Yahweh gave them; 9 *from Aroer, that is on the edge of the valley of Arnon, and the city that is in the middle of the valley, and all the plain* of *Medeba* unto *Dibon*; 10 *and all the cities of Sihon king of the Amorites, which reigned in Heshbon,* unto the border of the children of Ammon.

Josh 13^{15-21} P

15 And Moses gave unto the tribe of the children of Reuben according to their families. 16 And their border was *from Aroer, that is on the edge of the valley of Arnon, and the city that is in the middle of the valley, and all the plain* by *Medeba*; 17 Heshbon, and all her cities that are in the plain; *Dibon,* and Bamoth-baal, and Beth-baal-meon; 18 and Jahaz, and Kedemoth, and Mephaath; 19 and Kiriathaim, and Sibmah, and Zereth-Shahar in the mount of the valley; 20 and Beth-peor, and the slopes of Pisgah, and Beth-jeshimoth; 21 *and all the cities* of the plain, and all the kingdom *of Sihon king of the Amorites, which reigned in Heshbon.*

That there is a literary relation between these passages can hardly be doubted. Did D abstract from P, or P expand D, or did both found themselves independently upon a common source? The latter alternative is excluded by the fact that both passages subsequently introduce Og king of Bashan, and the analysis of Deut 3 shows that Og appears there for the first time: D and P, therefore, could have no common antecedent. But the same argument proves that P in ^{30}. must be ultimately based on Deut 3; and the dependence of P on D seems thus established[a]. It is confirmed by the fact that while D expressly asserts ^{10} that the conquered territory did not include Ammon cp Deut 2^{37}, P claims half for Gad ^{25}, an extension of which D is evidently unaware. The relation of P to D here, therefore, is similar to that of P to JE concerning the territory of Joseph 16^{1-3} and ^{4}..

(β) Further evidence in the same direction may be gathered from the traces of revision by R^p in the sections ascribed to R^d. Instances of this have been already offered (*ante* 4 3δ p 315). The word 'souls' 10^{28}.. seems only explicable as an intrusion into D's formula 'all that breathed': a harmonizing editor has added the reference to Joshua in 14^6 on the basis of the combined narrative JEP in Num 14. These cases increase the probability that the P phrases in 5^4 8^{33} 10^{27}. 11^{20} 18^7 are really due to R^p; in $22^{1\,4}$ the close contiguity of the very late P story $^{9-34}$ may have slightly affected the text, and produced unconscious modifications in the copyist's handiwork, cp the conflate expression 'kept the charge of the commandment' ^{3}.

(γ) On the other hand Dillmann has urged[b] that P bears the marks of a Deuteronomic revision. In Deut 32^{49} the words 'in the land of Moab' are ascribed to D, cp 1^5 and ct 34^1. Josh 5^{4-7} is an attempt to harmonize JE and P; in 5^{10} D betrays himself by 'evening,' as by 'stoned them with stones' 7^{25}. The formula 'Yahweh God of Israel' 7^{13^N} is triumphantly claimed for R^d in the midst of P's phrases 9^{18}.; in the description of the Trans-jordanic settlements 13^{15-33} 'it is as clear as possible' that P has been revised by R^d, the references to the kingdom of Sihon having been inserted by him ^{21} and ^{27}, while D's *shébheṭ* has taken the place of P's *maṭṭeh* in ^{29a}. The curious combination in 20^{3-6} of items from the Deuteronomic law of the cities of refuge with the arrangements of the Priestly Code would be convincing, but for the circumstance that Ⓖ clearly proves that the Deuteronomic elements are a very late insertion in the text. Finally in 22^{9-34} the recurring phrase 'the half tribe of Manasseh' invariably employs the Deuteronomic term. This slender array of instances is hardly sufficient to countervail the numerous lines of argument founded on the development of institutions, the testimony of history, the affinities of religious expression, which converge on the conclusion that Deuteronomy preceded the Priestly Code. The explanatory suggestions

[a] Cp the use of the term 'slopes' ^{20}, Deut 3^{17} 4^{49} Josh 10^{40} $12^{3\,8}$, *only here* in P.
[b] *NDJ* 676.

offered in the notes need not be repeated here. The harmonistic touch of a scribe who adds the words 'in the land of Moab' Deut 32^{49} cannot prove more than a desire to bring the language of different passages into accord: in the secondary passages of **P** there is an occasional option in the choice of names for 'tribe'[a], just as 1 Chron $5^{18\ 23\ 26}$ speaks of the 'half *shébheṭ* of Manasseh,' while 1 Chron $6^{61\ 70}$. mentions the 'half *maṭṭeh*.' It may be conceded, then, that tendencies to variation display themselves unexpectedly in both directions; the characteristic language of **D** is sometimes replaced by that of **P**, and *vice versa*. These contradictory phenomena seem in a sense to cancel each other. At any rate it may be affirmed that neither group is strong enough to bear the strain of supporting a general conclusion concerning the documents of the Hexateuch at large. The main facts of their contents and relations remain wholly unaffected. It is of importance to notice, however, that the observation formerly made concerning the relations to $\mathbf{R}^{d}$ and **JE** § 4 2 is equally true of the fuller product $\mathbf{JER}^{d}$ and $\mathbf{R}^{p}$. The Deuteronomic editors left the records of the Trans-jordanic conquest under Moses practically untouched[b]: but they worked freely on the stories of the victories of Joshua. This fact was cited in confirmation of the view that the Joshua narratives had been separated from their context in Numbers by the incorporation of the Book of Deuteronomy, long before the compilation of the Priestly Code. In this condition of detachment from the preceding group they were no longer guarded with the care which protected the Law, and they were the more readily exposed to editorial manipulation. It was easy, therefore, for the scribes who undertook to combine **P**'s version of the Conquest and Settlement with the Deuteronomic Joshua to adopt a different method of redaction compared with the final composition of the Pentateuch. They not only threw much of **P**'s materials away instead of presenting them almost intact and using them as the chronological basis of the whole, but they—or their successors—scattered traces of their work in occasional phrases throughout the most characteristic Deuteronomic sections, just as the Deuteronomic editors had impressed themselves still more forcibly on **JE**. No such activity can be discerned within the limits of Deuteronomy itself. And this contrast reinforces the belief already expressed (*Introd* i 178) that **P**'s Joshua was not amalgamated with its predecessor **JED** by the hand which arranged the Pentateuch[c]. What interval separated the two processes it is impossible to conjecture. But the evidence of the Septuagint at least makes it certain that the book continued to receive additions till after the middle of the third century BC[d].

[a] Cp Num 32^{33} 36^{3}.

[b] Only adding the conquest of Og Num 21^{33-35}.

[c] With this conclusion Prof G A Smith (in Hastings' *DB*) is in entire agreement. Further indications are found in the facts that some peculiarities of orthography noted in the Pentateuch do not reappear in Joshua. The feminine pronoun הוא replaces the epicene הוא ; האלה is written in place of האל ; for ירחו Joshua shows ירחו. These point to different redactional activity.

[d] The publication of Steuernagel's *Das Buch Josua* (in the *Hdkomm*) as these sheets are passing through the press invites a word of comment, for his results vary widely from those already set forth. His conception of the growth of the book is highly interesting, if also somewhat too intricate to be properly estimated within the limits of a brief note. The constituent materials are referred (as above) to J E D and P, but in very different combinations. In regard to J Steuernagel returns to the view of Wellhausen and Meyer that it recognized no Joshua, and that consequently no portion of 1–12 can be allotted to it (save the brief touch in the Gibeonite story 9^{6}. where the negotiations are conducted with the 'men of Israel'). J is accordingly represented almost entirely by the fragments parallel with Judges 1. To **E**, on the other hand, a considerable amount is assigned in 2–7 8^{30}. 14^{6-14} 9^{49}. 24. This distribution, however, leaves large gaps in the narrative before the sections of the survey due to **P**. The intervening passages are referred chiefly to $\mathbf{D}^{2}$, the continuation of Deut 1–3. This document opens with 1^{1}. $^{10-15}$ and continues through 3 4 6 8 9 10 11 (being united in 3 4 6 with **E**). Its record of the conquest has been preserved almost entire, but from 13 onwards it can be discovered only in fragments. There are, however, various other traces of Deuteronomic revision by successive editors and copyists. The stories of **E** had probably undergone a Deuteronomic handling before they were combined with $\mathbf{D}^{2}$: and that the process was continued in the scribal schools may be inferred from the phenomena of 20. But the Deuteronomic book of Joshua did not, in Steuernagel's judgement, contain the passages which he assigns to J or even to **E**. These were not added

6. Indications have been already cited incidentally which prove that the process of revision did not stop with the incorporation of **P** into **JED**. The introduction of the Deuteronomic provisions for the cities of refuge in 20^{3-6} is admitted to be later than the text employed by the Alexandrian translators. The same witnesses bear similar testimony in other cases[a]. A number of words and clauses are lacking in ⑥, the absence of which can hardly be ascribed either to accident or design. In some instances as in 2^{21} or 14^{3} the omissions may be explained by the recurrence of identical words; in others, as in the narratives of the capture first of Jericho 6, and then of Ai 8, they seem intended to remove inconsistencies and harmonize conflicting details. But others, again, are probably due to neither of these causes, but indicate continuous editorial handling which sought to rectify or define or supplement the existing text[b]. Thus 13^{33} is needless, for it is implied in 14^{3}, while it reproduces 13^{14} with its Deuteronomic forms in the midst of **P**. Its absence from ⑥, therefore, increases the probability that it is a later addition. Homiletic expansions are perhaps to be traced with the same aid in 2^{9b} and 23^{16b}; while the scribal love of the law is most likely responsible for the reference in 1^{7}. Such handling cannot be said to be in favour of any particular school, or to make for any special documentary theory. There is no case of divergences so great as those affecting the long secondary section Ex 35–40. But they are sufficiently numerous and striking to warrant the conclusion of Dillmann[c] that the text of Joshua was not definitely fixed until a date perhaps as late as 200 B C[d].

until after the combination of **P** with **D**, for which **D** supplied the framework. Into the united book **DP** a late priestly scribe $\mathbf{R^{P}}$ introduced the extracts from **J** and **E**; so that instead of the usual symbol **JEDP** Steuernagel's hypothesis might be represented as $\mathbf{DPR^{P}}$ (**J** + **E**). The reader who will take these clues in hand through the following analysis, will be able to form his own conclusions on this critical scheme. From the point of view of the results exhibited in the text far too much literary product is ascribed to $\mathbf{D^{2}}$. In 8–11 for example the bulk of the narrative is thus treated. But the style of Deut 1–3 does not show anything like the independence and vigour which mark the story of the capture of Ai or the defeat of the five kings. $\mathbf{D^{2}}$ is little more than a homiletic copyist in Deut 1–3: and when he introduces a new episode, for which he has no previous authority in **JE**, the overthrow of Og 3^{1-7}, he can only advance step by step on the track of the preceding narrative of Sihon. In Josh 8 and 10, however, there are manifold fresh traits wholly unlike the manner of Deut 1–3, as indeed Steuernagel himself seems to perceive when he concedes that here **E** may have been used as a source by $\mathbf{D^{2}}$. Moreover in 8 (at least, if not also in 10) there are clear traces of two narrators. To these Steuernagel is not indifferent, but his second is a late priestly editor. The appearance of $\mathbf{R^{P}}$ on the scene here is altogether unexpected; why should he devise a second ambuscade 8^{12}., and how is his intervention to be recognized? Steuernagel gives no reasons for his identification. This must be said of other passages also attributed to this school. Thus in 9^{14} $\mathbf{R^{P}}$ is dragged in by a correction of the text and represented as recording that the 'princes' neglected to 'inquire of Yahweh,' an antique process of consulting the oracle which **P** nowhere sanctions (having set it aside for the Urim and Thummim of Ex 28^{30}): while 10^{40-43} is similarly allotted to $\mathbf{R^{P}}$, though the phraseology is preponderantly Deuteronomic (the incorporation of material from Deut 19 in Josh 20 is so clearly the work of a harmonizer that it must be regarded as exceptional, and cannot be taken to justify Steuernagel's hypothesis of a group or succession of priestly scribes habitually adopting the Deuteronomic style).—The divergences of Steuernagel's results thus imply (1) different conceptions of the preceding analysis (as in the ascription of 5^{13-15} with the parallel in Ex 3^{5} to **E**); (2) a different value for phraseological and stylistic evidence in the determination of sources (as in the assignment of 14^{6-14} in its present form to **E**, and the derivation of so large a portion of 1–11 from $\mathbf{D^{2}}$); and (3) a different estimate of historical probability in the denial of any narrative of Joshua's leadership to **J**. The student will derive much stimulus from so fresh a treatment, and if this work succeeds in placing the data before him, he will have the materials for independent judgement.

[a] Cp Hollenberg, *Der Character der Alexandrinischen Uebersetzung des Buches Josua* Moers 1876 18 c.

[b] So perhaps in $1^{2\ 4\ 14}$. $2^{4\ 12\ 15\ 21}$. &c.

[c] *NDJ* 690.

[d] In Hastings' *DB* ii 784^{a} Prof G A Smith expounds a similar view: 'That the Book of Joshua was not regarded in Israel as what we call canonical till long after the Torah or Five Books of Moses had reached that rank, is clear from the difference between it and them in the LXX translation. While it is evident, from the comparatively few discrepancies between the Massoretic text and that of the LXX, that the text of the Torah had long been guarded with care before the LXX translation was made, the many discrepancies in the Book of Joshua, the freedom with which the Greek translator or translators allowed themselves to omit or to modify, prove that when the LXX translation of it was made, Joshua was not regarded as of canonical rank. The admission to the Canon of the Prophetical Books, to which it belongs, is generally held to have been about 200 B C.'

JOSHUA*

J E R[d] J E P[s]

1[1] [N]Now it came to pass after the death of Moses the [N]servant of Yahweh, that Yahweh spake unto Joshua the [N]son of Nun, Moses' [a]minister, saying, [2] Moses my servant is dead; now therefore [c]arise, go over [b]this Jordan, thou, and [c]all this people, [N]unto the land [d]which I do give to them, [N][even] to the children of Israel.
[3] [e]Every place that the sole of your foot shall tread upon, to you have I given it, as [N]I spake unto Moses. [4] From the [e]wilderness, and this Lebanon, even unto the great river, the river Euphrates, [N]all the land of the Hittites, and unto the [f]great sea toward the [g]going down of the sun, shall be your border. [5] There shall not any man be able to [h]stand before thee [b]all the days of thy life: as I was with Moses, so I will be [i]with thee: I will not [i]fail thee, nor forsake thee. [6] [j]Be [c]strong and of a good courage: for thou shalt [j]cause this people to inherit the land which I [d]sware unto their fathers to give them. [7] [Ne]Only be strong and very courageous, to [f]observe to do according to all [N]the law, which Moses my servant commanded thee: [g]turn not from it to the [k]right hand or to the left, that thou mayest [M]have good success whithersoever thou goest. [8] This [h]book of the law shall not [l]depart out of thy mouth, but thou shalt [m]meditate therein day and night, that thou mayest [f]observe to do according to all that is written therein: for then thou shalt [n]make thy way prosperous, and then thou shalt [M]have good success. [9] Have not I [o]commanded thee? Be [c]strong and of a good courage; be not [l]affrighted, neither be thou [p]dismayed: for Yahweh [j]thy God is [i]with thee whithersoever thou goest.
[10] Then Joshua commanded the [q]officers of the people, saying, [11a] [r]Pass through the midst of the camp, and command the people, saying, [s]Prepare you [k]victuals; for within [l]three days ye are to pass over [b]this Jordan,
[11b] to [m]go in to possess the land, [n]which Yahweh your God giveth you to [o]possess it.

a Gen 31[13] 35[1] Deut 2[13] [24]
b [11] Gen 32[10] Deut 3[27] 31[2]
c Ex 18[23]
d Cp [D]69[c]
e Deut 11[24] [25]
f 9[1] 15[47] 23[4*]
g 23[4] Deut 11[30*]
h Deut 7[24]
i Deut 31[8]
j Deut 31[7]
k Deut 17[11] [20]
l Cp Ex 13[22] Is 59[21]
m Ps 1[2]
n Deut 28[29] cp Ps 1[3]
o Cp Deut 31[23] 𝔊
p Deut 1[21]
q 3[2] Num 11[16] cp [D]83
r 3[2]
s 4[4] Gen 43[16]

a 109
b 13[c]
c 106[a]
d 107[a]
e 84
f 82[a]
g 114[b]
h 70[b]
i 44[d]
j 1[a]
k 172
l 119[d]
m 53
n 69[c]
o 88

1[1a] After the death of Moses Joshua is summoned to assume the leadership for which he has been already designated Deut 31[14. 23]. The opening verses [1.] show the hand of **E** in the description of Joshua; but it is soon apparent that the narrative of **E** has been expanded by a member of the great Deuteronomic school. This expansion may have begun already in [1.] as the parallels imply. Steuern attributes [1. 10–18] to **D**[2] and [3–9] to later editing by **R**[d]. The parallels in [3–9] and [12–18] at once reveal the hand of the homilists of **D**, [10 11a] alone showing the simpler style of **E**.

1[1b] This title is found elsewhere in passages attributed to **E** Ex 14[31] Num 12[7]. Deut 34[5] cp Josh 24[29]. It appears with great frequency in **D**[s] in Josh e g 1[7 13 15] 8[31 33] 9[24] 11[12 15] 12[6ab] 13[8] (14[7]) 18[7] 22[2 4]. It is possible, therefore, that its occurrence here may be due to the Deuteronomic redaction.

1[1c] Cp Ex 33[11] Num 11[28] Deut 31[23]. In Josh this designation is found in sections presumably derived from **E** 2[1 23] 6[6] 24[29]; it is also employed by **P** 14[1] 19[51], but never by **J**.

2[2a] The form of this clause contrasted with Deut 31[23] 'which I sware unto them,' may be due to **R**[d] as **D** habitually dwells on the 'gift' of the land [D]69[cdef].

2[2b] The juxtaposition of the words 'to them, to the children of Israel,' and the absence of the latter from 𝔊, may imply that they are an explanatory gloss.

3 Dillm suggests that this clause is an addition; the original passage in Deut 11[24] is spoken by Moses, not Yahweh. But the words of Moses are understood to be of divine source and authority cp Deut 11[25b].

4 Not in the original passage, and lacking here in 𝔊. The term 'Hittites' seems to include the Canaanites; so only in Ezek 16[3 45] (Dillm).

7[a] In [7.] the discourse may have been yet further expanded; [8] in particular seems to develop the allusion to 'the law' in [7], which is itself probably additional. Similar clauses introduced by 'only' will be found in [17b 18b], where they may be additional.

7[b] Moses is nowhere said to have laid any law on Joshua for his observance; the words are not rendered by 𝔊 (for the remaining formula cp Deut 24[8]); moreover the following pronoun 'from it' should be feminine, but agrees instead with 'all that Moses commanded thee.' The reference to 'the law' is therefore probably a later touch.

7[c 8] **M** Or, *deal wisely*.—𝔖 = 'prosper' Deut 29[9].

* The widely different analysis just published by Steuernagel will sufficiently exemplify to the student the difficulty of the process and the various results which it may suggest. In the treatment of the text Steuern feels much greater confidence in the relative originality of 𝔊, and ascribes therefore a very much more continuous activity to late priestly editors, whose work, however, cannot be otherwise identified by independent characteristics. The preparation of an amended text did not enter into the plan of this work (cp Bennett's *Joshua* in Haupt's *SBOT*). The editors, therefore, while citing some of the divergences of 𝔊 for critical purposes, have not thought it necessary to tabulate all its variations. A few of its omissions have been noticed, where they seemed to indicate the probability of subsequent editorial work on the 𝔖 text. Such comparisons suffice to demonstrate the general thesis of prolonged scribal treatment; but until 𝔊 has itself been more carefully reconstructed, it cannot be employed as a final authority for the correction of 𝔖; and many delicate critical problems, therefore, can only be imperfectly approached.

J	E	R[d]	J	E	P[s]	
		[12] And to the [t]Reubenites, and to the Gadites, and to the half [p]tribe of [N]Manasseh, spake Joshua, saying, [13] [q]Remember the word which Moses the servant of Yahweh commanded you, saying, Yahweh your God giveth you [u]rest, and will [N]give you this land. [14] Your [v]wives, your little ones, and your [v]cattle, shall [v]abide in the land which Moses gave you [N]beyond Jordan; but [w]ye shall pass over before your brethren [x]armed, all the [y]mighty men of valour, and shall help them; [15] until Yahweh have given your brethren [u]rest, as [he hath given] you, and they also have possessed the land [n]which Yahweh your God giveth them: then ye shall [z]return [N]unto the land of your [s]possession, and possess it, which Moses the servant of Yahweh gave you beyond Jordan [a']toward the sunrising. [16] And they answered Joshua, saying, All that thou hast commanded us we will do, and whithersoever thou sendest us we will go. [17] According as we hearkened unto Moses in all things, so will we hearken unto thee: [e]only Yahweh thy God be [i]with thee, as he was with Moses. [18] Whosoever he be that shall [t]rebel against thy commandment, and shall not hearken unto thy words in all that thou commandest him, he shall be put to death: [e]only be [c]strong and of a good courage.			p 112 q 97[b] r 118 s 88[d] t 94
		2[1] [N]And Joshua the [a]son of Nun sent out of [b]Shittim [c]two men as [s]spies [d]secretly, saying, Go [e]view the land, and Jericho. And they went, and came into the house of an harlot whose name was Rahab, and lay there.			a 212
		.. [2] [N]And it was told the king of Jericho, saying, Behold, there came men in [b]hither to-night of the children of Israel to [f]search out the land.			b 171
		[3a] And the king of Jericho sent unto Rahab, saying, Bring forth the men that are [g]come to thee,			
		...[3b] which are [T]come into thine house: . . .			
		[3c] for they be come to [f]search out all the land.			
		[4a] [N]And the woman took the [c]two men, and [h]hid them; . . .			
		[4b] And she said, [i]Yea, the men came unto me, [N]but I wist not whence they were: [5a] and [j]it came to pass about the time of the shutting of the gate, when it was dark, that the men went out: whither the men went I wot not.			
		. . . [5b] [N]Pursue after them [c]quickly: for ye shall overtake them.			c 43
		[6] But she had brought them up to the roof, and [k]hid them with the stalks of [l]flax, which she had laid in order upon the roof.			
		[7] And the men pursued after them the way to Jordan unto the fords: and as soon as they which pursued after them were gone out, they shut the gate.			
		[8] And [d]before they were [m]laid down, she came up unto them upon the roof; [9a] and she said unto the men, I know that Yahweh hath [n]given you the land, and that your [c]terror is fallen upon us.			d 6
		[9b] [N]And that all the inhabitants of the land [p]melt away before you. [10] [N]For we			

t Deut 3[12. 18-20]
u 15 22[4] 23[1] Deut 3[20]
v Deut 3[19]
w Deut 3[18]
x 4[12] cp Ex 13[18] ct Deut 3[18] ℌ
y 6[2] 8[3] 10[7] 2 Kings 15[20] 24[14] Chron (20) Neh 11[14]†
z Deut 3[20] cp Josh 22[4]
a' Deut 4[47]

a 1[1]
b Num 25[1]
c Cp 4[a] 23 ct 3 4[b]
d ℌ†
e ℌ=*see* Gen 42[9] Num 13[18a]
f Deut 1[22]

g 4[b] Gen 19[5]

h ℌ Ex 2[2.*]
i Ex 10[29] ℌ
j Cp Gen 15[12] ℌ

k Ct 4[a] ℌ cp Ex 2[12]
l Ct Ex 9[31] ℌ

m Gen 19[4]
n Cp 14 24
o Gen 15[12] Ex 15[16] 23[27] Deut 32[25*]
p 24 Ex 15[15*]

1[12] ℌ (unusually) 'the Manasseh,' with the article; so Deut 3[13] 29[8] Josh 4[12] 12[6] 13[7] 18[7] 22[7 9 10. 21]†.

[13] Kautzsch and Addis with 𝔊 'hath given you.' Bennett points נתן as a participle. In the following passage the words 'armed' 'mighty men of valour' 'help' differ from the language of Deut 3[18-20].

[14] Obviously unsuitable to the implied situation where Joshua and the tribes whom he addresses are still on the East side of the Jordan. The words do not occur in 𝔊, and seem like a copyist's reminiscence of the same words in Deut 3[20] where they describe the settlement of the rest of Israel in Canaan.

[15] Another variation on the language of Deut 3[20], which is followed by 𝔊 'each man to his possession.' The subsequent 'and possess it' breaks the grammatical sequence and does not appear in 𝔊.

2[1] The story of the visit of the spies to Jericho shows clear traces of composite origin, though the resolution of some parts can only be tentative. Duplicate phrases as in [3 12. 18] suggest that different sources have been combined, and the course of the story makes this practically certain. For the conversation between Rahab and her visitors upon the roof [8. 12 14] is suddenly interrupted by the descent of the men through the window [15.], to be resumed [18-21] when they have made their escape from the house. But it is inconceivable that they should have shouted from the foot of the city wall (where the residents in similarly situated houses could have overheard them) a promise [18-20] which involved absolute secrecy cp [14]. The incident in [15.] cannot therefore belong to the narrative in [8. 12 14 18-21]. But [15.] finds its obvious sequel in [22.]; from which it appears that the men were two in number [14[1]], and had been dispatched by 'Joshua the son of Nun.' That designation at once connects the narrative with **E**, while the parallels in [8 12 14 18-21] are equally decisive for **J**. Some uncertainty, however, must attach to the details. Steuern ascribes the whole story to **E** (minus the Deuteronomic additions) but treats [17-21] as a later extension of the story by **E**[2].

[2] This verse is the introduction to [3a] where the phraseology suggests a parallel with Gen 19[5] **J**. The answer to the king's message is found in [4b 5a].

[3b] ℌ as in [3a]. **T** *entered*. The repetition seems due to the incorporation of a doublet, one member of which 𝔊 𝔖 omit.

[4a] The specification of 'the two men' is in harmony with [1]; 'hid' used only by **E** Ex 2[2]. ct [6] ℌ.

[4b] This clause is absent from 𝔊.

[5b] The proposal of pursuit and speedy capture seems to imply that the pursuers would know what direction to follow, and is hardly compatible with Rahab's declaration of ignorance. The allusions to the pursuers in [16 22] have been already shown to belong to **E**, and [5b 7] are therefore assigned to the same source. In [7] the city gate is only closed when the pursuers have left, ct [5a] where it had been already shut.

[9b] As in [24]. The absence of the clause from 𝔊, and the peculiar word 'melt away' make it probable that it is a later addition. The expansion may even begin with the preceding words, if the 'falling of the terror' be regarded as founded on Ex 15[16] ct Ex 23[27].

[10a] A Deuteronomic amplification cp 5[1] 9[9b 10].

J	E	R^d	J	E	P^s	
		have [q]heard [r]how Yahweh [s]dried up the water of the Red Sea before you, [t]when ye [e]came out of Egypt; and [u]what ye did unto the [f]two kings of the Amorites, that were [g]beyond Jordan, unto Sihon and to Og, whom ye [Th]devoted. [11] And as soon as we had heard it, our hearts did [v]melt, neither did there remain any more [w]spirit in any man, because of you: for Yahweh [i]your God, he is [x]God in heaven above, and on earth beneath.				e 28[a] f 3[c] g 21 h 35 i 1[a]
		[12] Now therefore, I pray thee, [y]swear unto me by Yahweh, since I have [j]dealt kindly with you, that ye also will deal kindly with my [z]father's house, [N]and give me a true token,				j 57[b]
		... [13a] [N]and that ye will [a']save alive my [b']father, and my mother, and my brethren, and my sisters, and all that they have....				
		[13b] and will deliver our lives from death. [14] And the men said unto her, Our life [M]for yours, if ye utter not [c']this our business; and it shall be, when Yahweh [n]giveth us the land, that we will [k]deal kindly and truly with thee.				k 57[a]
		[15] Then she let them down by a cord through the window: [N]for her house was upon the town wall, and she dwelt upon the wall. [16] And she said unto them, [d']Get you to the mountain, lest the pursuers [e']light upon you; and [l]hide yourselves there [m]three days, until the pursuers be returned: and afterward may ye [f']go your way.				l 170 m 119[d]
		[17] [N]*And the men said unto her, We will be guiltless of this thine oath which thou hast made us to swear.*				
		[18a] Behold, when we come into the land, thou shalt [g']bind this line of [g']scarlet thread in the window [N]which thou didst let us down by: and thou shalt gather unto thee into the house				
		... [18b] [N]thy [b']father, and thy mother, and thy brethren, and [18c] all thy [z]father's [T]house. [19] And it shall be, that whosoever shall go out of the doors of thy house [n]into the street, his blood shall be upon his head, and we will be [h']guiltless: and whosoever shall be with thee in the house, his blood shall be on our head, if any hand be upon him.				n 1
		[20] But if thou utter [c']this our business, then we will be [h']guiltless of thine oath which thou hast [i']made us to swear. [21] And she said, [o]According unto your words, so be it. And she sent them away, [N]and they [T]went: and she bound the scarlet line in the window.				o 2
		[22] And they [N]went, and came unto the mountain, and abode there [m]three days, until the pursuers were returned: and the pursuers sought them throughout all the way, but found them not. [23] Then the [c]two men returned, and descended from the mountain, and passed over, and came to Joshua the [a]son of Nun; and they told him all that had [j']befallen them. [24a] [N]And they said unto Joshua, Truly Yahweh hath [k']delivered into our hands all the land.				
		[24b] And moreover [l']all the inhabitants of the land do melt away before us.				
		[3 1a] [N]And [N]Joshua [a]rose up early in the morning,				

[g] Cp 5[1] 9[9b 10]
[r] Deut 9[7] 𝔊
[s] 4[23] 5[1*]
[t] Deut 23[4]
[u] Cp Deut 7[18]
[v] 5[1] 7[5] Deut 1[28]
[w] 5[1]
[x] Deut 4[39]
[y] Cp Gen 24[3]
[z] 18[c] Gen 24[7]
[a'] Gen 50[20] *al*
[b'] 18[b] 6[23]
[c'] 20 Gen 24[8] Ex 10[1] 𝔊
[d'] Ct Gen 19[17]
[e'] Gen 28[11] 32[1] 𝔊 = *meet*
[f'] Gen 32[1] cp 19[2]
[g'] Gen 38[28]
[h'] Gen 24[8 41]
[i'] Gen 24[8]
[j'] 𝔊 = *come upon* Ex 18[8]
[k'] 𝔊 = *given* 24[8 11] cp [D]52
[l'] Cp 9 9[24]
[a] 6[12 15] 7[16] 8[10]

2[10b] So 𝔊 cp [D]35. **T** *utterly destroyed.*

[12] This clause is wanting in 𝔊; it may be a doublet of [12] derived from **E**.

[13a] One story seems to have contained a promise of the safety of the 'father's house,' while the other specified the inmates cp doublets in [18]. By the parallels in 6[23] and [25] the 'father's house' (cp Gen 24[7]) is assigned to J, and the list of relatives to **E**. As the two narratives run side by side, [13a] must have been followed by a promise (comprising the words in [18b]) resembling that in [14 18ac 19].

[14] **M** 𝔊 *instead of you to die.*

[15] The clauses describing the situation of Rahab's house seem explanatory insertions. 𝔊 lacks both, as well as 'by a cord.'

[17] Apparently an editorial attempt to connect the broken sequence in **J** [14 18]. The words are derived from [20].

[18a] An editorial reference to [15].

[18b] This clause may be simply reproduced editorially from [13a], or it may be a misplaced fragment of **E**'s record of the promise.

[18c] So 𝔊 as in [12], **T** *household.* The phrase is not supplemental but parallel to 'father, mother, and brethren.'

[21a] 𝔊 closes the verse at the dismissal of the men. The double 'and they went' [21] can hardly be due to the same hand.

[21b] 𝔊 as in [22]; **T** *departed.*

[22] The sequel of the instructions in [16] 'get you (𝔊 = go) to the mountain.' The words 'until the pursuers were returned' seem awkwardly placed before the statement of their search; they are not found in 𝔊, and may be editorial.

[24] The whole verse may possibly be an editorial supplement, cp [9], though the first clause seems satisfactorily continuous with [23]. For additions introduced by וגם 'and moreover' cp 7[11] Gen 40[15] Ex 3[9b].

3[1a] The narrative of the passage of the Jordan in 3–4 is extraordinarily complicated, and presents the utmost difficulties to the analyst. That it is composite is sufficiently proved by the diversity of the statements concerning the twelve sacred stones which commemorated the event. According to 4[3b 8b] they were taken out of the midst of the river, and carried across to the western bank where the people camped for the night. In 4[20] they are set up in the Gilgal. But in 4[9] twelve stones are set up *in the middle of the river.* The Greek translators, conscious of the duplication, regarded these as an independent memorial, inserting the words 'also twelve other': so also 𝔏 'alios quoque duodecim lapides' (𝔖 paraphrases, and the Arabic version omits the verse). This device can hardly be accepted; especially as

J	E	R^d	J	E	P^s	
		[1b] And they [b]removed from [c]Shittim, ...				
		[1c] and they came to Jordan, [N]*he and all the children of Israel*; and they [d]lodged there [a]before they passed over.				a 6
		[2] [N]And it came to pass [e]after [f]three days, that the [g]officers [h]went through the midst of the camp; [3] and they [f]commanded the people, saying, When ye see the [N]ark of the covenant of Yahweh your God, and the priests the Levites bearing it, then ye shall [b]remove from your place, and go after it.				
					...[4a] [N]Yet there shall be a space between you and it, about [i]two thousand cubits by [j]measure: come not near unto it.	
		[4b] [N][k]That ye may [l]know the way by which ye must go; for ye have not passed this way [m]heretofore.				
		[5] And Joshua said unto the people, [n]Sanctify yourselves: for [o]to-morrow Yahweh will do [p]wonders [b]among you.				b 5[8]
		[6] [N]And Joshua [q]spake unto the priests, saying, [r]Take up the ark of the covenant, and pass over before the people. And they [r]took up the ark of the covenant, and went before the people.				
		[7] And Yahweh said unto Joshua, [s]This day will I begin to [t]magnify thee in the sight of [c]all Israel, [u]that they may know that, [v]as I was with Moses, so I will be with thee[N].				c 2[a]
					...[8] [N]And [w]thou shalt command the priests that bear the ark *of the covenant*, saying, When ye are come to the [x]brink of the waters of Jordan, ye shall stand [N]still in Jordan....	
		[9] [N]And Joshua said unto the children of Israel, [y]Come hither, and hear the [z]words of Yahweh your God. [10a] And				

b Cp 3 14
c 2[1]
d 4[3 8] 6[11] 8[9] Gen 32[13] 21 cp 17[8]
e 𝔊=*at the end of* 9[16]
f 1[11]
g 1[10]
h 𝔊=*passed* 1[11]
i Num 35[5]
j Ex 26[2 8]
k 𝔊 cp Deut 20[18] 27[3]
l Cp 7 Deut 29[5]
m Ex 4[10] 21[29] Deut 19[4]
n Num 11[18] Ex 19[22]
o Ex 8[10] 23 29 9[5 18] *al*
p Ex 3[20] 34[10*]
q 1[1]
r 𝔊=*bear* 3 14
s Deut 2[25]
t 4[14]
u Deut 4[10] 𝔊
v 1[5]
w Ex 27[20]
x 15 4[19] ct Ex 2[3]
y Gen 45[4]
z Num 11[24]

other signs of combination of sources are obvious. Two explanations are given concerning the stones 4^{6} and ^{21}.. In 3^{17b} 4^{1a} the entire nation has passed over; but the process is repeated in 4^{10b}. Literary marks of variety are no less apparent. The affinities of 3^{7} 4^{14} $^{21-24}$ with **D** are as clear as those of 4^{18} ^{19} with **P**. It thus becomes probable that the phenomena observable elsewhere are repeated here: the existing text contains elements from all four hands, **J E** R^d and **P**. But in the process of fusion others also have had a share, as the variations of 𝔊 further indicate. In the following notes an attempt is made to justify the distribution verse by verse. The passages assigned to **P** show that this source was not employed as the foundation of the narrative, but was worked in afterwards ct Ex 14, and cp *ante* 3[15] *Introd* § **5** 1.

$3^{1a'}$ The marginal parallels justify the ascription of the first and last clauses to **J**, but the reference to Shittim points to **E** in 2^{1}. **J**'s story is continued (cp margins) in ^{5} ^{9}..

[1c] This phrase occurs elsewhere only in Num 27^{21} **P**; 𝔊 does not contain it. Does it perhaps belong to the beginning of **P**'s story, the rest of which has been set aside, or is it a late scribal explanation?

[2] The three days' interval, the officers passing through the midst of the camp and commanding the people, connect this passage with 1^{10}. **E**: and the occurrence of the word 'remove' [3] is a further link with [1b].

[3] The designation of the ark varies in different passages. Oldest and simplest is 'the ark of Yahweh' [13] 4^{11b}, or 'the ark' alone [14 17] (implied in the use of the article (הארון) cp Num 10^{33N}. Later than this, and probably traceable to Deuteronomic influences, is the title 'ark of the covenant' [6] and [11] (where הברית shows that the title which follows is a later addition), or 'ark of the covenant of Yahweh your God' [3] cp $^{P}19$ and 1^{a}. Lastly **P**'s title 'ark of the testimony' occurs in 4^{16}.—'The priests the Levites' as in ^{D}90. **E**, however, appears to have recognized the Levitical priesthood cp Deut 10^{8N}, and probably assigned to it the function of carrying the ark in connexion with the institution of the Tent of Meeting Ex 33^{7}.. 𝔊 expands, 'and our priests and the Levites bearing it.'

[4a] The number 2,000 cubits, and the technical 'by measure,' both point to **P**: so does the prohibition of approach to the ark by unconsecrated persons cp Num 1^{51} &c.

[4b] An addition to [3] showing the handiwork of R^d: similar expansions may be traced in [7] and [10b].

[6] The instructions to the priests to carry the ark in front of the people seem to be the sequel of [3]. As the procession sets out (followed by the people) the subsequent summons to the Israelites in [9] [10a] [11] must be ascribed to **J**. **E**'s narrative is continued in [14].

[7] Bennett in Haupt's *SBOT* proposes to insert 4^{1b-3} at this point in **E**.

[8a] As the priests have received their instructions to cross over before the people and have already started [6], the fresh command to stand in the river (while the people cross) must be drawn from another source. The initial formula ואתה תצוה finds its only parallel in Ex 27^{20}; the term 'ark of the covenant' may be a harmonist's substitute for 'testimony' which has survived in 4^{16} (where the priests come out last after the tribes have marched over). The verse is therefore ascribed to **P** cp [15] and 4^{19}.

[8b] 𝔊 simply 'ye shall stand': 'in' ct 4^{9}. 'in the midst of.'

[9] The announcement of the approaching crossing of the ark [9] [10a] [11] is another doublet of [6], and is shown by the margins to belong to **J**.

J R[d] E P[s]

Joshua said, [a']Hereby ye shall know that the living God is [b]among you:
10b and that he will without fail [d]drive out from before you the [b']Canaanite, and the Hittite, and the Hivite, and the Perizzite, and the Girgashite, and the Amorite, and the Jebusite.
11 Behold, the ark of the covenant [N]of the [c']Lord of all the earth passeth over before you into Jordan.
12N Now therefore take you [d']twelve men out of the tribes of Israel, for every tribe a man. . . .

13 [N]And it shall come to pass, when the [e']soles of the feet of the priests that bear the ark of Yahweh, the [c']Lord of all the earth, shall [f']rest in the waters of Jordan, that the waters of Jordan shall be [g']cut off, [even] the waters that come down [e]*from above; and they* shall stand *in one heap.*
14 And it came to pass, when the people [b]removed from their tents, to pass over Jordan, the priests that [r]bare the ark of the covenant being before the people[N],

15 [N]And when they that bare the ark were come unto Jordan, and the feet of the priests that bare the ark were dipped in the [z]brink of the water, (for Jordan overfloweth all its [h']banks all the time of harvest,) 16 [N]the waters which came down [c]from above stood, [and] [N]rose up in one [i']heap, a [j']great way [M]off, at Adam, the city that is beside Zarethan: and those that went down toward the [k']sea of the [N]Arabah, [even] the Salt Sea[k'], were [N]wholly cut off: and the people [N]passed over right against Jericho.

. . . 17a [N]And the priests that bare the ark of the covenant of Yahweh stood firm on [l']dry ground in the midst of Jordan.
17b [N]And [c]all Israel passed over on dry ground, until [m']all the nation were passed [n']clean over Jordan.
4 1a And it came to pass, when all the nation were clean passed over Jordan, . . .

a' Ex 7[17] Num 16[28]
b' Deut 7[1]
c' 13 Mic 4[13] Zech 4[14] 6[5]†
d' 4[4]
e' 4[18] cp 1[8] 𝔊 om
f' Ct 15
g' 16 4[7]
h' 4[18]
i' Cp 13 Ex 15[8]
j' Gen 21[16]
k' 12[8] Deut 3[17]
l' Gen 7[22] Ex 14[21b] ct 4[22]
m' 4[1] 5[6 8]*
n' 4[1] 5[8] 𝔊 Deut 2[16] cp 14 Josh 4[10] 5[6]

d 39[b]
e P169[a]

3[11] That this phrase is not connected with 'the covenant' is shown by the article הַבְּרִית. Its use in later prophecy suggests that it is here an editorial addition or possibly an incorporation from P. Steuern, however, supposes the original to be 'the ark of Yahweh Lord of the whole earth' as in 13 D[2].

12 In its present position this verse leads to nothing, so that it can hardly be in its right place. Most critics give it to E cp 4[1b 2 4]. But if P had a story of the stones cp 4[7b 20], this might have belonged to it. The formula 'for every tribe a man' employs לְ as in Num 13[2]; whereas 4[2] has מִן. On the other hand שֵׁבֶט (for 'tribe') only occurs in P[s] e g 22[9] Num (32[33]) 36[3].

13 The main part of this verse seems due to J (cp 'ark of Yahweh' 4[11]). But it has apparently taken up into itself a phrase or two from the corresponding declaration in P. There can be little doubt that J represented the waters of the Jordan as 'cut off' cp 4[7a]. But the description that follows is open to challenge. 𝔊 reads simply 'and the waters which come down shall stand.' The peculiar term 'from above' occurs elsewhere only in P cp P169[a], and seems introduced from 16: 'heap' also may have been incorporated from 16, as a reminiscence of Ex 15[8].

14 The sequel of this introduction seems to be found in 4[1b].

15 This passage is closely connected with 8. The description of the division of the river is much more elaborate than J's, and the reference in 16 to the two bodies of water—the mass of the stream flowing down from the North suddenly arrested—the rest draining away South into the Dead Sea,—shows how carefully the whole situation has been thought out. The distance at which the waters are stopped, provides for the interval specified in 4; the fullness of the stream heightens the wonder, and reminds the reader that it is springtime when the river is swollen; and the allusion to the harvest prepares for the passover-celebration in 5[10]. These circumstances together with the phraseological indications seem to justify the ascription to P. The difficulty that the ark is carried on this occasion by priests instead of Levites Num 3[31] 4[15], may be met by the considerations (1) that this was a fixed element in the story (cp the Levitical treatment of 1 Kings 8[1–5], *Introd* i 82), and (2) that the occasion demanded a higher form of sacerdotal service.

16a *RV* inserts *that* to connect this verse with 14.

16b The phrase 'rose up in one heap,' introduced without any connecting particle, may be a touch from an editorial hand.

16c M Another reading is, *off from.*—𝔊's variants show that the text is uncertain.

16d M See Deut 1[1].

16e The word תַּמּוּ may have crept in later, cp its use in 17b 4[1a].

16f 𝔊 *stood* (עָמְדוּ for עָבְרוּ). This reference to the march shows that 4[10b] belongs to another document.

17a 𝔖 proves that the words 'of the covenant of Yahweh' have been added. The passage seems to carry on the story of 13 cp 'midst of Jordan' 4[3b 8b], not used in the fragments assigned to P. The word 'firm' stands at the end of the sentence in 𝔖, and is wanting in 𝔊. It may be an addition.

17b In 17b 4[1a] the marks of R[d] are again significant. The expression 'all the nation' seems a variant of another D formula 'all Israel.'

	J	R^d	E	P^s	
		[1b] [N]that Yahweh spake unto Joshua,			
a 3[12]		saying, [2] Take you [a]twelve men out			
b 1[11]		of the people, out of every tribe			
		a man, [3a] and [b]command ye them,			
		saying....			
		...[3b] [N]Take you hence out of the midst			
		of Jordan, out of the place where the			
		priests' feet stood firm, twelve stones,			
c Cp 8b		and [c]carry them over with you, and			
		[c]lay them down in the [a]lodging place,			a 53
		where ye shall lodge this night:			
		[4] Then Joshua called the [a]twelve			
d 1[11] Ex 23[20]		men, whom he had [d]prepared of the			
		children of Israel, out of every tribe			
		a man: [5] and Joshua said unto them,			
		Pass over before [N]the ark of Yahweh			
		your God into the midst of Jordan,			
		and take you up every man of you			
		a stone upon his shoulder, according			
e Ex 24[4]		unto the number of the [e]tribes of			
		the children of Israel.			
f 3[10a]	[6] that this may be a sign [f]among				
g Ex 13[14] cp 12[26]	you, that when your children [g]ask				
	in time to come, saying, What mean				
	ye by these stones? [7a] then ye shall				
	say unto them, Because the waters				
h 3[13]	of Jordan were [h]cut off before the				
	ark of the covenant of Yahweh; when				
	it passed over Jordan, the waters of				
	Jordan were cut off.				
				...[7b] [N]And these stones shall [b]be for a	b 27
				[c]memorial unto the children of Israel for	c 113
				ever. [8a] And the children of Israel [d]did	d 189[b]
				so as Joshua commanded.	
	[8b] And they took up twelve stones				
	out of the midst of Jordan, [N]*as Yahweh*				
	spake unto Joshua, according to the number of				
	the tribes of the children of Israel; and they				
	[c]carried them over with them unto				
	the place where they [a]lodged, and				
	laid them down there.				
i Ct 20		[9] [N]And Joshua [i]set up twelve stones			
		in the midst of Jordan, in the place			
		where the feet of the priests which			

4[1b] Cp 3[14]. The narrative of the memorial stones is extraordinarily confused. The conflict between [9] and [8] has been already noted cp 3[1N]. In [1b] [2] there seems to be a preparation for [4]. cp 3[12]. The narrative form of [1b] resembles that of 3[6]; and 'command . . . saying' [3a] is parallel to 3[3] 1[11] **E**. But the plural in the words of Yahweh to Joshua is perplexing? Whom does Yahweh address? 𝔊 reads 'thou.'

[3b] The instructions in [3] do not agree with those in [5]; they find their fulfilment in [8b]. The contrast with [5] points to **J**, and this is confirmed by the occurrence of **J**'s word 'lodge.' Wellhausen conjectured that in its original form this was addressed to the people generally, so that the number of stones was not limited to twelve. The object of the story apparently is to account for the ancient stone-circle known as 'the Gilgal,' which doubtless contained more than twelve stones. The reference to the 'place where the priests' feet stood firm' seems borrowed from [9], and is unrepresented in 𝔊. 𝔖 'standing-place of the priests' feet' is a different word from 'stood' 3[13 17a], and occurs only here in Hex. [3b] is continued in [6] which finds a strong **J** parallel in Ex 13[14]. 'Take up' [3b 8b] (נשא) is different from הרים in [5].

[5] 𝔊 'before me before Yahweh': but 'before me' can hardly be original.

[7b] The stylistic affinities of [7b 8a] plead strongly for **P**. If this be admitted, it is clear that **P** also had an account of the stones. There do not seem to be any traces of it in [1b–7a]: but cp 3[12] 4[20].

[8b] Another doubtful passage apparently founded on [5b]: 𝔊 'as Yahweh commanded Joshua when the children of Israel were clean passed over.' The rest of the verse carries out [3b], and the record of the transit of the people and the priests is completed in [10b] (where 'hasted' makes decidedly for **J**) and [11b].

[9] The incongruity of this passage with the adjacent narrative has been already noted 3[1N]. It expressly states that the stones were set up in the middle of the river and remained there, whereas [3] and [5] both ordain that they shall be taken up out of the river-bed, [3] adding that they shall be deposited on the other side, and [5] implying a similar purpose in the instruction to the twelve men to lift the stones on to their shoulders, obviously to carry them away. The phraseological indications are in favour of **D**. Steuern, having already assigned [3b 8] to D^2, is obliged to attribute [9] to R^d with the addition of ('other'), a result which does not seem critically satisfactory.

	J	R[d]	E	P[s]	
		bare the ark of the covenant stood: and [j]they are there, [e]unto this day. [10a] For the priests which bare the ark stood in the midst of Jordan, until everything was [k]finished that Yahweh commanded Joshua to speak unto the people, [N]*according to all that Moses commanded Joshua.*			e 33[b]
		[10b] And the people [f]hasted and passed over. [11] [N]And it came to pass, when all the people were [l]clean passed over, that the ark of Yahweh passed over, and the priests, [N]in the presence of the people.			f 43
		[12] [N]And *the* [m]*children of* Reuben, and *the children of* Gad, and the half tribe of [n]Manasseh, passed over armed before the children of Israel, as Moses spake unto them.			
				...[13] [N]About forty thousand ready [o]armed for war passed over before Yahweh unto battle, to the [g]plains of Jericho....	g 2[a]
		[14] On that day Yahweh [p]magnified Joshua in the sight of all Israel[p], and they feared him, as they feared Moses, [h]all the days of his life.			h 13[c]
				[15] [N]And Yahweh spake unto Joshua, saying, [16] Command the priests that bear the ark of the [i]testimony, that they come up out of Jordan. [17] Joshua therefore commanded the priests, saying, Come ye up out of Jordan....	i 16[1]
		[18] And it came to pass, when the [q]priests that bare the ark of the covenant of Yahweh were come up out of the midst of Jordan, and the [q]soles of the priests' feet were lifted up unto the [r]dry ground, that the [q]waters of Jordan [s]returned unto their place, and went [N]*over all its banks,* [t]as aforetime.			
				[19] And the [N]people came up out of Jordan on the [j]tenth day of the first month, and	j 18[3]

j Cp Deut 10[5] 1 Kings 8[8]†
k 3[17b]
l Ct 3[17b]
m 13[15] 24 22[9] Num 32[1] ct 1[12] 12[6] 22[1]
n 1[12]
o Num 32[20 27]
p 3[7]
q 3[13]
r 3[17]
s Ex 14[27b]
t 𝔊 Gen 31[2 5] Ex 5[7] 14*

4[10] Not in 𝔊; after the preceding clause the words seem superfluous. They may be due to an annotator anxious to vindicate the foresight of Moses in making all necessary arrangements beforehand; or they may have a more general significance for the picture of Joshua's fidelity to Mosaic ordinance cp 11[15].

[11a] This clause seems the natural connexion between [10b] and [11b]. At first sight the general mode of expression resembles that of [1a]; but there are slight variations, 'all the people' for the rare and grandiose 'all the nation,' and the sing תם for תמו. With [1a] cp 5[8] Deut 2[16]. The formula 'it came to pass when' JE127 is much more frequent in JE. [11] is therefore regarded as homogeneous J.

[11b] 𝔊 is here ambiguous, לפני having also the meaning 'before' 3[6], according to which the ark crossed before the people, leading the way for them. The rendering of *RV* implies that the ark remained in the river-bed till the people had reached the other side, a conception which also seems to underlie P's narrative.

[12] R[d] is perhaps traceable in [12], as well as in [14 21–24 5[1]]. At the outset of [12] the formula resembles that of P[s] (instead of D's 'Reubenites' &c), and the whole passage (even 'the Manasseh' cp 22[9]) would be quite explicable as the introduction to [13] in which P is universally recognized, the only other verbal link with D being the word 'armed' חמשים 1[14] ct חלוצי הצבא [13] Num 32[27]. But a very probable correction of the text finds חמשים also in Num 32[17], so that it cannot be claimed exclusively for D. On the other hand there seems a contrast between 'passing over before the children of Israel' cp Deut 3[18] and 'passing over before Yahweh' cp Num 32[21].

[13] This passage seems to be introduced from P (cp the margins), but it was noted by Kuen (*Hex* 104) that the figure is inconsistent with the fighting-strength assigned to the two and a half tribes in Num 26. It might be supposed that some remained behind to protect the women and children, but Num 32[21] expressly required 'every armed man' of the tribes settling in the East to cross the Jordan. The incongruity is probably due to the secondary character of the later sections of P. Steuern, an addition to D[2].

[15] Knobel and Schrader early assigned these verses to P, though recent critics (save Dillm) have not followed them. But the 'ark of the testimony'—when there is no suspicion of redaction—affords strong evidence, which other indications confirm. For 'spake (𝔊 said) saying' cp P185[d]: 'command' (צוה) at the beginning of an instruction or law cp צו Lev 6[9] 24[2] Num 5[2] 28[2] 34[2] 35[2*]: the tense 'that they come' cp Lev 24[2] Num 5[2] 35[2]. Further, the repetition in [17] 'and Joshua commanded' is much in P's style.

[18] An addition to J's close derived from 3[15]. The expression 'as aforetime' elsewhere always brings the sentence to an end; in 𝔊 the words 'over all its banks' follow after.

[19] On the use of this term in P[s] cp *Introd* § 5 2, *ante* 316.

J R[d] E P[s]

[u] encamped in Gilgal, on the east [v] border of Jericho.

...[20] [N] And those twelve stones, which they took out of Jordan, did Joshua [v] set up in Gilgal.

[21] [N] And he spake unto the children of Israel, saying, [x] When your children shall [y] ask their fathers in time to come, saying, What mean these stones? [22] then ye shall [z] let your children know, saying, Israel came over this Jordan on [a'] dry land. [23] For Yahweh [k] your God [b'] dried up the waters of Jordan from before you, until ye were passed over, as Yahweh your God [l] did to the Red Sea, which he dried up from before us, until we were passed over: [24] [c'] that [d'] all the peoples of the earth may know the hand of Yahweh, that it is [m] mighty; that [M] they may [n] fear Yahweh your God [o] for ever.

5[1] And it came to pass, when all the [a] kings of the Amorites, which were [a] beyond Jordan [b] westward, and all the kings of the [c] Canaanites, which were by the sea, [d] heard how that Yahweh had dried up the waters [d] of Jordan from before the children of Israel, until [M] we were passed over, that their heart [e] melted, neither was there spirit in them any more [e], because of the children of Israel.

2 [N] At that [f] time Yahweh said unto Joshua, Make thee [g] knives of [h] flint, and circumcise again the children of Israel the [i] second time. 3 And Joshua made him knives of flint, and circumcised the children of Israel at [M] the hill of the foreskins.

4 [N] And this is the [j] cause why Joshua did circumcise: all the people that came forth out of Egypt, *that were males*, [even] [k] all the men of war, died in the wilderness by the [l] way, after they came forth out of Egypt [l]. 5 [N] For all the people that came out were circumcised: but all the people that were [m] born in the wilderness by the [l] way as they came forth out of Egypt, they had not circumcised. 6 For the children of Israel walked [n] forty years in the wilderness, till [o] all the nation, even the [k] men of war which came forth out of Egypt, were [p] consumed, because they [b] hearkened not unto the voice of Yahweh: unto whom Yahweh [q] sware that he would not let them see the land which Yahweh [c] sware unto their fathers that he would give us, a [d] land flowing with milk and honey. 7 And their children, whom he raised up in their stead, them did Joshua circumcise: for they were uncircumcised, because they had not circumcised them by the [l] way. 8 And it came to pass, when they had [r] done circumcising [o] all the nation, that they abode in their [s] places in the camp, till they [N] were whole.

9 And Yahweh said unto Joshua, This day have I rolled away the [t] reproach of Egypt from off you. [u] Wherefore the name of that place was called [N] Gilgal, [e] unto this day.

10 [N] And the children of Israel [v] encamped in Gilgal; and they [u] kept the passover on the [x] fourteenth day of the month at [y] even in the [t] plains of Jericho.

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u 5[10]
v ℌ = *brink* 3[8 15] cp 15[1]
w 24[26]
x Deut 11[27] ℌ
y Deut 6[20]
z Deut 8[3]
a' Ct 3[17] ℌ cp Ex 14[16]
b' 2[10] 5[1*]
c' 1 Kings 8[60]
d' Deut 28[10]
a 10[5]. 24[12]
b 12[7] 22[7] 𝔊 om
c Cp 11[3] Deut 1[7] 11[30]
d 2[10]
e 2[11]
f Cp [D]11[0]
g Ex 20[25] ℌ
h Ex 4[25]
i Gen 22[15]
j Deut 15[2] ℌ
k 6 6[3] 10[24] Deut 2[14 16]
l Deut 23[5] 24[9] 25[17] ℌ
m Ex 1[22*]
n Deut 2[7]
o 8 3[17b]
p Cp 3[17b] ℌ Deut 2[14–16]
q Deut 1[34]
r 3[17] 4[1] ℌ
s 4[9] ℌ
t Gen 30[23b]
u Gen 22[14] ℌ
v 4[19]
w Num 9[2]
x Ex 12[6]
y Ex 12[18] Deut 16[6] ct Ex 12[6]

k 1
l 12
m 80[b]
n 44[a]
o 13[a]
a 21[b]
b 58[a]
c 107
d 69[a]
e 142[b]
f 2[a]

4[20] The source of [20] is doubtful. Are the stones those named in [5]? Then the statement probably belongs to **E**. But if they are the memorial stones of [7b], the passage should be referred to **P**. הקים is used of a similar action by Joshua 24[26] **E**: but it is also a favourite word of **P** Ex 40[2] &c.

[21] The Deuteronomic character of this section is apparent from the parallels.

5[1] **M** Another reading is, *they*.

[2] The account of the circumcision of the people [2–9] has been enriched with a Deuteronomic addition by **R**[d] in [4–8], as the parallels cited in the margins prove. The original narrative is contained in [2. 9], and seems best referred to **J** by analogy with Ex 4[25] (which does not at all necessarily imply that **J** conceived circumcision to have been universal in Egypt). According to this story the name of the great stone circle called 'the Gilgal' is explained as 'rolling.' What was 'rolled' away? 'The reproach of Egypt.' In connexion with a story of circumcision the phrase can only imply that Joshua now performed a rite which the Israelites had neglected in Egypt, so that they incurred the scorn of their circumcised masters, the Egyptians. The editor, however, seeks to avoid this interpretation by the explanation that it was only necessary for the new generation which had arisen since the Exodus [5 7]. The opening formula 'at that time' (occurring only in this position Deut 10[1 8*]) seems due to **R**[d], and so probably are the references to previous circumcision, to harmonize with [5], as though there had been a national practice in Egypt.

[3] **M** Or, *Gibeath ha-araloth*.

[4] 𝔊's text in [4–6] varies widely from ℌ. It is possible that a phrase here and there may be due to **R**[p], such as the rare plural 'males' (absent from 𝔊 as well as 'all the men of war') cp 17[2] Ex 13[12 15].

[5] seems unrepresented in 𝔊, and as it interrupts the connexion of [4] and [6] (Steuern), it may be a later insertion; [5b] is not wanted, being a duplicate of [7b]. In [6.] there may be some secondary expansions.

[8] ℌ *lived*, i e recovered cp Num 21[8]. 2 Kings 1[2].

[9] **M** That is, *Rolling*.—'Unto this day' is absent from 𝔊 (cp 7[26a] out of all occurrences in Joshua).

[10] [s]**P**'s record of the first camp in the land of Canaan. 𝔊, however, begins 'And the children of Israel kept the passover,' as if the first clause were due to editorial junction, the sequence on 4[19] not requiring it. The phrases 'on the morrow after the passover' [11] and 'on the morrow' [12] are not found in 𝔊, which also transfers 'in the selfsame day' from [11b] to the opening of [12]. The peculiarities of language 'even' 'old corn,' and the mention of 'parched corn' along with unleavened cakes point to **P**[s] rather than **P**[g].

J R[d] E P[s]

[11] And they did eat of the [M]old corn of the land on the [z]morrow after the passover, unleavened cakes and [a']parched corn, in the [g]selfsame day. [12] And the [b']manna ceased on the morrow, after they had eaten of the [M]old corn of the land; neither had the children of Israel manna any more; but they did eat of the [c']fruit of the [h]land of Canaan that year.

[13] [N]And [i]it came to pass, [i]when Joshua was by Jericho, that he [j]lifted up his eyes and [d']looked, and, behold[d'], there stood a man [e']over against him with his sword [f']drawn in his hand: and Joshua went unto him, and said unto him, Art thou for us, or for our adversaries? [14] And he said, Nay; but [as] [M]captain of the [g']host of Yahweh am I now come. And Joshua [h']fell on his face to the earth[h'], and did [i']worship, and said unto him, What saith my [k]lord unto his [l]servant? [15] And the captain of Yahweh's host said unto Joshua, [j']Put off thy shoe from off thy foot; for the place whereon thou standest is holy[j']. [N]And Joshua [k']did so.

6[1] [N]Now Jericho [M]was straitly shut up because of the children of Israel: none went out, and none came in.

[2] [N]And Yahweh said unto Joshua, [N]See, I have [a]given into thine hand

z Num 33[3]
a' Lev 2[14]
b' Ex 16[35]
c' Lev 23[39] Deut 14[22] 𝔊
d' Gen 8[13b]
e' Gen 33[12] Num 22[32*] 𝔊*
f' Num 22[23]
g' Cp 1 Kings 22[19].
h' 7[6]
i' Cp JE12[b]
j' Ex 3[5]
k' Gen 45[21]
a 8[1] cp Deut 2[24] D52

g 138
h 4[a]
i 127[b]
j 176[a]
k 56[a]
l 73

5[11 12] **M** Or, *produce.* Or, *corn.*—𝔊†.

[13] This narrative seems to be the beginning of **J**'s account of the divine commission to Joshua, parallel with that to Moses Ex 3[5]··. But in its present form it must have been abbreviated, as the vision leads to nothing. No instructions are given to him; the attempt to establish an immediate connexion with 6[2]·· cannot be regarded as successful, though the place of the incident in **JE** suggests that it was intended to prepare the way for the story of the capture of Jericho. Kuenen, assuming that the phrase 'Yahweh's host' represented a late conception, regarded this as one of the secondary sections of **J**. But the precise words do not occur elsewhere (cp Ps 103[21] 148[2]); while parallels of idea may be found in Gen 32[2] and 1 Kings 22[19]·.

[14] **M** Or, *prince.*—Cp JE191.

[15] This clause is wanting in 𝔊.

6[1a] This verse seems to break the connexion between 5[15] and 6[2]: it bears no clear marks of editorial composition, and is therefore conjecturally ascribed to **E**.

[1b] **M** 𝔊 *shut* the gates *and was shut in.*

[2a] The narrative of the fall of Jericho shows clear traces of diversity of sources. The signal for the capture is to be given by a great shout. But in [5 20b] this depends on the blast of a ram's horn; in [10 16b 20a] on the orders of Joshua. Similarly Rahab and her kindred are saved twice over [22]. and [25] cp [17]. The intricacies of the processions, however, defied resolution until Wellhausen provided the key (*Comp*[2] 123), pointing out that the present confusion results from the amalgamation of two stories, each relating a sevenfold procession, but conceiving the time-order differently. In the opening verses [2]. Joshua is instructed to march round the city once each day for six days cp [11 14]; when the march is repeated on the seventh day [15], the people shout at his summons [16b 20a] and capture the city [20c]. But in [4]··· a more elaborate picture is presented. The ark is carried round the walls, preceded by seven priests bearing trumpets of rams' horns, and the troops march in front and rear. The signal is to be given, when the city has been compassed seven times, by a long blast; when the shout rises at the sound, the walls will fall [5 20b]. In both stories the number seven is firmly lodged; but whereas one distributes the process over seven successive days [14 15a], the other apparently places the seven marches on the same day. The result is that after single circuits on six separate days, seven circuits are finally made on the seventh, or thirteen altogether, which obviously breaks up the symmetry of the narrators' intentions. The additions to the text which seem due to this arrangement in [4 15] are indicated by smaller type. Other modifications seem traceable to the compiler, who anticipates the trumpet-signal for the shout of faith by describing the priests as blowing their horns continuously upon the route [8. 13], thus depriving the final blast of its significance. In assigning the two stories to their respective sources, the linguistic evidences will be found to yield some delicate confirmations. Thus in [6] the description of Joshua points to **E**, and this is supported by the parallel to the trumpet Ex 19[13], and the instructions to the priests which resemble those before the passage of the Jordan 3[6] independently attributed to **E**. Similarly 'lodged' [11] and 'rose early' [12 15] make for **J**. The text of 𝔊 has been in many passages so much abbreviated, that it is of little use for comparison. The translators have apparently sought to evade difficulties by omissions. Steuern, on the other hand, thinks that 𝔊 represents a more original text, and distributes the story between D^2 **E** and R^P. Of the latter, however, no definite traces seem recoverable before the annotations in [23b 24b].

[2b] R^d may have been at work here cp ^{D}99, and the margins. In [3] 𝔊 reads *thou* as in the latter clause of the verse. Dillm supposes that 'going about the city once' cp [11] and 'thus shalt thou do six days' are additions designed to emphasize the contrast with [4]. But whatever may be the case with the first

J E	R^d	J E	P^s
b 1[14]	Jericho, and the king thereof, [and] the *b*mighty men of valour. [3] And ye		
c 5[4]	shall compass the city, *c*all the men of war, going about the city once.		
	Thus shalt thou do six days. . . .		
d Ex 19[13]	. . . [4] And seven priests shall bear seven [N]trumpets of *d*rams' horns before		
	the ark: and the seventh day ye shall compass the city seven times, and		
	the priests shall blow with the trumpets. [5] And it shall be, that		
	[N]when they make a long blast with the ram's horn [and] when ye hear the		
e 20b cp Ex 19[16]	*e*sound of the trumpet, all the people shall *f*shout with a great shout; and		
f 20b ct 10 20a	the wall of the city shall fall down [M]flat, and the people shall go up every		
g 1[1]	man straight before him*f*. [6] And Joshua the *g*son of Nun called the		
h 12b 3[6] ℌ=*bear*	priests, and said unto them, *h*Take up the *i*ark of the covenant, and let		
i Cp 6b 7b 13 3[3N]	seven priests bear seven trumpets of rams' horns before the ark of		
	Yahweh;		
	[7a] And [M]they said unto the people, Pass on, and compass the city.		
j 7 9 13 Deut 3[18]	[7b] and let the *j*armed men *k*pass on before the ark of Yahweh. [8] And		
k 3[6] ℌ	[N]it was so, that when Joshua had spoken unto the people, the seven priests		
	bearing the seven trumpets of rams' horns before Yahweh *k*passed on,		
l 9 13 3[3] ℌ	and blew with the trumpets: and the *i*ark of the covenant of Yahweh *l*followed		
m 3[6]	them. [9] And the *j*armed men *m*went before the priests that blew the		
	trumpets, and the rearward *l*went after the ark, [the priests] blowing with the		
	trumpets as they went.		
	[10] And Joshua commanded the people, saying, Ye shall not shout, nor let		
	your voice be heard, neither shall any word proceed out of your mouth,		
n ℌ=*say unto* 16b	until the day I *n*bid you shout; then shall ye shout. [11] So he caused the		
	ark of Yahweh to compass the city, going about it once: and they came		
o 3[1]	into the camp, and *o*lodged in the camp.		
p 15 3[1]	[12a] And Joshua *p*rose early in the morning, . . .		
	[12b] And the priests *h*took up the ark of Yahweh. [13] And the seven		
	priests bearing the seven trumpets of rams' horns before the ark of		
	Yahweh went on continually, and blew with the trumpets: and the *j*armed		
	men went before them; and the rearward *l*came after the ark of Yahweh,		
	[the priests] blowing with the trumpets as they went.		
	[14] And the second day they compassed the city once, and returned into		
	the camp: so they did six days. [15] And it came to pass on the seventh		
q Gen 19[15]	day, that they *p*rose early at the *q*dawning of the day, and compassed the		
	city after the same manner seven times: [a]only on that day they compassed the		a [D]84
	city seven times.		
	[16a] And it came to pass at the seventh time, [N]when the priests blew		
	with the trumpets,		
r Cp 2 2[9]	[16b] [T]And Joshua *n*said unto the people, Shout; for Yahweh hath *r*given		
	you the city. [17] And the city shall be [M]devoted, [even] it and all that is		
s Cp 25a	therein, to Yahweh: [b]only Rahab the harlot shall *s*live, she and all that		b 189
t 2[19]	are *t*with her in the house, [N]because she *u*hid the messengers that we sent.		
u 25b ct 2[4 6] ℌ	[18] [N]And ye, [a]in any wise keep yourselves from the devoted thing, lest when ye		
	have *c*devoted it, ye take of the devoted thing; so should ye make the camp of		
v 7[25] Gen 34[30*]	Israel [M]accursed, and *v*trouble it. [19] [N]*But all the silver, and gold, and vessels of brass*		c 35
w 24b ct Num 31[22 . . 54]	*and iron, are* [d]*holy unto Yahweh: they shall come into the* [w]*treasury of Yahweh.*		d [P]90[b]

clause, the second seems clearly needed to prepare for [14]: the rest of the instructions to Joshua concerning the events of the seventh day (what about the sabbath?) have been removed to make way for **E**, whose narrative has lost its opening.

6[4] **M** Or, *jubile trumpets.*

5[a] ℌ idiom as in Ex 19[13]†, *when the ram's horn soundeth long.* This clause is not in 𝔊 which reads simply 'when ye blow with the trumpet (cp 20b[a]) all the people &c'; it seems a duplicate to the following 'when ye hear' which is guaranteed by 20b[β]. The phrase has an antique air, but can hardly be assigned to **J** which has no place for it, nor to E^1 contrasted with E^2, as there are no other adequate indications of such a distinction.

5[b] **M** ℌ *in its place.*

7[a] **M** Another reading is, *he.*—This seems preferable cp 16b 3[5]: the clause is the sequel of [3].

[8] This clause is not found in 𝔊 which renders the rest of [8] by imperatives. The present ℌ punctuation probably disguises an older interpretation, according to which [8] contained instructions for the procession instead of narrative. This begins in 12b 'took up' cp 'take up' [6].

16a This construction may be translated by 'that,' Driver, *Tenses*[3] § 78 (1), and the sequel is then found in 20b.

16b So ℌ. *RV* connects the clause with the preceding.

17a **M** See Lev 27[28] Deut 20[17].

17b This clause is lacking in 𝔊 cp 25b. The preceding may also be editorial.

18a The opening words 'and only' distinctly suggest an addition here. The verse seems a preparation for the story in 7. Bennett and Addis join Dillmann in reading with 𝔊 'lest ye covet' החמדו for החרימו cp 7[21] and Deut 7[25].

18b **M** ℌ *devoted.*

19 A further expansion cp 24b, where the 'treasury of the

J E	R^d	J E	P^s
	20a So the people shouted,		
	20b N And [the priests] blew with the trumpets: and it came to pass, when the people heard the e sound of the trumpet, that the people f shouted with a great shout, and the wall fell down M flat, so that the people went up into the city, every man straight before him.		
	20c and they took the city. 21 And they T devoted all that was in the city,		
x Gen 19[4]*	both man and woman, x both young and old, and ox, and sheep, and ass,		
y Gen 34[26] cp JE150	with the y edge of the sword.		
z 2[1]	22 And Joshua said unto the z two men that had spied out the land, Go into the harlot's house, and bring out thence the woman, and all that she hath, N as ye sware unto her. 23 And the young men the spies went in,		
a′ 2[13]	and brought out Rahab, and her a′ father, and her mother, and her brethren, and all that she had, *all her M kindred also they brought out; and they set them e without the camp of Israel.* 24 And they b′ burnt the city with fire, and all		e P120b
b′ Ct 2[1] cp 8[28] Deut 13[16]	that was therein: *only the silver, and the gold, and the vessels of brass and of iron, they put into the w treasury of the N house of Yahweh.*		
c′ 2[12]	25 But Rahab the harlot, and her c′ father's household, and all that she had, did Joshua d′ save alive; and she e′ dwelt in the midst of Israel, unto		
d′ Gen 19[19]	this day; because she hid the N messengers, which Joshua sent to spy out Jericho.		
e′ 9[7] 13[13] 16[10] JE26	26 And Joshua f′ charged them with an oath g′ at that time, saying,		
f′ Gen 24[3]	f Cursed be the man before Yahweh,		f 24
g′ Gen 38[1] Num 22[4]	that riseth up and buildeth this city Jericho:		
h′ ℌ* cp 1 Kings 16[34]	With the loss of his firstborn shall he h′ lay the foundation thereof,		
i′ Gen 35[20] cp JE215c	and with the loss of his z youngest son shall he i′ set up the gates of it.		g 92
j′ 1[5]	27 So Yahweh was j′ with Joshua, and his k′ fame was in all the land.		
k′ 9[9]	7[1] N *But the children of Israel a committed a trespass in the devoted thing: for Achan, the son of Carmi, the son of Zabdi, the son of a Zerah, of the b tribe of Judah, took of the devoted thing: and the anger of Yahweh was kindled against the children of Israel.*		a P164 b P165
a Gen 38[30] Num 26[20]	2 N And Joshua sent men N from Jericho to Ai, which is beside N Beth-aven, on the b east side of Beth-el, and spake unto them, saying, c Go up and d spy out N the land. And the men went up and spied out Ai. 3 And they returned to Joshua, and said unto him, Let not all the people go up; but let about two or three thousand men go up and smite Ai; make		
b Gen 12[8] JE27			
c Num 13[17b]			
d Ct 2[1] cp Num 21[32] JE212			
e ℌ Pi* cp 24[13]*	not all the people to e toil thither; for they are but f few. 4 So there went		
f Cp JE51	up thither of the people about three thousand men: and they fled before		
g 5 8[20. 25] cp 9[6] 10[6] 24	the g men of Ai. 5 And the g men of Ai smote of them about thirty and		

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house of Yahweh' suggests later arrangements, 1 Chron 29[8]. For the formula 'holiness is it to Yahweh' cp P90b.

6[20b] These opening words simply reproduce 16a; the absence of a subject cp 9 13 and the repetition suggest that they are supplemental.

20b′ M ℌ *in its place.*

21 So M. ℌ the same root as in 17. T *utterly destroyed.*

22 Not in 𝔊. Apparently an editorial touch founded on the combined narrative 2[17].

23 M ℌ *families.*—Cp P65. 𝔊 more briefly 'her brethren and her kindred and all that she had, and they set her' &c, where the different position of 'her kindred' indicates the probable presence of additions to the text. For 'set' Gen 19[16] cp P's usage Ex 16[24] Lev 24[12] Num 15[34] al: exclusion from the camp as unclean cp P120b.

24 Cp 1 Chron 29[8]. The reference to the temple is lacking in 𝔊.

25 So in 17 only; 𝔊 *spies.* The clause is probably editorial, as in 17.

7[1] An introduction to the story of Achan from the hand of R^p. The affinities of the passage with P are shown by the terms 'trespass' and 'tribe' as well as by the genealogy of Achan. The use of the ancient phrase 'the anger of Yahweh was kindled' finds a parallel in P^s Num 32[10 13] cp JE233. It may possibly signify that this verse is based on an older statement of J.

2a No clear signs of combination of separate sources can be detected in this narrative. The clauses in 3 'let not all the people go up' and 'make not all the people toil thither' might be regarded as doublets if other conflicting statements could be discovered: but in the absence of substantial divergence this view receives no support. The main story shows most affinity with J cp the margins, the phrases 'men of Ai' 4 'oh Lord' 8 'wherefore' 10 'sanctify yourselves' 'thus saith Yahweh' 13, the unusual term for 'man' 14, even the detail 'ran' 22, all pointing to J's manner of narration. But it has been treated editorially both by R^d and R^p. Traces of R^d will probably be found in 5b 7b 11 12b 15b 25: while the hand of R^p may be seen in 1 18. 24.. The aggregation in 11 where גם 'and also' recurs five times over at the beginning of successive clauses, is probably the result of this kind of expansion. Steuern agrees that the story is mainly from one source, but identifies it with E.

2b 𝔊 omits 'from Jericho' 'Beth-aven on the east side of' 'and spake unto them' 'go up and'; and Steuern strikes them all out of the text. The first may quite possibly be a late addition; on the second cp 2c; the third seems required for the following 'saying'; and the fourth appears guaranteed by the sequel 'went up and spied.'

2c 𝔊 *Bethel*, the following words of ℌ being absent. Wellhausen, therefore, suggested that a late scribe had adopted the language of prophetic condemnation Amos 5[5] Hos 4[15] al, and converted Beth-El, 'house of God,' into Beth-Aven, 'house of nought.' Still later, another scribe, not perceiving the significance of the name, added the geographical description cp Gen 12[8]. But a place called Beth-aven seems to be well established 18[12] 1 Sam 13[5] 14[23]. Cp Driver, *Joel and Amos* 177; Buhl, *Geographie des alten Palästina* (1896) 174, who rejects Schlatter's attempt to identify Beth-aven everywhere with Bethel. Steuern, on the other hand, denies its existence.

2d 𝔊 *Ai*, as in the following clause; cp Jazer, Num 21[32].

J E R[d] J E P[s]

six men: and they chased them [from] before the gate even unto [M]Shebarim, and smote them at the going down: and the hearts of the people [h]melted, and became as water. 6 And Joshua [i]rent his clothes, and [j]fell to the earth upon his face before [k]the ark of Yahweh until the evening, he and the [l]elders of Israel; and they put dust upon their heads. 7 And Joshua said, [N]Alas, O [m]Lord Yahweh, wherefore hast thou at all brought this people over Jordan, [n]to deliver us into the hand of the Amorites, to [o]cause us to perish? would that we had been [p]content and dwelt beyond Jordan! 8 [o]Oh Lord, [q]what shall I say, after that Israel hath [r]turned their backs before their enemies! 9 For the Canaanites and [s]all the inhabitants of the land shall [t]hear of it, and shall [u]compass us round, and [v]cut off our name from the earth: and what wilt thou do for thy [w]great name? 10 And Yahweh said unto Joshua, Get thee up; [d]wherefore art thou thus [j]fallen upon thy face? 11 Israel hath sinned; [N]yea, they have even transgressed my covenant which I commanded them: yea, they have even [x]taken of the devoted thing; and have also stolen, and [y]dissembled also, and they have even put it among their own stuff. 12 Therefore the children of Israel cannot stand before their enemies, they [r]turn their backs before their enemies, because they are become [M]accursed: [N]I will not be [e]with you any more, except ye [f]destroy the devoted thing from among you. 13 Up, sanctify the people, and say, [z]Sanctify yourselves against to-morrow: for [g]thus saith Yahweh, [N]the God of Israel, There is a devoted thing in the midst of thee, O Israel: thou canst not stand before thine enemies, until ye take away the devoted thing from among you. 14 [N]In the morning therefore ye shall be [a']brought near [b']by your tribes: and it shall be, that the tribe which Yahweh taketh shall come near by families; and the family which Yahweh shall take shall come near by households; and the household which Yahweh shall take shall come near [c']man by man. 15 And it shall be, that he that is taken with the devoted thing shall be burnt with fire, he and [d']all that he hath: because he hath [e']transgressed the covenant of Yahweh, and because he hath [f']wrought folly in Israel.

16 So Joshua [g']rose up early in the morning, and [h']brought Israel near [b']by their tribes; and the tribe of Judah was taken: 17 and he brought near the [M]family of Judah; and he took the family of the Zerahites: and he brought near the family of the Zerahites [M]man by man; and Zabdi was taken: 18 and he brought near his household man by man; and Achan, [N]*the son of Carmi, the son of Zabdi, the son of Zerah, of the* [b]*tribe of Judah*, was taken. 19 And Joshua said unto Achan, [N]*My son,* [i']*give, I pray thee, glory to Yahweh, the God of Israel, and* [M]*make confession unto him; and* [h]tell me now what thou hast done; [j']hide it not from me. 20 And Achan answered Joshua, and said, Of a [k']truth I have sinned against Yahweh, the [l']God of Israel, and

h 2[11]
i Gen 37[34] 44[13] (*clothes=garments* ℌ)
j 10 5[14]
k ℌ om *the ark of*
l 8[10] Ex 3[18] Num 11[30]
m Gen 15[2 8] Deut 3[24] 9[26]
n Deut 1[27]
o [D]34
p 17[12] Gen 18[27] Ex 2[21] ℌ
q Gen 44[16]
r 12 Ex 23[27]
s 2[9 24] 9[24] R[d]
t Cp Num 14[13]
u Gen 19[4] ℌ
v Ct Deut 7[24] 9[14]
w 1 Sam 12[22] Jer 44[26] Ezek 36[23]
x 6[18]
y Gen 18[15]
z 3[5]
a' Ex 22[8]
b' 16 cp Num 24[2]
c' 17. Ex 10[11] 12[37] pl ℌ*
d' 24 cp 12[24]
e' Cp 11
f' Gen 34[7] Deut 22[21*]
g' 3[1]
h' Ct [P]11[8]
i' Is 42[12] Ps 66[2] ct 1 Sam 6[5] Jer 13[16] ℌ
j' Gen 47[18]
k' Gen 20[12†]
l' Cp 13[N]

c 56[b]
d 89[b]
e [JE]13[0]
f [D]34[a]
g 87
h 21[8]

7[5] **M** Or, *the quarries.*

7 This verse seems to have received some Deuteronomic touches, possibly 'Lord Yahweh,' and more decidedly in the clause concerning the Amorites cp Deut 1[37], and ct Canaanites [9], though Steuernagel assigns [9] also to R[d].

11 The first verb is in the singular: the remaining five follow in pl, introduced by וגם. The 'transgression of the covenant' embodies a Deuteronomic idea cp 23[16] Deut 17[2] Judges 2[20] 2 Kings 18[12] Jer 34[18]: and the clause 'which I commanded them' has the same sort of echo cp 22[2] Deut 31[5 29] Judg 2[20] 2 Kings 17[13] Jer 11[4] Mal 4[4]. The third and fourth verbs are unrepresented in ℌ, and may be yet later additions: the fivefold וגם can hardly be original. 12a **M** See 6[18].

12b The change of address here from Joshua to the guilty people, and the use of השמיר suggest another hand.

13 The peculiar distribution of this title in the Hexateuch has aroused critical suspicion. Prior to Josh it occurs only in Ex 5[1] 32[27] cp 34[23]; but in Josh it is frequent, 7[19/8 30 9 18.] 10[40 42] 13[14 33] 14[14] 22[16 24] 24[2 23]. Some of these passages show affinity with D (8[30] 10[40] 13[14] 14[14] 24[23]), others with P (9[18.] 22[16]). Dillm accordingly ascribes its employment in Josh to R[d] (so Addis here, *Hex* i 212, but in ii 154 R[p]), while Kuenen, *Hex* 342, and Holzinger, *Hex* 502, assign it regularly to R[p]. But it is used in the narrative-books which follow e g Judg 4[6] 5[3 5] 11[21 23] &c, and in the formula of the text Judg 6[8] 1 Sam 10[18] 2 Sam 12[7] &c, where there is no need to suspect the activity of either R[d] or R[p]. It can hardly, therefore, be regarded as the sole property of any single school; its occurrence in the Song of Deborah guarantees its antiquity; and it is consequently not treated here as a sign of editorial revision in the interest either of D or P, though its repeated use is probably due to some later scribal preference.

14 The passage which follows may owe something to later expansion, but it cannot be said to present any decisive marks of D (Addis, *Hex* ii 152), save in [15b]. D does not inflict burning on human beings cp Deut 13[16]. The penalty is named in P[h] Lev 20[14] 21[9], and is probably a survival of older use. The method of selection indicated in [14] seems to occur in another case 1 Sam 10[20.], ascribed by Budde in Haupt's *SBOT* to E[2].

17a **M** According to some ancient authorities, *families.*—ℌ curtails [17.].

17b **M** According to some ancient authorities, *by households.*

18 Reproduced from [1]. The word מִבָּה suddenly introduced for 'tribe,' instead of שִׁבְטוֹ [14 16], is decisive for P.

19a ℌ 𝔖 omit 'my son.' The phrases 'give glory' and 'make confession' seem later in style, and are probably additional.

19b **M** Or, *give praise.*—Cp Ezr 10[11].

J	E	R^d	J	E	P^s	
		[m′] thus and thus have I done[N]: [21] when I saw among the spoil a goodly [M]Babylonish [n′]mantle, and two hundred shekels of silver, and a wedge of gold of fifty shekels [o′]weight, then I [p′]coveted them, and took them; and, behold, they are [q′]hid in the earth in the midst of my tent, and the silver under it. [22] So Joshua [r′]sent messengers, and they [l]ran unto the tent; and, behold, it was hid in his tent, and the silver under it. [23] And they took them from the midst of the tent, and brought them unto Joshua, and unto [N]all the children of Israel; and they [s′]laid them down before Yahweh. [24] And Joshua, [N]and all Israel with him, took Achan the son of Zerah, *and the silver, and the mantle, and the wedge of gold, and his sons, and his daughters, and his oxen, and his asses, and his sheep, and his tent,* and [d′]all that he had: and they brought them up unto the valley of Achor. [25] And Joshua said, Why hast thou [t′]troubled us? Yahweh shall trouble thee this day. [N]And all Israel stoned him with stones. And they [u′]burned them with fire, and *stoned them with stones.* [26] And they raised over him a great heap of stones, unto this day; and Yahweh [v′]turned from the fierceness of his anger. [w′]Wherefore the name of that place was called, The valley of [M]Achor, unto this day.			i 70
		8[1a] [N]And Yahweh said unto Joshua, [Na]Fear not, neither be thou dismayed: take [a]all the people of war[a] with thee, and Arise, go up to Ai;			a D_{44}[c]
		[1b] [b]see, I have given into thy hand the king of Ai, and his people, and his city, and his land: [2a] and [c]thou shalt do to Ai and her king as thou didst unto Jericho and her king: [b]only the [d]spoil thereof, and the cattle thereof, shall ye [c]take for a prey unto yourselves:			b 84 c 89
		[2b] set thee an ambush for the city behind it. [3] So Joshua arose, and [a]all the people of war, to go up to Ai: and Joshua chose out thirty thousand men, [e]the mighty men of valour, and sent them forth by night. [4] And he commanded them, saying, [T]See, ye shall lie in ambush against the city, behind the city: [f]go not very far from the city, but be ye all [g]ready: [5] and I, and all the people that are with me, will [h]approach unto the city: and [d]it shall come to pass, when they come out against us, as at the [i]first, that we will flee before them; [6] and they will come out after us, till we have [j]drawn them away from the city; for they will say, They flee before us, as at the first; [N]so we will flee before them: [7] and ye			d 3[b]

m′ Cp Gen 45[23]
l′ Gen 25[25]
o′ Gen 24[22]
p′ Gen 3[6] Ex 34[24]
q′ 2[6]
r′ Gen 32[3]
s′ ℌ* 2 Sam 15[24]
t′ Gen 34[30]
u′ Cp 15
v′ Ex 32[12] Deut 13[17]
w′ Gen 11[9] JE15[b]
a Cp 3 11 10[7] 11[7]† 1 Sam 13[15] (𝔊)
b 6[2] cp Num 21[34] Deut 3[2]
c Deut 3[2]
d 27 11[14] D103
e 1[14]
f Ex 8[28]
g Ex 34[2]
h ℌ = *come near* 7[14]
i Cp 7[4]
j 16 cp 4[18] ℌ

7[20] Albers and Steuern understand this expression as implying that nothing further need be said; [21] therefore is a later explanation, and [22]. must go with it. But they seem necessary for the story: for the usage cp 2 Kings 9[12].

[21] **M** ℌ *mantle of Shinar.*—Cp Gen 10[10].

[23] (𝔊 'the elders of Israel' cp [6].

[24] This clause stands in ℌ at the end of the sentence, after 'all that he had,' where (𝔊 reads 'and all the people with him.' Its position betrays the awkwardness of the insertion. For 'all Israel' as a sign of R^d cp 3[7] and D_{2a}. The subsequent enumeration of Achan's family and goods is probably an expansion. (𝔊 reads 'And Joshua took Achar the son of Zerah and brought him up to the valley of Achor, and his sons . . and all that he had, and all the people with him, and he brought them up to Emek-Achor (valley of Achor)': where the dislocation and the repetition point to the earlier and simpler text. The purpose of the editor is plain: he seeks to show that the action of Joshua conformed to the standard of the law cp Deut 13[15]., which demanded that goods subject to 'devotion' should all be burned.

[25] The literary phenomena here are perplexing. 'All Israel' seems due to R^d, but the following words 'stoned him with stones' (רגם) are elsewhere characteristic of **P** P_{52}. On the other hand, the second 'stoned them with stones' (סקל) is a formula found solely in **D**, Deut 13[10] 17[5] 22[21] [24].* The accumulation of punishments, stoning, burning, and stoning again, must be caused by successive textual manipulations. The first story contemplated execution by fire [15]: R^d and R^p have each added his own formula, and a scribe has intermixed them. The burning and the second stoning do not appear in (𝔊. In [26] the cairn is raised over Achan alone, as though he were the only sufferer.

[26] **M** That is, *Troubling.*

8[1a] The narrative of the capture of Ai does not yield easily to analysis; but it contains at least one clear proof of dual origin. In [3-9] Joshua dispatches a force of thirty thousand men by night, who are instructed to lie in ambush on the west side, between Ai and Bethel. There, also, at a subsequent stage in the story [12], he posts five thousand men, although thirty thousand are already on the spot. These statements must be regarded as independent versions of the same transaction, though the disproportion in the numbers is striking. The first seems to belong to a narrative related by numerous parallels with previous passages assigned to **J**; the second is therefore provisionally ascribed to **E**. Further evidence of combination of two sources may be found in the sequel. In one account the events follow the course indicated in 5-7; in another, Joshua stretches out his javelin and continues to hold it extended until the inhabitants of the city have been devoted [18 26]. The analogy of this incident with the significance of the outstretched hand of Moses Ex 9[22] 17[9 11] wielding the rod, confirms the view that the elements which are incongruous with **J** may be attributed to **E**. One or two slight stylistic indications arise out of this partition, thus cp 'men of Ai' [20]. with 'inhabitants of Ai' [24 26], and their parallels elsewhere. The whole story has received numerous additional touches from R^d, whose hand has been active from end to end. Various curtailments in (𝔊 are probably due to the desire to escape discrepancies by omission.

[1a] The touches of R^d in [1.] are numerous, and possibly really include more than is indicated in the text. The opening phrase cp 10[25] recalls Deut 1[21] 31[8]; Dillm further ascribes to R^d the peculiar expression 'all the people of war': the parallel in Deut 3[2] makes it highly likely that the clause 'see, I have given' &c likewise belongs to him, as [2a] certainly does. Thus the whole introduction has gathered round the command 'Arise, go up to Ai, . . . set thee an ambush.'

[4] ℌ as in [1b 8b]. **T** *behold.*

[6] Absent from (𝔊. Probably an accidental repetition from the close of the previous verse.

J E	R^d	J E	P^s	
k Num 14[24]	shall rise up from the ambush, and [k]take possession of the city: [N]for Yahweh [e]your God will [f]deliver it into your hand. [8a] And it shall be, when ye			e D_1
l 23 Gen 39[12] *m* 19 ℌ* *n* 27 cp 2a	have [l]seized upon the city, that ye shall [m]set the city on fire. [8b] According to the [n]word of Yahweh shall ye do: [g]see, I have commanded you.			f D_{52} g 99
o 6[11].	[9] And Joshua sent them forth: and they went to the ambushment, and abode between Beth-el and Ai, on the west side of Ai: but Joshua [o]lodged that night among the [N]people.			
p 1 Sam 13[15] 2 Sam 18[1] *q* 7[6]	[10] And Joshua [o]rose up early in the morning, and [p]mustered the people, and went up, he and the [q]elders of Israel, before the people to Ai. [11] And all the people, [even] [N]the [men of] war that were with him,			
r 10[5] 11[5]	[N]went up, and drew nigh, and came before the city, and [r]pitched on the north side of Ai: now there was a valley between him and Ai.			
	...[12N] And he took about five thousand men, and set them in ambush between Beth-el and Ai, on the west side of [M]the city.			
s Cp 11 *t* Cp 9 12	[13] [M]*So they set the people, even all the host that was on the [s]north side of the city, and their [N]liers in wait that were on the [t]west of the city; and Joshua [M]went that night into the midst of the vale.*			
u Gen 24[30] *v* Num 21[33] Deut 2[32] 3[2] 29[7] 1 Sam 4[1] *w* Cp 4	[14] [N]And it came to pass, [u]when the king of Ai saw it, that they [h]hasted and rose up early, and the men of the [N]city [v]went out against Israel to battle, [N]he and all his people, [M]at the time appointed, before the Arabah; but he wist not that there was an ambush against him [w]behind the city.			h 43
x Cp 5 & 20b[N]	[15] And Joshua and [N]all Israel [N]made as if they were beaten before them, and [x]fled by the way of the wilderness. [16] And all the people that were			
y ℌ Judg 6[34]. 18[22]. 1 Sam 14[20]†	in [M]the city were [y]called together to pursue after them: and they pursued after Joshua, and were [j]drawn away from the city. [17] And there was not a man [i]left in Ai [N]or Beth-el, that went not out after Israel: and they left the city open, and pursued after Israel.			i 69
z Ex 9[22] 10[12 21] cp 17[11]	...[18] And Yahweh said unto Joshua, [z]Stretch out the javelin that is in thy hand toward Ai; [N]for I will give it into thine hand. And Joshua stretched out the javelin that was in his hand toward the city. ...			j 43^c
a' Cp 7	[19] And the ambush [a']arose [j]quickly out of their place, and they [k]ran [N]as			k 70

8[7] Two marks of D point to expansion here. 'Deliver' = 'give' ℌ. 𝔊 passes from [7a] to [8b].

[9] This clause is wanting in 𝔊. A difficulty arises at this point in connexion with [13b]. As the narrative stands, Joshua and the people march up to Ai on the day following the dispatch of the thirty thousand [10]; the second ambush is posted [12]; and Joshua spends a second night before the attack in 'the midst of the vale.' The thirty thousand, therefore, lie in wait a whole day doing nothing. Part of the difficulty is removed by the recognition of the fact that [12] is not from the same source as [9], and that [13] is an editorial attempt to bring [12] into line with the sequence indicated in [3-9]. But where did Joshua sleep? According to [9] at Gilgal which he had not himself left, 'in the midst of the people' העם: according to [13] 'in the midst of the vale' העמק. Ewald, therefore, proposed (*Hist*[3] ii 248[7]) to read 'the vale' in [9], and this suggestion has been widely adopted. But if so, he had already quitted Gilgal, and his departure in [10] must be ascribed to a new source. On the other hand the formula in [3] 'arose to go up' does not seem to imply as much as the more common sequence 'arose and went up.' It is sufficiently explained by the preparatory dispatch of the men selected for the ambush, the plan being completed by Joshua's own departure next morning. A similar connexion 'lodged' 'rose up early' will be found in 6[11]; and the 'mustering' of the general force has its parallel in 1 Sam 13[15] 2 Sam 18[1] assigned by Budde (in Haupt's *SBOT*) to **J**. The elders of Israel act with Joshua in 7[6] **J**. In spite, therefore, of Dillm, Kittel, Albers, and Addis, the text adheres to the view of Wellh and Kuen in regarding [10]. as continuous with [9]; though it should be added that these masters regard [3a] as the introduction to [12].

[11a] ℌ 'all the people the war.' Apparently produced by adding הכלחמה in forgetfulness of the article in העם: cp 3[11 14 17] ℌ. Is this an indication that the phrase in [1] 'all the people of war' is editorial? (so Dillm).

[11b] The series 'went up .. drew nigh .. came .. pitched' suggests the possibility of some amalgamation.

[12a] Cp [1aN]. The text of 𝔊 is here extremely brief, the 'five thousand' being omitted, and [13] being dropped altogether.

[12b] **M** Another reading is, *Ai.*—העי for העיר.

[13a] **M** Or, *So the people set all &c.*—The verse seems part of the first combination of **JE** as it shows no trace of R^d. 'North' cp [11], 'West' [9 12].

[13b] ℌ apparently 'his heel,' an ambiguous phrase designed by **R** (Dillm) to harmonize the discrepant numbers.

[13c] **M** Some MSS read *lodged that night in.*—וילן for וילך.

[14a] The narrative here presents some signs of composite origin, though the text defies resolution. The verb 'they hasted' has no subject: 'rose up early' is not the natural sequel of 'seeing' and 'making haste': 'men of the city' and 'he and all his people' seem duplicates.

[14b] Perhaps Ai, as in [12]; cp 'men of Ai' [20].

[14c] Apparently a Deuteronomic phrase cp D_{56}.

[14d] **M** Or, *to the place appointed.*—Either rendering involves difficulties, for no specification of time or place has been named. Bennett proposes למורד 7[5] 'at the going down.' The matter is further complicated by the unexpected mention of the Arabah which seems like another doublet cp [14aN].

[15a] 𝔊 omits. Cp D_{2^a}. The formula occurs again [21 24] ct [14 17 22]. 𝔊 seems to curtail considerably, omitting the last clause.

[15b] Addis, quoting Kimḥi, regards this rendering as lacking grammatical justification, and urges that this belongs to a story in which the Israelites were really beaten, and only recovered themselves 'by the magical effect of Joshua's outstretched spear.' The word is unusual in the sense of defeat in battle (ויפגעו, Niph here only).

[16] **M** as in [12bN].

[17] Wanting in 𝔊. As the ambush lay between Ai and Beth-el according to both stories, it is not easy to see how the men of Beth-el could have joined in the pursuit. It is hardly likely, therefore, that these words belong to a narrative of joint attack on Ai and Beth-el, of which nothing is said elsewhere. They seem due rather to awkward editorial supplementation.

[18] Probably due to R^d cp [7b].

[19] These words result from the incorporation of [18]. The am-

J	E	R^d	J	E	P^s	
		soon as he had stretched out his hand, and entered into the city, and took				
		it; and they [h]hasted and [m]set the city on fire. [20] And when the [b']men				
		of Ai looked behind them, they [l]saw, and, behold, the smoke of the city				1 55
		[c']ascended up to heaven, and they had no [N]power to flee this way or that				
		way: [N]and the people that fled to the wilderness turned back upon the pursuers.				
		[21] And when [d']Joshua and all Israel saw that the ambush had taken				
		the city, and that the smoke of the city [c']ascended, then they turned				
		again, and slew the [b']men of Ai. [22] And the other came forth out				
		of the city [e']against them; so they were in the midst of Israel, some				
		on this side, and some on that side: and they smote them, [N]so that they				
		let none of them remain or escape. [23] And [f']the king of Ai they [l]took alive,				
		and brought him to Joshua.				
		[24] And it came to pass, when Israel had [g']made an end of slaying all the				
		[h']inhabitants of Ai in the field, [N]in the wilderness wherein they pursued				
		them, and they were all fallen by the edge of the sword, [i']until they were				
		consumed, that [N]all Israel returned unto Ai, and [j']smote it with the edge				
		of the sword.				
		[25] And all that fell that day, both of men and women, were twelve				
		thousand, even all the [b']men of Ai.				
		[26] [T]And Joshua drew not back his hand, wherewith he stretched out				
		the javelin, until he had [T]devoted all the [h']inhabitants of Ai.				
		[27] [b]Only the cattle and the [d]spoil of that city Israel [c]took for a prey unto them-				
		selves, according unto the [n]word of Yahweh which he commanded Joshua.				
		[28] [T]And Joshua burnt Ai, and [k']made it an [M]heap for ever, [even] a desolation,				
		[m]unto this day.				m 33[b]
		[29] And the [f']king of Ai he [l]hanged on a tree until the eventide: [N]and				
		[m']at the going down of the sun Joshua commanded, and they took his carcase				
		down from the tree, and cast it at the [n']entering of the gate of the city,				
		and [o']raised thereon a great heap of stones, unto this day.				
		[30] [N]Then Joshua [p']built an altar unto Yahweh, the [q']God of Israel, in mount				

[b'] 21 25 7[4] ct 24 26
[c'] ℌ = *went up* Gen 19[28]
[d'] Cp 15
[e'] Cp 5 14
[f'] Cp 14 10[23]
[g'] 10[20] Deut 31[24] 1 Sam 24[16] *al*
[h'] 26 9[3] 11 10[1c] ct 20
[i'] 10[20] Deut 2[15]
[j'] 10[28] 19[47] Num 21[24] cp [JE]150
[k'] Cp Jer 6[8] 10[22] 49[2]
[l'] 10[26]
[m'] Deut 16[6]
[n'] 20[4] Judg 9[35] 44
[o'] 7[26]
[p'] Deut 27[5]
[q'] 7[13]

bush on the west side could hardly have seen Joshua among the Israelites fleeing eastwards towards the Arabah [14].

8[20a] **M** ℌ *hands.*

[20b] This statement anticipates the narrative of [21] which is the obvious sequel of [20]. It must therefore be ascribed to another source. (𝔊 omits it. Is it simply editorial, or does it point (in connexion with [15b 24]) to a story of flight in **E**? **J** prepares for 'flight' [5], but says nothing beforehand of the 'wilderness.'

[22] ℌ 'until they had left none remaining or escaped.' The formula occurs in 10[33] (28) 37 39. 11[8] Deut 2[34] 3[3] Num 21[35]† cp 2 Kings 10[11] and seems to have a Deuteronomic complexion. For the addition 'or escaped' cp Jer 42[17].

[24a] Another collocation of phrases from different sources; thus 'in the field' ‖ 'in the wilderness (𝔊 mountain)'; 'edge of the sword' twice; 'until they were consumed' cp תמם 3[17b] &c. Cp 10[20]. (𝔊 again curtails, omitting 'and they were all' &c.

[24b] (𝔊 *Joshua.* Cp [15aN].

[26a] ℌ as in [24]. **T** *for.* The verse is wanting in (𝔊, save that the last words 'all the inhabitants of Ai' appear in place of 'all the men of Ai' [25].

[26b] So ℌ **M**. **T** *utterly destroyed.*

[28a] ℌ as in [26]. **T** *so.* The statement is independent of [19–21], and may possibly belong to R^d cp Deut 13[16].

[28b] **M** Or, *mound*, ℌ *tel.*—Deut 13[16].

[29] This verse contains one or two phrases in **D**'s style, and may have assumed its existing form in connexion with the law now embodied in Deut 21[22]. Cp 10[27].

[30] This section is clearly connected with Deut 27[1–8] [12], but the precise nature of the connexion cannot be exactly determined. That passage was believed to embody an early instruction of **E**. The erection of such an altar would not after all be inconsistent with the fundamental principle of the unity of the sanctuary, as the people had not yet taken possession of their inheritance, and the place which Yahweh would choose for his worship was not yet selected. The original command in **E**, however, probably pointed to some special sanctuary at Shechem. Does this story similarly rest on **E**'s account of its fulfilment? The corresponding element would then be disengaged as follows:—'Then Joshua built an altar to Yahweh in Mount Ebal, an altar of unhewn stones upon which no man had lift up any iron: and they offered (𝔊 *he offered*) thereon burnt offerings to Yahweh, and sacrificed peace offerings.' Many critics suppose that such an original nucleus may be thus recovered. Other phenomena, however, rather point in the direction of the derivation of the whole narrative (with modifications) from Deut 27. If the **E** passage were original, it would probably be found in its actual place in the series of **E**'s traditions. But this could hardly be its present position. It is not obvious how Israel could have performed such a ceremony at the gates of Shechem without having conquered Central Canaan, but of such a conquest no further record remains, and the narrative in 10 shows that it had not yet taken place. (𝔊 places [30–35] after 9[1]: is this a deliberate transposition, or a sign of the late addition of this passage which found insertion at different points in different texts? The former seems on the whole more probable in view (1) of the indications of accommodation in (𝔊 elsewhere, and (2) of the fact that the narrative makes no reference to Deut 27[14–26], presumably because that interpretation of the curse was not then known. The historical difficulty is not overcome by (𝔊's arrangement, which locates the scene in face of a great military coalition against the Israelites: other critics have accordingly suggested that it once marked the close of the whole conquest, and followed 11[23]. Dillm conjectured that **JE** once contained a fuller account of the campaign in Middle Canaan, the story of the advance of Joshua from Ai to Shechem having been curtailed cp Kittel, *Hist* i 289: **E** then proceeded to relate the fulfilment of the instructions in Deut 27[5], and on that nucleus the present narrative is based in correspondence with the expanded form in Deut. The text, however, does not actually correspond to Deut 27[1–8]. The writer has apparently wished to simplify the transaction, or has misunderstood the original instruction. The plaistered stones Deut 27[2–4] are never mentioned, and the law is apparently inscribed on the unhewn blocks of the altar. It is so difficult to believe that the writer actually meant this, that it seems almost needful to suppose some accidental omission. But the rest of the story also shows considerable departures from its predecessor. The two groups into which the nation is divided, do not stand on the mountains

J	E	R^d	J	E	P^s	
		[r']Ebal, [31] as Moses the [s']servant of Yahweh commanded the children of Israel, [t']as it is [n]written in the book of the law of Moses, an altar of [M]unhewn stones, upon which no man had lift up any iron: and they [w']offered thereon burnt offerings unto Yahweh, and sacrificed peace offerings. [32] And he wrote there upon [M]the stones a [v']copy of the law of Moses, [M]which he wrote, in the presence of the children of Israel. [33] And [o]all Israel, and their [w']elders and [p]officers, and their judges, stood on this side the ark and on that side before the [q]priests the Levites, which bare the [r]ark of the covenant of Yahweh, [x']*as well the stranger as the* [y']*homeborn*; half of them in front of mount [z']Gerizim, and half of them in front of mount Ebal; as Moses the [s']servant of Yahweh had [M]commanded, that they should bless the people of Israel first of all. [34] And afterward he read [s]all the words of the law, [N]the blessing and the curse, according to all that is [n]written in the book of the law. [35] There was not a word of all that Moses commanded, which Joshua read not before all the [t]assembly of Israel, and the [u]women, and the [u]little ones, and the strangers that [M]were conversant among them.			n 120 o 2[a] p 83 q 90 r 19 s 15 t 20 u 118
		9[1] And it came to pass, when [a]all the kings which were [a]beyond Jordan, in the [b]hill country, and in the [b]lowland, and on all the [b]shore of the [c]great sea in front of Lebanon, the [d]Hittite, and the Amorite, the Canaanite, the Perizzite, the Hivite, and the Jebusite, [e]heard thereof; [2] that they [f]gathered themselves together, to fight with Joshua and with Israel, with one [g]accord.			a 21[b]	
		[3 NT]And the [h]inhabitants of Gibeon heard what Joshua had done unto Jericho and to Ai. . . .				
		[4N]...And they also did work [i]wilily, and went and [M]made as if they had been ambassadors, and took [j]old [k]sacks upon their asses, and wine-skins, old and rent and [l]bound up; [5] and old shoes and [l]clouted upon their feet, and old [m]garments upon them; and all the bread of their [n]provision was dry and was become mouldy.				
		[6a]And they went to Joshua unto the camp at [o]Gilgal.				
		...[6b] And said [N]unto him, and to the [p]men of Israel, [q]We are come from a far country: now therefore make ye a [r]covenant with us. [7] And the [p]men of Israel said unto the [N]Hivites, [b]Peradventure ye [s]dwell among us; and [t]how shall we make a [r]covenant with you?			b 64	
		[8] And they said unto Joshua, We are thy servants. And Joshua said unto them, Who are ye? and from whence come ye? [9a] And they said unto him, From a very far country thy servants are come ...				
		[9b] because of the name of Yahweh [c]thy God; for we have [u]heard the [v]fame of him, and [d]all that he did in Egypt, [10] and all that he did to the [u]two kings of the Amorites, that were beyond Jordan, to Sihon king of Heshbon, and to Og king of Bashan, which was at Ashtaroth.			c 1 d 12	

r' Deut 27[4]
s' 1[1]
t' 2 Kings 14[6] ℌ
u' Deut 27[6].
v' Deut 17[18]
w' Deut 29[10] 31[28]
x' Lev 24[16 22]
y' Cp [P]34
z' Deut 27[12] 11[29]
a 5[1]
b Deut 1[7]
c 1[4]
d 12[8] Ex 3[8N]
e 2[8] 5[1]
f ℌ Hithpa* cp 10[6] Deut 30[3]
g ℌ *mouth* 1 Kings 22[13]
h 11 10[1] cp 8[24 26]
i Ex 21[14]
j Ezek 23[43]†
k Gen 42[25]
l ℌ Pu†
m [13] cp Ex 22[9]
n [14] ct 11 11[11] ℌ
o 5[9] 10[6]
p 7 10[24]* cp 7[4] 10[6]
q Ct 9a
r 11b 15b 16b ct 15a
s Cp 16d 22b 625a ℌ=*in the midst of* JE26
t Gen 44[8]
u 2[10]
v 6[27] cp Num 14[15] Deut 2[25]

Deut 27[12]., but in front of them; and the whole law is solemnly read aloud to them (instead of the recitation of the liturgical curses Deut 27[15–26]). The change in the position of the people may have some reference to the obscure instruction in Deut 11[29], as well as to the wish to provide a situation suitable for the reading of the law: but in view of the close adherence of R^d in Josh 1 (for example) to prior Deuteronomic material, it may be doubted whether this section can be ascribed to the earlier stage of the Deuteronomic redaction, or whether it must not rather be regarded as among the latest and more independent additions of the school. Some indication of this is perhaps to be found in the Levitical phrase 'as well the stranger as the homeborn' [33], though this may easily be isolated as a detached insertion. Kuenen viewed [33] and the reference to 'the blessing and the curse' [34] as later insertions, but 'the awkwardness may arise from the effort of a single Deuteronomic editor to recognize at once Deut 27[1–8] and [11–13]' (Addis, *Hex* ii 153; so Albers, 125). Steuern prints [33–35] as R^p, revised apparently by a final Deuteronomic editor.

[31] **M** ℌ *whole.* [32a] **M** See Deut 27[2–4].

[32b] **M** Or, *which he wrote in &c.*

[33] **M** Or, *commanded at the first, that they should bless the people of Israel.*

[34] These words seem to be explanatory of the preceding clause, but as they cannot be so in reality, they must be treated as a later insertion to rectify the apparent omission in [33] cp Driver 'Joshua' in Smith's *DB*[2] vol i pt ii 1812[7].

[35] **M** ℌ *walked.*

9[3a] Various elements are blended in the story of the Gibeonites. By common consent the hand of R^d may be traced in [9b 10 24. 27b]; and equally plain is the derivation of [17–21] from **P** with corresponding touches in [15 27]. The narrative that remains has been differently judged: on the one hand Budde and Kittel (i 290) regard it as single (after the text has undergone various restorations): on the other hand, Wellh Kuen Dillm, followed by Addis Albers Bennett and Oettli, find clear traces of duality. Thus in [3] the negotiators are called 'inhabitants of Gibeon,' in [7] 'Hivites'; in [3 6a 8 22] Joshua is prominent, while in [7 14] the 'men of Israel' act independently; in [6] 'we are come from a far country' is parallel to 'from a very far country thy servants are come' [9]; 'make a covenant' [6 11b 15b 16b] has a doublet in 'make peace' [15]. The linguistic indications collected in the margin are not decisive: but the 'men of Israel' passages seem to belong to **J** cp 10[6 24] and 'men of Ai' 7[4. 8 20. 25]; for 'inhabitants of Gibeon' 1 cp 8[24 26] **E**, while the leadership of Joshua and the reference to the camp [6a] also make for **E**. [3] was probably followed by an account of their preparations for the visit to the camp cp [11].

[3b] So ℌ at the beginning of [3] and [4]. **T** [3] *but when*, [4] omit *and*. This expresses a possible logical connexion, but obscures the probability that the narrative is really a compound product.

[4a] The guile described in [4.] reappears in [12–14]. In [14] the Israelites are represented not by Joshua [3 6a 8], but by 'the men' of Israel cp [6b 7], who themselves conduct the negotiations. These passages, therefore, are ascribed to **J**. This distribution is confirmed by the obvious break between [7] and [8].

[4b] **M** Another reading, followed by most ancient versions, is, *took them provisions.* See [12].

[6b] Probably editorial, resulting from the union of [7] and [8].

[7] The unexpected appearance of this name may be due to its previous use in some passage now eliminated in the process of compilation.

J E R[d] J E P[s]

[11a] And our [t]elders and all the [h]inhabitants of our country spake to us, saying, Take [w]provision in your hand for the journey, and go to meet them, and say unto them, [x]We are your servants. . . .
...[11b] [T]Now, therefore, make ye a [r]covenant with us. [12] This our bread we [y]took hot for our provision out of our houses on the day we came forth to go unto you; but now, behold, it is dry, and is become mouldy: [13] and these wine-skins, which we filled, were new; and, behold, they be rent: and these our [m]garments and our shoes are become old by reason of the very long journey. [14] And the [N]men took of their [n]provision, and [z]asked not counsel at the mouth of Yahweh.

[15a] And Joshua made peace with them.
...[15b] And [N]made a [r]covenant with them, to [a']let them live.

...[15c] [N]And the [f]princes of the [g]congregation sware unto them.

[16a] And it came to pass at the [b']end of [h]three days,
...[16b] [N]after they had made a [r]covenant with them. . . .
[16c] that they heard that they were their neighbours.
[16d] and that they [s]dwelt among them.

...[17] And the children of Israel journeyed, and came unto their cities on the third day. Now their cities were Gibeon, and [c']Chephirah, and [d']Beeroth, and [e']Kiriath-jearim. [18] And the children of Israel smote them not, because the [f]princes of the [g]congregation had sworn unto them by Yahweh, the [f']God of Israel. And all the congregation [i]murmured against the princes. [19] But all the [f]princes said unto all the [g]congregation, We have sworn unto them by Yahweh, the God of Israel: now therefore we may not touch them. [20] This we will do to them, and let them live; [T]that there be no [j]wrath upon us, because of the oath which we sware unto them. [21] [N]And the [f]princes said unto them, Let them live: so they became hewers of wood and drawers of water unto all the [g]congregation; as the princes had spoken unto them.

[22a] And Joshua [k]called for them, and he [l]spake unto them, saying, [m]Wherefore have ye [g']beguiled us, saying, We are [h']very far from you? ...[22b] when ye [s]dwell among us? [23] Now therefore ye are [i']cursed, and there [N]shall never fail to be of you bondmen, both [N]hewers of wood and drawers of water for the [j']house of my God.
[24] And they answered Joshua, and said, Because it was certainly [k']told thy servants, how that Yahweh [c]thy God commanded his [l']servant Moses to give you all the land, and to [n]destroy all the inhabitants of the land from before you; therefore we were sore afraid [m']for our lives because of you, and have

w 1[11] ct 5[14] ℌ
x Cp 8
y Cp 4[M]
z Gen 24[57] ℌ Is 30[2]
a' Gen 7[3] 12[12]
b' 3[2] ℌ
c' 18[26]
d' 18[25]
e' 18[14 28]?
f' 7[13]
g' Gen 29[25]*
h' Cp 9
i' Gen 4[11]
j' Cp 6[24] Ex 23[19] 34[26]
k' Cp Deut 17[4] ℌ
l' 1[1].
m' 23[11] Deut 4[15] ℌ

e 151
f 131
g 45
h 119[d]
i 114
j 178
k 139
l P18[5a]
m 228
n 34[a]

9[11] ℌ as in [6b]. T *and now.* The Hivites' explanations have been withdrawn to make room for E's narrative: at this point they renew in the same words their former request; or possibly R[Jc] reproduces it as a connecting link.

[14] (𝔊 *the princes* cp [15c 18]. ., which Steuern adopts, assigning the verse to P, cp *ante* p 318[d] (310).

[15b] (𝔊 *they made* i e 'the men' [14]. The subject may have been changed in harmony with the first clause.

[15c] At this point R introduces a fragment where the terms of P's organization are unmistakable cp [17–21]. It is noticeable that this fragment of P follows the story of J. There is no allusion to Joshua or Eleazar: 'the princes' take the negotiations into their own hands like the 'men of Israel' [6b 7] cp [14], and the congregation murmurs against their leadership as in Num 14[2] Ex 16[2] against Moses and Aaron.

[16b] The reference to the Covenant may be simply a supplemental touch of R[Je]; but the apparent doublet in the second part of the verse suggests that J also had a narrative of the discovery.

[20] ℌ as in Num 1[53]. T *lest wrath be.*

[21] After [20] it would be natural to find an announcement of the destiny of the Gibeonites. 𝔊 accordingly reads [21a] 'let them live and become hewers of wood and drawers of water for all the congregation.' 𝔊[F] adds 'and all the congregation did' as the princes had spoken unto them—which is much in P's manner.

[23a] M ℌ *shall not be cut off from you.*—Cp 3[13] Gen 41[36] ℌ.

[23b] These words may be an editorial supplement founded on [21], as the change from 'a bondman' ℌ sing to the pl seems to suggest: but they may also be derived from some old proverbial phrase cp Deut 29[11]. 𝔊 'a bondman nor a hewer of wood for me and my God,' apparently by abbreviation.

J	E	R^d	J	E	P^s	
		done this thing. [25] And now, [N]behold, we are in thine hand: as it seemeth [n']good and right unto thee to do unto us, do.				
		[26] And so did he unto them, and [o']delivered them out of the hand of the children of Israel, that they slew them not. [27] And Joshua made them that day hewers of wood and drawers of water *for the* [g]*congregation, and* for the [p']altar of Yahweh, [No]unto this day, in the [p]place which he should choose.				o 33[b]
		10[1a] [N]Now it came to pass, [a]when [N]Adoni-zedek king of Jerusalem [a]heard how Joshua had [b]taken Ai, and had [T]devoted it; as he had [c]done to Jericho and her king, so he had done to Ai and her king;				p 87
		...[1b] and how the [d]inhabitants of Gibeon had [e]made peace with Israel, ...[1c] and were [f]among them; [2] that [N]they feared greatly, because Gibeon was a great city, as one of the royal cities, and because it was greater than Ai, and all the [g]men thereof were mighty. [3] Wherefore Adoni-zedek king of Jerusalem sent unto [h]Hoham king of Hebron, and unto Piram king of Jarmuth, and unto Japhia king of Lachish, and unto Debir king of Eglon, saying, ...				
		...[4] [N]Come up unto me, and help me, and let us smite Gibeon: for it hath [e]made peace with Joshua and with the children of Israel. [5a] Therefore the five kings of the [Na]Amorites went up. ...				a 96
		[5b] And the king of Jerusalem, the king of Hebron, the king of Jarmuth, the king of Lachish, the king of Eglon, [i]gathered themselves together, [j]they and all their hosts[j], and [k]encamped against Gibeon, and made war against it. [6a] And the [l]men of Gibeon sent unto Joshua to the [m]camp to Gilgal, saying, [n]Slack not thy hand from [b]thy servants;				b 73
		... [6b] come up to us [c]quickly,				c 43[c]
		...[6c] [N]and save us, ...				
		[6d] and help us: for all the kings of the [a]Amorites [o]that dwell in the hill country are [p]gathered together against us.				
		[7a] So Joshua went up from Gilgal, he, and [q]all the people of war with him.				
		[7b] And [r]all the mighty men of valour. [8] And Yahweh said unto Joshua, [s]Fear them not: for I have [d]delivered them into thine hands; there shall not a man of them [t]stand before thee.				d 52
		[9] [T]And Joshua came upon them [u]suddenly; [N][for] he went up from Gilgal all the night.				
		...[10a] And Yahweh [v]discomfited them before Israel.				

9[25] This phrase, cp Gen 16[6], and 'thy servants' [24] cp [JE]73, suggest a possible J base for these verses.

[27] The words 'unto this day &c' sound extremely abrupt, and are in fact incompatible with the first part of the verse, as Joshua had nothing to do with the Gibeonites' functions as temple-servants in Jerusalem. Steuern adopts the additional clause of 𝔊, 'so the Gibeonites became hewers of wood and drawers of water for the altar of Yahweh' unto this day &c.

10[1a] The narrative of the battle with the five kings again offers difficult problems. Some (e g Addis, *Hex* i 219[1]) regard it as substantially unitary. It has also, however, been frequently divided into two parts at [15]; the main story [1–11 15] being then assigned to **E**, with a supplement [16–27] derived from **J** (so Albers, Budde, and Kittel, *Hist* i 304[4 5]). The ascription of [16–27] to **J** has much in its favour cp [16N]. But if this be accepted, it is plain that the story of the flight presupposes a prior narrative of a defeat. A careful examination of [1–11] seems to reveal traces of amalgamation. In [1b 4b] occur allusions to the peace made by the inhabitants of Gibeon cp 9[3 15a], which may be referred by the results in 9 to **E**. The presence of **E** elements is further confirmed by reference to the kings of the Amorites 'inhabitants' of the hill-country [6]. These are specified as five [5a], but the localities immediately named do not correspond to the designation, and in [16–27] the name Amorite does not occur. It may be conjectured, accordingly, that the enumeration in [5b 23] is not from the same hand as [6d]; and this note of distinction is emphasized by the different words for 'gathered' in [5b] and [6b] (אסף and קבץ). Further doublets may be remarked in 'inhabitants of Gibeon' [1b] and 'men of Gibeon' [6a] cp 8[20 24], 'save us' and 'help us' [6], 'discomfited' and 'smote them with a great smiting' [10], 'the ascent of Beth-horon' [10] and 'the descent' [11]. These last verses indeed seem to contain separate accounts of the overthrow of the allies. In one story the king of Jerusalem and his four royal comrades are defeated at Gibeon, and pursued to Makkedah, where they are dragged from their hiding-place and executed: in the other, five Amorite kings from the hill country are discomfited at Gibeon; during their flight to Azekah their troops are overpowered by a great hail-storm, the kings presumably perishing in the rout. The combined narrative has been handled by R^d [1b 8 12 25], but the Priestly Redactor seems to have left it untouched.

[1a'] 𝔊 Adoni-bezek cp Judg 1[5], which Budde prefers, *Richter* 63..

[1a''] So 𝔖 **M**. **T** *utterly destroyed*. Cp 8[26] 6[21]; or is it a touch of R^d, like the following clause?

[2] The plural is somewhat awkward, for who are 'they'? It would seem that a portion of J's opening has been curtailed. 'And because it was greater than Ai' wanting in 𝔊.

[4] The message in [4] 'come up to me and help me' finds a duplicate in [6b]: and as it is closely connected with indications of **E** [4b 5a], it is itself assigned to that source.

[5a] 𝔊 *Jebusites*. The curious order of 𝔖 here 'and gathered themselves together and went up, the five kings of the Amorites, the king of Jerusalem' &c suggests some conflation of sources. The text may be decomposed into the statement that the Amorite kings 'went up' cp [4], while the supporters of Adoni-zedek assembled and encamped against Gibeon.

[6c] The words interrupt the sequence 'come up' and 'help' cp [4]: 'save' is nowhere else used by **E**, cp Ex 2[17] 14[30] **J**, Deut 20[4] 22[27 28 29 31] **D**, Josh 22[22] P^{s*}.

[9a] 𝔖 as in [10]. **T** *Joshua therefore*.

[9b] 𝔖 'All the night went he up from Gilgal,' as if an editorial explanation of the suddenness of the attack.

J E R[d] J E P[s]

v Cp 20 Num 11[33] ℌ

10[b] And he [v]slew them with a great slaughter[v] at Gibeon, and chased them by the way of the ascent of Beth-horon, [N]*and smote them to Azekah*, and unto Makkedah.

11 And it came to pass, as they fled from before Israel, while they were in the [x]going down of Beth-horon, that Yahweh cast down great stones from heaven upon them unto Azekah, and they died: they were more which died with the hailstones than they whom the children of Israel slew with the sword.

x Ct *the ascent* 10b cp 7[5]

y 8 cp Deut 1[20]

12 [N]Then spake Joshua to Yahweh in the day when Yahweh [y]delivered up the Amorites before the children of Israel; and he said in the [e]sight of Israel,

e 43[a]

Sun; [M]stand thou still upon Gibeon;
And thou, Moon, in the valley of Aijalon.
13 And the sun stood still, and the moon stayed,
Until the nation had avenged themselves of their enemies.
Is not this written in the book of [M]Jashar? And the sun stayed in the midst of heaven, and [z]hasted not to go down about a whole day. 14 And there was [a']no day like that before it or after it, that Yahweh [N]hearkened unto the voice of a man: for Yahweh [f]fought for Israel.

z Cp Gen 19[15]
a' Cp Ex 9[18] 24[b] 10[6b] 14 11[6]

f P[45]

15 [N]And Joshua returned, and [g]all Israel with him, unto the camp to Gilgal.

g 2[a]

b' Gen 3[8]

16 [N]And these five kings fled, and [b']hid themselves in the cave at Makkedah. 17 And it was [h]told Joshua, saying, The five kings are found,

h 21[8b]

c' Gen 29[3]
d' Gen 39[4.] 41[34]

hidden in the cave at Makkedah. 18 And Joshua said, [c']Roll great stones unto the mouth of the cave, and [d']set men by it for to keep them: 19 but

e' Gen 19[17] 45[9]
f' Deut 25[18]†

[e']stay not ye; pursue after your enemies, and [f']smite the hindmost of them; [N]suffer them not to enter into their cities: for [i]Yahweh your God hath [d]delivered them into your hand. 20 And it came to pass, when Joshua and

i 1[a]

g' 8[24]

the children of Israel had [g']made an end of [w]slaying them with a very great slaughter, [g']till they were consumed, *and the* [N]*remnant which remained of them had entered into the* [h']*fenced cities*, 21 that all the people returned [N]to the camp to Joshua at Makkedah in peace: none [M]moved his tongue against any of the children of Israel. 22 Then said Joshua, Open the mouth of the cave, and bring forth those five kings unto me out of the cave. 23 [N]And they

h' 19[35] ct 14[12] ℌ

i' Cp 8 5

did so, and brought forth those five kings unto him out of the cave, [i']the king of Jerusalem, the king of Hebron, the king of Jarmuth, the king of Lachish, the king of Eglon. 24 And it came to pass, when they brought forth those kings unto Joshua, that Joshua called for all the

j' 9[6]
k' ℌ[κ] Judg 11[6]

[j']men of Israel, and said unto the [k']chiefs of the men of war which went with him, Come near, put your feet upon the necks of these kings. And they came near, and put their feet upon the necks of them.

l' Cp 8[1]
m' 1[6 9]
n' Cp 4[23] 9[9b]

25 And Joshua [l']said unto them, [J]Fear not, nor be dismayed; [m']be [k]strong and of good courage: for thus shall Yahweh [m']do to all your enemies [N]against whom ye fight.

j 44[c]
k 106[a]

o' 11[17]

26 And [N]afterward Joshua [o']smote them, and put them to death[o'], and

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10[10b] This clause with its second ויכם 'and he slew them' seems to indicate another hand, and may be an editorial touch founded on the story of the flight to Azekah 11. In 16.. the fugitives make for Makkedah and still onwards 18.. On 11, sequel of 10[a], cp 1[aN].

12[a] The citation from the Book of Jashar and the prose story in 16[b] appear to belong to another cycle of traditions, unrelated to the story of the great hailstorm 11. The present form of 12 is generally admitted to owe something to R[d]. For the style of opening with אז and impf cp 8[30] 22[1] R[d], but also Ex 15[1] Num 21[17] J. Kittel, *Hist* i 302[3], proposes to render 'spake Joshua of Yahweh,' in praise of Yahweh, the song not being addressed to him but to the sun and moon. 12[b] M ℌ *be silent.*

13 M Or, *The Upright.* See 2 Sam 1[18].—Cp *Introd* II 1ε, i 19. This clause is wanting in 𝔊.

14 The opening of 14 shows no parallel with D, but the phrase 'hearken to the voice' is common to D and JE D58[a] and [JE]44[b]: and while J uses the expression 'fight' of Yahweh Ex 14[25], it is frequent in D cp below 42 23[3 10] Deut 1[30] 3[22] 20[4]. The hand of R[d], therefore, may have been at work here.

15 This verse is identical with 43 and may have been inserted here by accidental anticipation. 𝔊 does not contain it. Other critics regard it as marking a close of a section: thus Dillm connects it with 12–14 due to R[d] in its present form, while Albers and Kittel attach it to 1–11.

16 In 16–27 numerous parallels occur with other passages independently assigned to J. Cp especially 21 'none whetted his tongue' Ex 11[7], 'men of Israel' 24 9[6b], and the account of the execution of the kings 26. ‖ 8[29].

19 Probably an addition of R[d]. For 'suffer' = 'give' cp Deut 18[14] and [JE]11[8]. In the last clause the evidence is clearer.

20 ℌ pl, ct 28.. sg. Pl only in Jer 31[2] Obad 14 Joel 2[32] Job 27[15]. The verb 'remain' occurs nowhere else. 'Fenced cities' only in 19[35] (29) Num 32[17 36] P. The construction is peculiar, so that the text is doubtful.

21[a] Not in 𝔊. Nothing has been said of an encampment at Makkedah. The word is probably due to a scribe's accidental association with 'returned to the camp' 15 43.

21[b] M ℌ *whetted.*—Cp J Ex 11[7]†.

23 𝔊 does not contain 'and they did so.' Possibly supplemental.

25 ℌ = *with*: אותם for אתם as often in Jer Kings &c. Cp 14[12].

26 The adverb stands in an unusual place in ℌ, and is unre-

J E R[d] J E P[s]

[p'] hanged them on five trees: and they were hanging upon the trees until the evening. [27] And it came to pass at the time of the [p']going down of the sun, that Joshua commanded, and they took them down off the trees, and cast them into the cave wherein they had hidden themselves, and laid great stones on the mouth of the cave, [N]*until this very day.*

[28] [N]And Joshua took Makkedah on that day, and [q']smote it with the edge of the sword, and the [r']king thereof; he [T]devoted them and all the [N]*souls* that were therein, he [s']left none remaining: and he [t']did to the king of Makkedah as he had done unto the king of Jericho.

[29] And Joshua passed from Makkedah, [u']and [g]all Israel with him, unto Libnah, and fought against Libnah: [30] and Yahweh [d]delivered it also, and the king thereof, into the hand of Israel; and he [N]smote it with the edge of the sword, and all the *souls* that were therein: he left none remaining in it; and he did unto the king thereof as he had done unto the king of Jericho.

[31] And Joshua passed from Libnah, and all Israel with him, unto Lachish, and encamped against it, and fought against it: [32] And Yahweh delivered Lachish into the hand of Israel, and he took it on the second day, and smote it with the edge of the sword, and all the *souls* that were therein, according to all that he had done to Libnah.

[33] Then Horam king of Gezer came up to [v']help Lachish; and Joshua smote him and his people, until he had left him none remaining.

[34] And Joshua passed from Lachish, and all Israel with him, unto Eglon; and they encamped against it, and fought against it; [35] and they took it on that day, and smote it with the edge of the sword, and all the *souls* that were therein he [T]devoted that day, according to all that he had done to Lachish.

[36] And Joshua went up [N]from Eglon, and all Israel with him, unto Hebron; and they fought against it: [37] and they took it, and smote it with the edge of the sword, [N]and the king thereof, and all the cities thereof, and all the *souls* that were therein; he left none remaining, according to all that he had done to Eglon; but he [T]devoted it, and all the *souls* that were therein.

[38] And Joshua returned, and all Israel with him, to Debir; and fought against it: [39] and he took it, and the king thereof, and all the cities thereof; and they smote them with the edge of the sword, and [T]devoted all the *souls* that were therein; he left none remaining: as he had done to Hebron, so he did to Debir, and to the king thereof; [N]as he had done also to Libnah, and to the king thereof.

[40] So Joshua smote [w']all the land, the hill country, and the South, and the lowland, and the slopes, and all their kings; he left none remaining: but he [T]devoted [x']all that breathed, as Yahweh, the [y']God of Israel, commanded. [41] [N]And Joshua smote them from Kadesh-barnea even unto Gaza, and all the [z']country of Goshen, even unto Gibeon. [42] And all these kings and their land did Joshua take at one time, because Yahweh, the God of Israel, [f]fought for Israel. [43] [N]And Joshua returned, and all Israel with him, unto the camp to Gilgal.

11[1] [N]And it came to pass, [a]when Jabin king of Hazor heard thereof, that he [b]sent to Jobab king of Madon, and to the king of Shimron, and to the king of Achshaph,

p' 8[29]

q' 30 32 35 37 39 Deut 13[15] 20[13] cp JE 15[0]
r' 30 37 39 6[2]
s' 30 33 37 39. 8[22]
t' 30 35 39 8[2] 10[1]
u' 31 34 36 38 43 7[24]

v' 10[4]

w' 11[16] 12[8]

x' 11[11 14] Deut 20[16].
y' 7[13]
z' ℌ = *land* 11[16]

a 10[1]
b 10[3]

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presented in ℌ. Is the following phrase original? Cp 11[17] and the narrative in 8[29]. [27] also shows parallels with D as in 8[29].

10[27] The formula 'this self-same day' is elsewhere peculiar to P cp 5[11] and [P]13[8]. Other signs of R[p] may be seen in [20b] and probably in [28 30 35 37 39].

[28a] The generalized summary of the conquest of Southern Canaan appears to owe its present form and position to R[d]. What earlier material may lie beneath it cannot now be determined. But it is probable that it is founded on older detail. The capture of Makkedah [28] is the natural sequel of the previous story: and the aid brought by the king of Gezer to Lachish [33] breaks the monotonous uniformity of the record. But in [37] the king of Hebron, already executed at Makkedah, perishes a second time. Is this accidental oversight, or does it represent a different tradition *? On the other hand, while Hebron, Lachish and Eglon are mentioned, nothing is said of Jerusalem and Jarmuth. On the whole it does not seem possible to sift out the data which R[d] may have derived from prior sources: and the passage is therefore ascribed entire to the Deuteronomic redaction. On touches by R[p] cp [28cN]. For another account of the capture of Hebron and Debir cp 14[13–19].

[28b] [35 37 39 40] So M ℌ. T *utterly destroyed.*

[28c] The use of the term 'soul' for 'person' is a recognized characteristic of P cp [P]14[6]. Its appearance here and in [30 32 35 37 39] seems to be due to R[p]. In [40] the Deuteronomic formula 'all that breathed' has been left standing, ℌ *πᾶν ἐνπνέον.* This formula remains in ℌ in [28 30 35 37 39], in place of the usual rendering for 'soul' viz *ψυχή.* ℌ therefore translated from a text which still retained 'all that breathed' in each passage.

[30] A similar construction in [32. 37ab 39] Deut 11[6] 15[16]. Cp Driver 'Joshua' in Smith's *DB*[2] vol i pt ii 181[5][8], and *Notes on Samuel* 1 Sam 5[10]. [36] Absent from ℌ.

[37] ℌ omits. Ct on the one hand [23]. and on the other 14[14] where Hebron is in the possession of the three sons of Anak.

[39] Absent from ℌ. [41] 'And Joshua smote them' ℌ om.

[43] Absent like [15] from ℌ. Some critics have assigned the verse to JE. But its form seems clearly derived from R[d] cp [29 31 34 36 38].

11[1] The account of the overthrow of the confederation led by Jabin king of Hazor at the waters of Merom, seems due to the hand which recorded the similar disaster to the kings allied with Adoni-zedek of Jerusalem 10[1 3] &c: see in particular the parallels to 11[1 4 7]. It is therefore assigned to J, and further parallels in [4 6] confirm the ascription. But it has been expanded by R[d], whose additions may be seen in [2. 10...], possibly in [6], and more clearly in [8].

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* As ℌ omits 'and the king thereof' in [28] and [37], Steuernagel conjectures that similar omissions in the MT of [32 35] are due to corresponding imperfect attempts to bring the different narratives into accord.

J	E	R^d	J	E	P^s	
		2 and to the kings that were on the north, in the [c]hill country, and in the Arabah south of Chinneroth, and in the lowland, and in [N]the heights of Dor on the west, 3 to the [d]Canaanite on the east and on the west, and the Amorite, and the Hittite, and the Perizzite, and the Jebusite in the hill country, and the [e]Hivite under Hermon in the land of Mizpah.				
		4 And they went out, [f]they and all their hosts with them, [g]much people, even as the [h]sand that is upon the sea shore in [i]multitude, with horses and chariots very many. 5 And all these kings met together; and they came and pitched together at the [j]waters of Merom, to fight with Israel. 6 And Yahweh said unto Joshua, [k]Be not afraid [l]because of them: for [m]to-morrow at this time[m] will I [n]deliver them up all slain before Israel: thou shalt [o]hough their horses, and burn their chariots with fire. 7 So Joshua came, and [p]all the people of war with him, against them by the [j]waters of Merom [q]suddenly, and fell upon them. 8 And Yahweh [a]delivered				a P^{52}
		them into the hand of Israel, and they [r]smote them, and [r]chased them unto great Zidon, and unto Misrephoth-maim, and unto the valley of Mizpeh eastward; and they smote them, until they [s]left them none remaining. 9 And Joshua did unto them [t]as Yahweh bade him: he [o]houghed their horses, and burnt their chariots with fire.				
		10 [N]And Joshua turned back [b]at that time, and took Hazor, and smote the king thereof with the sword: for Hazor [u]beforetime was the head of all those kingdoms. 11 And they smote all the [v]*souls* that were therein with the edge of the sword, [T]devoting them: there was none left that [w]breathed: and he burnt Hazor with fire. 12 And all the cities of those kings, and all the kings of them, did Joshua take, and he smote them with the edge of the sword, and [T]devoted them; [x]as Moses the [y]servant of Yahweh commanded. 13 [c]But as for the cities that stood on their mounds, Israel burned none of them, [z]save Hazor only; that did Joshua burn. 14 And all the [a']spoil of these cities, [N]and the cattle, the children of Israel [d]took for a prey unto themselves; but every man they smote with the edge of the sword, [b']until they had [e]destroyed them, neither left they any that [w]breathed. 15 [x]As Yahweh commanded Moses his servant, so did Moses command Joshua: and so did Joshua; [M]he left nothing undone of all that Yahweh commanded Moses.				b 110 c 84 d 89 e 34^a
		16 So Joshua took [c']all that land, the hill country, and all the South, and all the [d']land of Goshen, and the lowland, and the Arabah, and the hill country of Israel, and the lowland of the same; 17 from [M]mount Halak, that goeth up to Seir, even unto [e']Baal-gad in the valley of Lebanon unto mount Hermon: and all their kings he took, and smote them, and put them to death. 18 Joshua made war [f']a long time with all those kings. 19 There was not a city [N]that [g']made peace with the children of Israel, save the Hivites the inhabitants of Gibeon: they took all in battle. 20 For it was of Yahweh to [M]harden their hearts, to come against Israel in battle, that he might [T]devote them, that they [M]might have no favour, but that he might [d]destroy them, [N]*as Yahweh commanded Moses.*				
		21 [N]And Joshua came [b]at that time, and [h']cut off the [f]Anakim from the hill country, from [i']Hebron, from [j']Debir, from [k']Anab, and from all the hill country of Judah, and from all the hill country of Israel: Joshua [T]devoted them with their cities. 22 There was none of the [f]Anakim left in the land of the children of Israel: only in [l']Gaza, in Gath, and in Ashdod, did some remain.				f 4
		23 [N]So Joshua took [m']the whole land, according to all that Yahweh [g]spake unto				g 91

11² **M** Or, *Naphoth Dor*.

10 A summary of the northern conquest corresponding to 10^{28-42} in the South. It has been surmised that in 10–12 R^d has incorporated some older material. On the other hand 13 reads like a subsequent qualification. Its connexion with **D** is obvious enough; as it is not clear that it is of really later origin than the context, it is not marked by distinction in type. Its characteristics are sufficiently explained if more ancient data lie beneath 10–12.

11 12 So **M** 𝔊. **T** *utterly destroying, utterly destroyed.*

14 Wanting in 𝔊.

15 **M** 𝔊 *he removed nothing.*

17 **M** Or, *the bare mountain.*—Cp 12^7.

19 𝔊 *that Israel did not take*, omitting *save . . . Gibeon*; this clause may be a later gloss.

20a **M** 𝔊 *make strong.*—Dillm, *NDJ* 677, cites the phrase in proof of the affinities of R^d with the earlier **P**: it is not **D**'s usual phrase cp Deut 2^{30} אמץ; but as it is also used by **JE** cp Ex 4^{21}, the comparison has little value.

20b So **M** 𝔊. **T** *utterly destroy.*

20c **M** Or, *might not sue for favour.*—Cp Ezr 9^8. 𝔊 'favour' cp 1 Kings $8^{28\ 32}$. . = 'supplication.' Cp *ante* p 314 § 4 3γ.

20d This formula, found here only in R^d compared with more than thirty occurrences in $P^{\ P}189^c$, may be due to R^P. R^d uses a different phrase cp 23.

21a The continuity of 21–23 with 16–20 has been often doubted. Linguistically, it plainly belongs to the school of **D**. But in relating the capture of Hebron and Debir $10^{36\ 38}$, no mention was made of the Anakim. Moreover in 14^{12}. where the hand of R^d is clear, the reduction of the Anakim in Hebron is attributed to Caleb cp 15^{13-19}. Further in 23 the conquest is stated to be complete, and the division of the land begins. But in 13^6 the arrangement of the inheritances has still to be effected. It seems better therefore to regard this as the supplemental assertion of another writer in the same Deuteronomic school.

21b So **M** 𝔊. **T** *utterly destroy.*

23 𝔊 as in 16. The entire conquest is here summed up, in preparation for the distribution cp 12^7.

J E R[d] J E P[s]

Moses; and Joshua gave it for an inheritance unto Israel [n']according to their divisions [h]by their tribes. And the land [o']had rest from war.

h] 11[2b]

12[1] [N]Now these are the kings of the land, whom the children of Israel smote, and [a]possessed their land [b]beyond Jordan [a]toward the sunrising, [b]from the valley of Arnon unto mount Hermon, and [c]all the Arabah eastward: [2] [d]Sihon king of the Amorites, who dwelt in Heshbon, and ruled from [e]Aroer, which is on the edge of the valley of Arnon, and [M][the city that is in] the [f]middle of the valley, and half [g]Gilead, even unto the river [f]Jabbok, the border of the children of Ammon; [3] and the Arabah unto the sea of [h]Chinneroth, eastward, and unto the sea of the Arabah, even the Salt Sea, eastward, the way to [i]Beth-jeshimoth; and on the south, under the [c]slopes of Pisgah: [4] and the border of Og king of Bashan, of the [j]remnant of the Rephaim, who dwelt at [k]Ashtaroth and at Edrei, [5] and ruled in mount Hermon, and in [l]Salecah, and in all Bashan, unto the border of the [m]Geshurites and the Maacathites, and half Gilead, the border of Sihon king of Heshbon. [6] Moses the [n]servant of Yahweh and the children of Israel smote them: and Moses the servant of Yahweh gave it for a [d]possession unto the [o]Reubenites, and the Gadites, and the half [e]tribe of Manasseh.

a 88
b 21[a]
c 8[a]
d 88[c]
e 11[2]

[7] And these are the kings of the [N]land whom Joshua and the children of Israel smote beyond Jordan westward, from [p]Baal-gad in the valley of Lebanon even unto [M]mount Halak, that goeth up to Seir; and Joshua gave it unto the [e]tribes of Israel for a [d]possession according to their [q]divisions; [8] in the [r]hill country, and in the lowland, and in the Arabah, and in the [c]slopes, and in the wilderness, and in the South; the [s]Hittite, the Amorite, and the Canaanite, the Perizzite, the Hivite, and the Jebusite: [9] the king of Jericho, one; the king of Ai, which is beside Beth-el, one; [10] the king of Jerusalem, one; the king of Hebron, one; [11] the king of Jarmuth, one; the king of Lachish, one; [12] the king of Eglon, one; the king of Gezer, one; [13] the king of Debir, one; the king of Geder, one; [14] the king of Hormah, one; the king of Arad, one; [15] the king of Libnah, one; the king of Adullam, one; [16] the king of Makkedah, one; the king of Beth-el, one; [17] the king of Tappuah, one; the king of Hepher, one; [18] the king of Aphek, one; the king of [N]Lassharon, one; [19] the king of Madon, one; the king of Hazor, one; [20] the king of Shimron-meron, one; the king of Achshaph, one; [21] the king of Taanach, one; the king of Megiddo, one; [22] the king of Kedesh, one; the king of Jokneam in Carmel, one; [23] the king of Dor in [M]the height of Dor, one; the king of [M]Goiim in Gilgal, one; [24] the king of Tirzah, one: all the kings thirty and one.

13[1] [NL]Now Joshua was [a]old and well stricken in years[a], and Yahweh said unto him, Thou art old and well stricken in years, and there remaineth yet [b]very much land to be [c]possessed.

[2] This is the land that yet remaineth: all the [d]regions of the Philistines, and all the Geshurites; [3] from [M]the Shihor, which is before Egypt, even unto the border of Ekron northward, [which] is counted to the Canaanites: the [e]five lords of the Philistines; the [f]Gazites, and the Ashdodites, the Ashkelonites, the Gittites, and the Ekronites; [4] [M]also the [g]Avvim, on the south: all the

12[1] R[d] here inserts a list of the kings conquered by Joshua east and west of the Jordan. The summary in [1-6] is founded on the narrative in Deut 2-3, [5] being apparently later than Deut 3[14]. The source of the list in [9-24] is unknown. The enumeration at first follows the account of Joshua's campaigns 6-·, but it further specifies a number of kings who are not mentioned in other similar surveys; e g those of [13] Geder, [14] Hormah, Arad, [15] Adullam, [16] Bethel, [17] Tappuah, Hepher, [18] Aphek of the Sharon (𝔊), [21] Taanach, Megiddo, [22] Kadesh, Jokneam, [24] Tirzah. For Dor [23] cp 11[2]: 'Goiim in Gilgal' cp [23bN].

2 M See Deut 2[36].

7a (𝔊 *Amorites* cp 10[5a] 6b. In 24[12] (𝔊 corrects to *twelve*. If that reading be accepted E's figure was afterwards expanded by R[d]. 7b M See 11[17].

18 𝔗 'king over the Sharon' (or plain). The preposition ל shows that this is not the name of a city cp 22·. The comparison of (𝔊 points to the original reading (Wellh Holl Dillm) 'the king of Aphek in Sharon, one.' The number of kings is thus reduced to thirty. (𝔊 drops another out of 19.

23a M Or, *Naphath-dor.*

23b M Or, *nations.*—Dillm, Oettli, Driver, Addis, Bennett, Steuern follow (𝔊 in reading 'the nations in Galilee.'

13[1] The second half of Joshua relates the allotment of the newly conquered land, chiefly on the basis of P. But at the outset 13[1-7] a difficulty occurs. The implication of [1] is that the conquest is as yet far from complete. This verse cannot therefore belong to the expansions of R[d] which are founded on the view that the whole land was subdued by Joshua: it must be derived from an older source, and literary parallels point to J. But in [2-6] R[d] explains the previous statement in a quite different sense as applying to remote outlying regions in the south and north. Yet again in [7] these distant patches are to be distributed among the nine and a half tribes which settle west of the Jordan. Plainly [2-6] is not really related to [1] and [7], for the land to be divided in [7] is not that described in [2-6]. Kuenen accordingly (*Hex* 135) suggested that [1] was originally connected with 18[2], and referred to the land which had still to be conquered when Judah and Joseph (Judges 1[2]·· 22. ·) had secured their positions. In some fragments still preserved in Joshua and generally ascribed to J cp [13N], various places are enumerated which the Israelites failed to reduce, but they are quite different from those named in [2-6]. R[d] in transferring [1] and [7] from their context failed to bring them into harmony with the situation as he conceived it, though he probably raised the number of seven tribes up to nine and a half.

3 M Commonly called, *the brook of Egypt.* See Num 34[5].—It may, however, be doubted whether the significance of this name elsewhere, Is 23[3] Jer 2[18] 1 Chron 13[5]†, permits this identification. Cp Dillm *in loc.*

4 M Or, *also the Avvim: from the south, all &c.*

J E R[d] J E P[s]

h Deut 1[7] [h]land of the Canaanites, and Mearah that belongeth to the Zidonians, unto Aphek, to the border of the Amorites: [5] and the [N]land of the Gebalites, and all Lebanon, [i]toward the sunrising, from [j]Baal-gad under mount Hermon unto the [k]entering in of Hamath: [6] all the inhabitants of the hill country from Lebanon unto [l]Misrephoth-maim, even all the Zidonians; them will I [a]drive out before the children of Israel: [b]only [m]allot thou it unto Israel for an [n]inheritance, [o]as I have commanded thee.

i 1[15]
j 11[17]
k Num 13[21] 34[8]*
l 11[8]
m 23[4] Ezek 45[1] 47[22]
n 1[6]
o Ex 23[15] Deut 12[21]

a 39[b]
b 84

[7] Now therefore divide [N]this land for an inheritance unto the nine tribes, and the half tribe of Manasseh.

[8] With [N]him the Reubenites and the Gadites received their inheritance, which Moses [p]gave them, [c]beyond Jordan eastward, even as Moses the [q]servant of Yahweh gave them; [9] from [r]Aroer, that is on the edge of the valley of Arnon, and the city that is in the middle of the valley, and all the [M]plain of Medeba unto Dibon; [10] and all the cities of Sihon king of the Amorites, which [s]reigned in Heshbon, unto the border of the children of Ammon; [11] and Gilead, and the border of the [t]Geshurites and Maacathites, and all mount Hermon, and all Bashan unto Salecah; [12] all the [N]kingdom of Og in Bashan, which [s]reigned in [u]Ashtaroth and in Edrei (the same was left of the remnant of the Rephaim); for these did Moses smite, and drave them out.

p Deut 3[12]
q 1[1]
r 12[2]
s Cp 12 21
t 12[5]
u 12[4]

c 21[a]

[13] [NT]And the children of Israel drave not out the Geshurites, nor the Maacathites: but Geshur and Maacath [v]dwelt [d]in the midst of Israel, [e]unto this day.

v 15[63] 16[10]

d 26
e 142[b]

[14] [b]Only unto the [f]tribe of Levi he gave none inheritance; [N]*the offerings of* Yahweh, the [w]God of Israel, *made by fire are* his inheritance, [g]as he spake unto him.

f 112
g 91
w 7[13]

[15] [N]And Moses gave unto the [h]tribe of the children of Reuben [i]according to their families. [16] And their border was from [r]Aroer, that is on the edge of the valley of Arnon, and the city that is in the middle of the valley, and all the [M]plain by Medeba; [17] Heshbon, and all her cities that are in the [M]plain; Dibon, and Bamoth-baal, and Beth-baal-meon; [18] and Jahaz, and Kedemoth, and Mephaath; [19] and Kiriathaim, and Sibmah, and Zereth-shahar in the mount of the valley; [20] and Beth-peor, and the [M]slopes of Pisgah, and Beth-jeshimoth; [21] and all the cities of the [M]plain, and all the kingdom of Sihon king of the Amorites, [N]which [s]reigned in Heshbon, [N]*whom Moses smote with the* [x]*chiefs of Midian,* [y]*Evi, and Rekem, and Zur, and Hur, and Reba, the* [z]*princes of Sihon, that dwelt in the land.* [22] *Balaam also the son of Beor, the soothsayer, did the children of Israel* [y]*slay with the sword among the rest of their slain.* [23] And the border of the children of Reuben was Jordan, and the border [thereof]. [j]This was the inheritance of the children of Reuben [i]according to their families, the cities and the [a']villages thereof.

h 165
i 65[b]
x ℌ=*princes* P131
y Num 31[8]
z ℌ Mic 5[4] Ezek 32[30] Ps 83[11] (Dan 11[8])†
j 188[b]
a' Gen 25[16]

[24] And Moses gave unto the [h]tribe of Gad, unto the children of Gad, [i]according to their families. [25] And their border was Jazer, and all the cities of Gilead, and half the land of the children of Ammon, unto Aroer that is [k]before Rabbah; [26] and from Heshbon unto Ramath-mizpeh, and

k 64

13[5] The ungrammatical text seems corrupt, cp Dillm and Steuern.

[7] 'This land' obviously means the land of Canaan in the broad sense, not the separate and distant localities named in [2–6]. The verses, therefore, are discontinuous. But as J does not recognize the division of the tribe of Manasseh, and apparently sets the Manassite colonization of Gilead at a later date cp Num 32[39]..; the numerical reference must be an addition.

[8] Another breach of continuity, for according to [7] 'him' denotes the Western branch of Manasseh, and according to [8] the Eastern. On the evidence of mutilation of the text afforded by 𝔊 cp Dillm.

[9] **M** Or, *table land.*

[12] ℌ ממלכות; a peculiar form cp 21 27 30.*. Ct Deut 3[4 10 13 21].

[13] So ℌ as in 16[10]. **T** *nevertheless.* This passage, clearly cognate with 15[63] 16[10] 17[12] Judg 1[21 27]., belongs to a group of fragments of an early account of the settlement, portions of which seem to have been preserved in Judg 1. This group is universally assigned to J cp *Introd ante* p 307. The later writer of [11] included the territory of the Geshurites and Maacathites in the settlement of the Trans-jordanic tribes, though in 12[5] Deut 3[14] it is expressly said to have formed the Israelite boundary.

[14] ℌ as it stands is really ungrammatical: 𝔊 does not contain 'the fire-offerings' (apparently imported from Deut 18[1]), and simply reads 'Yahweh the God of Israel is his inheritance' cp [33] and Deut 18[2] 10[9].

[15] At this point another description of the territory allotted to the Trans-jordanic tribes is introduced. Its fresh term for 'tribe,' its recurring formulae [15 23. 28. 31]., and its sequel in 14[1–5], all connect it unmistakably with **P**. Notice the 'children of Reuben' [15], 'children of Gad' [24], for the 'Reubenites and Gadites' of [8]. 𝔊 introduces the section [15–32] by a formal title 'And this is the division which Moses divided to the children of Israel in the plains of Moab beyond the Jordan at Jericho' cp [32], which has been accepted as original by Hollenberg, Kuenen, Dillm, Bennett, Addis, Steuern,—Oettli (on the other hand) suspecting it to be derived from [32]. It is true that the term *καταμερισμός* does not occur again, 𝔊 having different renderings in 14[1] 19[51]; but as *καταμερίζω* is used in Lev 25[46] Num 32[18] 34[29] Deut 19[3] (נחל Pi Hiph Hithpa) 𝔊 may represent a formula like that in 19[51], 'these are the inheritances which Moses distributed for inheritance.'

[16 17 21] **M** Or, *table land.*—𝔊 does not contain 'by Medeba.'

[20] **M** Or, *springs.*—The only occurrence in **P** cp [P]8.

[21a] Absent from 𝔊.

[21b] A later annotator has here converted the Midianite kings of Num 31[8] into dependent allies of Sihon, and thus united the campaigns of Num 21[21–31] and 31.

J E P[s]

Betonim; and from Mahanaim unto the border of [M]Debir; 27 and in the valley, Beth-haram, and Beth-nimrah, and Succoth, and Zaphon, the rest of the kingdom of Sihon king of Heshbon, [M]Jordan and the border [thereof], unto the uttermost part of the sea of Chinnereth beyond Jordan eastward. 28 [J]This is the inheritance of the children of Gad, [l]according to their families, the cities and the [a']villages thereof.

29 [N]And Moses gave [inheritance] unto the half tribe of Manasseh: and it was for the half [h]tribe of the children of Manasseh [l]according to their families. 30 And their border was from Mahanaim, all Bashan, all the kingdom of Og king of Bashan, and all [M]the towns of Jair, which are in Bashan, threescore cities: 31 and half Gilead, and half Ashtaroth, and Edrei, the cities of the kingdom of Og in Bashan, were for the children of Machir the son of Manasseh, *even for the half of the children of Machir* [l]according to their families.

b' 14[1] 19[51] Num 34[29] ℌ† *c'* Num 34[15] **2**[b]

32 [l]These are the inheritances which Moses [b']distributed in the [m]plains of Moab, [c']beyond the Jordan at Jericho, eastward. 33 [N]*But unto the [t]tribe of Levi Moses gave none inheritance: Yahweh, the God of Israel, is their inheritance, as he spake unto them.*

a Num 34[17]

b 13[32]

14[1] [N]And [a]these are the inheritances which the children of Israel took in the [b]land of Canaan, which [c]Eleazar the priest, and [a]Joshua the son of Nun, and the [d]heads of the fathers' [houses] of the [e]tribes of the children of Israel [b]distributed unto them, 2 by the lot of their inheritance, as Yahweh [f]commanded by the hand of Moses, for the nine [e]tribes, and for the half tribe. 3 [N]For Moses had given the inheritance of the two tribes and the half tribe [g]beyond Jordan: but unto the Levites he gave none inheritance [h]among them. 4 [N]For the children of Joseph were two tribes, Manasseh and Ephraim: and they gave no portion unto the Levites in the land, save [c]cities to dwell in, with the [M]suburbs thereof for their [d]cattle and for their [i]substance. 5 [j]As Yahweh commanded Moses, so the children of Israel did, and they divided the land.

c Num 35[2]

d Gen 31[18] 34[23] 36[6]

e 10[43]

f Cp 15[17] Num 32[12] ct Num 13[6]

g Gen 30[26] Ex 32[22] Num 20[14]

6 [N]Then the children of Judah drew nigh unto Joshua in [e]Gilgal: and Caleb the son of Jephunneh the [f]Kenizzite said unto him, [g]Thou knowest the thing

l 188[a]
m 2[a]
a 188[a]
b 4[a]
c 12[b']
d 84[a]
e 165
f 180[a]
g 2[b]
h 22
i 78
j 189[c]

13[26] **M** Or, *Lidebir.*

27 **M** Or, *having Jordan for a border.*

29 Difficulties again present themselves in 29–31. The opening statement 'and Moses gave unto the half tribe of Manasseh' is obviously incomplete; moreover 'tribe' is D's word שבט 14 in contrast to P's מטה in the next clause. 𝔊 however reads as in 15 24 'and Moses gave unto the half tribe of Manasseh according to their families,' which has the merit of conformity. In 31 'half Gilead' is assigned to Eastern Manasseh, though in 25 all the cities of Gilead have been given to Gad. The introduction of the 'children of Machir' 31 is unexpected. According to P Num 26[29]. . Manasseh contained but one group of families, descended from Manasseh's only son Machir. If Manasseh was divided, therefore, half the children of Machir would be on each side of the Jordan: hence the somewhat clumsy insertion in 31[b] which 𝔊 makes still clumsier. Cp Num 32[39]. Deut 3[15]. The whole passage is probably the result of an effort to harmonize various data, and may be a late insertion (so Bennett).

30 **M** See Num 32[41].

33 A sequel added by a later hand reproducing 14 in its original form: not found in 𝔊.

14[1] At this point the compiler introduces P's description of the distribution of the land of Canaan among the nine and a half tribes. It is natural to infer from the opening and close of the narrative 14[1–5] and 19[51] that the whole distribution was made by the same persons at the same time and place, viz before the tent of meeting in Shiloh. Such a simultaneous division also appears to be contemplated in Num 34[13–29], where ten 'princes' (instead of 'heads of fathers' houses') are appointed to assist Eleazar and Joshua. But in the present arrangement Judah Ephraim and Western Manasseh receive their lots first, apparently in Gilgal 14[6], and not till 18[1] does the whole congregation assemble at Shiloh, where the lots are drawn for the remaining seven tribes. But the analysis shows that 18[1] does not belong to its present sequel 2–10; the gathering of the entire nation at Shiloh implies that all the western tribes are engaged in a common act; and the dislocation of the division into two groups spoils the symmetry of P's whole process. Dillmann therefore (followed cautiously by Driver) concedes Wellhausen's plea that 14[1–5] was originally preceded by 18[1] which stood as the introduction to P's account of the settlement. The reason for its transposition is not hard to divine. The older traditions represented the children of Judah and the house of Joseph as taking up their positions first by conquest. In combining these with the system of distribution by lot P's ideal scheme is broken in two, and his Shiloh scene is transferred to the place which it occupied in the story of JE after Judah Ephraim and Western Manasseh have already obtained their portions.

3 𝔊 omits 3a down to 'beyond Jordan' which follow 2, probably accidentally. The verse has a supplemental air and may be additional cp 4.

4a In 4 some critics find the hand of the annotator, anxious to explain how the tribes can be reckoned as twelve without including Levi, and consequently emphasizing the dual character of the house of Joseph. 4b **M** Or, *pasture lands.*—P156.

6 This passage is obviously not continuous with 1–5: the scene is in Gilgal instead of Shiloh cp 18[N]; Joshua acts alone instead of taking the second place after Eleazar; and Caleb does not as in P Num 13[6] belong to Judah; he is not an Israelite at all, but a Kenizzite. The address of Caleb to Joshua is plainly founded on the narrative in Num 13–14, but the P elements of that story are ignored; from 7. it is clear that Caleb acted alone without any aid from Joshua cp Num 13[30] ct Num 14[6]. The phraseology shows points of contact with both J[s] or RJ[e] ('wholly followed' 8. 'from the time that' 10 JE36) and E (? 'Moses the man of God' 'concerning' 6, 'brought word again' 7). But the whole representation has been recast under the influence of Deut 1[23]. . (cp 'spy out' 7, 'made the heart of the people melt' 'Yahweh my God' 8, 'thy foot hath trodden' 9, 'Anakim' 'great and fenced' 'drive them out' 12). The story, however, assumes that Hebron is not yet captured 10[36]., nor the Anakim expelled 11[21]. Another version is found in 15[13]. . In 6 an editorial attempt has been made to harmonize Caleb's language with P by inserting 'and concerning thee.'

J E R[d] J E P[s]

that Yahweh spake unto Moses the [h]man of God [k]concerning me *and concerning thee* in Kadesh-barnea. [7] Forty years old was I when Moses the [i]servant of Yahweh sent me from [j]Kadesh-barnea to [k]spy out the land; and I [l]brought him word again as it was in mine heart. [8] Nevertheless my brethren that went up with me [m]made the heart of the people melt: but I [n]wholly followed Yahweh [l]my God. [9] And Moses sware on that day, saying, Surely the land whereon thy [o]foot hath trodden shall be an inheritance to thee and to thy children for ever, because thou hast [n]wholly followed Yahweh my God. [10] And now, behold, Yahweh hath kept me alive, [m]as he spake, these [p]forty and five years, from the time that Yahweh spake this word unto Moses, while Israel walked in the wilderness: and now, lo, I am this day fourscore and five years old. [11] As [p]yet I am as strong this day as I was in the day that Moses sent me: as my strength was then, even so is my strength now, for war, and to [q]go out and to come in. [12] Now therefore give me this mountain, whereof Yahweh spake in that day; for thou heardest in that day how the [o]Anakim were there, and [r]cities great and fenced: it may be that Yahweh will be [s]with me, and I shall [r]drive them out, [m]as Yahweh spake. [13] And Joshua blessed him; and he gave Hebron unto Caleb the son of Jephunneh for an inheritance. [14] Therefore Hebron became the inheritance of Caleb the son of Jephunneh the Kenizzite, [q]unto this day; because that he [n]wholly followed Yahweh, the [t]God of Israel. [15] Now the name of Hebron [u]beforetime was [N]Kiriath-arba; [which Arba was] the greatest man among the [o]Anakim. And the [v]land had rest from war.

h Deut 33[1]
i 1[1]
j Deut 1[19]
k Deut 1[24]
l Num 13[26b] Deut 1[22]
m Deut 1[28]
n 14 Num 14[24] Deut 1[36]
o 1[3]
p Cp Deut 2[14]
q Deut 28[6]
r Deut 1[28]
s 10[25] ℌ cp [JE]13[0]
t 7[13]
u 11[10]
v 11[23]
k [JE]III
l [D]I
m [D]9I
n [JE]9I
o [D]4
p [D]39[b]
q [D]33[b]

15[1] [N]And the [a]lot for the [a]tribe of the children of Judah [b]according to their families was unto the border of Edom, even to the [c]wilderness of Zin southward, at the [b]uttermost part of the south. [2] [c]And their south border was from the [b]uttermost part of the Salt Sea, from the [M]bay that looked southward: [3] and it went out southward of the ascent of Akrabbim, and passed along to Zin, and went up by the south of Kadesh-barnea, and passed along by Hezron, and went up to Addar, and [d]turned about to Karka: [4] and it passed along to Azmon, and went out at the brook of Egypt; and the [e]goings out of the border were at the sea: [N]this shall be your south border. [5] And the east border was the Salt Sea, even unto the end of Jordan. And the border of the north [d]quarter was from the [M]bay of the sea at the [b]end of Jordan: [6] and the border went up to Beth-hoglah, and passed along by the north of Beth-arabah; and the border went up to the stone of Bohan the son of Reuben: [7] and the border went up to Debir from the valley of Achor, and so northward, looking toward Gilgal, that is [f]over against the ascent of Adummim, which is on the south side of the river: and the border passed along to the waters of En-shemesh, and the [e]goings out thereof were at En-rogel: [8] and the border went up by the valley of the son of Hinnom unto the [M]side of the [N]Jebusite southward (the same is Jerusalem): and the border went up to the top of the mountain that lieth before the valley of Hinnom westward, which is at the uttermost part of the vale of Rephaim northward: [9] and the border was [e]drawn from the top of the mountain unto the [f]fountain of the waters of Nephtoah, and went out to the cities of mount Ephron; and the border was drawn to Baalah (the same is Kiriath-jearim): [10] and the border [d]turned about from Baalah westward unto mount Seir, and passed along unto the side of mount Jearim on the north (the same is Chesalon), and went down to Beth-shemesh, and passed along by Timnah: [11] and the border went out unto the side of Ekron northward: and the border was [e]drawn to Shikkeron, and passed along to mount Baalah, and went out at Jabneel; and the [e]goings out of the border were at the sea. [12] And the west border was to the [g]great sea, and the border [thereof]. [g]This is the border of the children of Judah round about [b]according to their families.

a 14[2]
b 2 5 21 18[15] Num 34[3] ℌ
c 2-4 cp Num 34[3-5]
d 18[12]. Num 34[3]
e 11 18[14 17] 19[13] Is 44[13]†
f 18[15] Gen 7[11] cp [JE]8I
g Num 34[6]
a 165
b 65[b]
c 9
d 186
e 187
f 121

14[15] **M** That is, *the city of Arba.*—Ct 15[13]. The subsequent identification of Arba may be due to a later annotator.

15[1] With the exception of [13-19] (cp [13N]) the description of Judah's lot [1-12 20-62] is readily identified with P, showing characteristic affinities in substance and phrase, as the Margins prove. Some additions are noted in [26-28] and [45-47].

2 5 **M** ℌ *tongue.*—For the line between Judah and Benjamin [5-9] cp the description in the reverse direction 18[14-19].

4 A trace of the direct speech apparently preserved by accident in the transformation of Num 34 into narrative. Cp 34[6b 9b].

8a **M** ℌ *shoulder.*—[10]. 18[12]. [16 18]. Num 34[11].

8b 18[16 28] ct 10[1]. Cp Judg 19[10]. and Moore *in loc.*

J E R[d] J E P[s]

h 14[4]

i Gen 23[2]
j Judg 1[20]
k Num 13[22]

l Judg 1[14] 4[21]†

m Judg 1[15]†
n ℌ†

o Cp 36 41 44 51 54 57 59. 62 18[28] 19[6]. &c

[13] [N]*And unto Caleb the son of Jephunneh he* [h]*gave a portion* [h]*among the children of Judah,* [i]*according to the commandment of Yahweh to Joshua, even* [M]*Kiriath-arba,* [which Arba was] *the father of Anak (the* [i]*same is Hebron).* [14] And Caleb [j]drove out thence the three sons of Anak, [k]Sheshai, and Ahiman, and Talmai, [N]the children of Anak. [15] And he went up thence against the inhabitants of Debir: [N]now the name of Debir beforetime was Kiriath-sepher. [16] And Caleb said, He that smiteth Kiriath-sepher, and taketh it, to him will I give Achsah my daughter to wife. [17] And Othniel the son of Kenaz, the brother of Caleb, took it: and he gave him Achsah his daughter to wife. [18] And it came to pass, when she came [unto him], that she moved him to ask of her father a field: and she [l]lighted down from off her ass; and Caleb said unto her, What wouldest thou? [19] And she said, Give me a [M]blessing; for that thou hast [N]set me in the land of the South, give me also [m]springs of water[m]. And he gave her the [n]upper [n]springs and the nether springs.

h P[22]
i P[19d]

[20] [g]This is the inheritance of the [a]tribe of the children of Judah [b]according to their families.

[21] And the [b]uttermost cities of the [a]tribe of the children of Judah toward the border of Edom in the South were Kabzeel, and Eder, and Jagur; [22] and Kinah, and Dimonah, and Adadah; [23] and Kedesh, and Hazor, and Ithnan; [24] Ziph, and Telem, and Bealoth; [25] and Hazor-hadattah, and Kerioth-hezron (the same is Hazor); [26] Amam, [N]*and Shema, and Moladah;* [27] and Hazar-gaddah, and Heshmon, *and Beth-pelet;* [28] *and Hazar-shual, and Beer-sheba, and* [N]*Biziothiah;* [29] Baalah, and Iim, and Ezem; [30] and Eltolad, and Chesil, and Hormah; [31] and Ziklag, and Madmannah, and Sansannah; [32] and Lebaoth, and Shilhim, and [N]Ain, *and* Rimmon: all the cities are twenty and nine, [o]with their villages.

[33] In the lowland, Eshtaol, and Zorah, and Ashnah; [34] and Zanoah, and En-gannim, Tappuah, and Enam; [35] Jarmuth, and Adullam, Socoh, and Azekah; [36] and Shaaraim, and [N]Adithaim, and Gederah, and Gederothaim; fourteen cities with their villages.

[37] Zenan, and Hadashah, and Migdal-gad; [38] and Dilan, and Mizpeh, and Joktheel; [39] Lachish, and Bozkath, and Eglon; [40] and Cabbon, and [M]Lahmam, and Chithlish; [41] and Gederoth, Beth-dagon, and Naamah, and Makkedah; sixteen cities with their villages.

[42] Libnah, and Ether, and Ashan; [43] and Iphtah, and Ashnah, and Nezib; [44] and Keilah, and Achzib, and Mareshah; nine cities with their villages.

15[13a] An introduction by a late writer in the manner of the Priestly compiler to incorporate an older fragment concerning Caleb's settlement in South Judah. This fragment reappears in Judg 1[10]. where it is believed to belong to J's account of the conquest ct 14[6–15]. Addis, following Meyer (*ZATW* i 140) and Budde (*Richter und Sam* 4.) restores [13] in accordance with Judg 1[20 10] thus: 'And to Caleb the son of Kenaz a portion was given among the children of Israel, as Moses had spoken, namely Hebron. Then Caleb went up against the Canaanites who dwelt in Hebron—now the name of Hebron in former times was Kiriath-arba.' According to R[d]'s view of the conquest Hebron and Debir had already been captured, and all their inhabitants had been devoted 10[36–39]. Similarly in 11[21]. the Anakim had been exterminated. It is evident therefore that this passage belongs to another group of narratives. As the three sons of Anak are only named elsewhere in Num 13[22], already assigned on independent grounds to J, further confirmation is obtained for the ascription of [14–19] to that source.

[13b] **M** That is, *the city of Arba.*—Ct 14[15].

[14] Not in 𝔊 or Judg 1[10]: perhaps introduced from Num 13[22] (cp Steuern).

[15] Perhaps an annotation of R[d], cp 'beforetime' 11[10] 14[15]. On the other hand Moore allots the parallel passage in Judg 1[11] to J.

[19a] **M** Or, *present.*—Cp Gen 33[11].

[19b] **M** Or, *given me the land of the South.*

[26] A difficulty arises in this list because it contains thirty-six cities, whereas according to [32] it should not name more than twenty-nine. The solution has been found by Kayser and Hollenberg. In [28] 𝔊 reads 'her daughters' בנותיה for 'Biziothiah' בזיותיה. But this is not one of P's expressions, and therefore suggests some manipulation of the text. Now the term occurs in a list in Nehemiah 11[26]. enumerating 'Jeshua and Moladah and Beth-pelet, Hazar-shual and Beer-sheba and her daughters.' These names, therefore (Jeshua being probably represented by Shema), are supposed to have been introduced into the text by a later scribe: and six of the superfluous seven are thus identified. Beer-sheba, Moladah, and Hazar-shual are reckoned in 19[2]. to Simeon.—Steuern, however, thinks some of the names in Neh 11[26]. introduced from this passage, and obtains the reduced number by comparing the varying omissions in different codices of 𝔊.

[28] 𝔊 *and her daughters*: see preceding note.

[32] Both here and 19[7] 𝔊 represents Ain Rimmon by one word. So also does Neh 11[29] treat it as a single name, En-rimmon (Rimmon's Well). If this emendation be adopted, the proper number of cities is then obtained cp [26N].

[36] Not in 𝔊. There is again a discrepancy, fourteen cities are reckoned and fifteen are named. 𝔊 treats Gederothaim as a common noun *οἱ ἐπαύλεις αὐτῆς*, and makes up the fourteen by inserting 'Membra' between Adullam and Socoh.

[40] **M** Or, *Lahmas.*

J E P[s]

[45] [N]*Ekron, with her* [M]*towns and her villages:* [46] *from Ekron even unto the sea, all that were by the side of Ashdod, with their villages.*
[47] *Ashdod, her towns and her villages; Gaza, her towns and her villages; unto the brook of Egypt,* [N]*and the great sea, and the border* [thereof].
[48] And in the hill country, Shamir, and Jattir, and Socoh; [49] and Dannah, and Kiriath-sannah (the same is Debir); [50] and Anab, and Eshtemoh, and Anim; [51] and Goshen, and Holon, and Giloh; eleven cities with their villages.
[52] Arab, and Dumah, and Eshan; [53] and Janim, and Beth-tappuah, and Aphekah; [54] and Humtah, and Kiriath-arba (the same is Hebron), and Zior; nine cities with their villages.
[55] Maon, Carmel, and Ziph, and Jutah; [56] and Jezreel, and Jokdeam, and Zanoah; [57] Kain, Gibeah, and Timnah; ten cities with their villages.
[58] Halhul, Beth-zur, and Gedor; [59] and Maarath, and Beth-anoth, and Eltekon; six cities with their villages [N].
[60] Kiriath-baal (the same is Kiriath-jearim), and Rabbah; two cities with their villages.
[61] In the wilderness, Beth-arabah, Middin, and Secacah; [62] and Nibshan, and the City of Salt, and En-gedi; six cities with their villages.

p Ct 18[28] ... [63] [N]And as for the Jebusites, the inhabitants of [p]Jerusalem, the
q 13[13] children of Judah could not [q]drive them out: but the Jebusites [q]dwelt with the children of Judah at Jerusalem, [q]unto this day.

a Cp Judg 1[3] 16[1] [N]And the [a]lot for the children of Joseph went out from the [b]Jordan
b 1–3 ct 5–8 at Jericho, at the waters of Jericho on the east, even the wilderness, going up from Jericho through the hill country to Beth-el; [2] and it went out from [N]Beth-el to Luz, and passed along unto the border of the
c 2 Sam 15[32] [c]Archites to Ataroth; [3] and it went down westward to the border of
d 18[13] the Japhletites, unto the border of Beth-horon the [d]nether, even unto Gezer: [N]and the goings out thereof were at the sea.

14[4] 17[1] [4] [N]And the children of Joseph, [e]Manasseh and Ephraim, [a]took their inheritance. [5] And the border of the children of Ephraim [b]according to their

a 96
b 65[b]

15[45a] The difference of form in these verses suggests a difference of source, which is confirmed by the fact that in 19[43] Ekron is allotted to Dan. On the other hand, the writer seems acquainted with **P**'s formulae, 'the brook of Egypt' [47] cp [4], the sea for a border [47] cp [12]. The verses must be attributed, therefore, to the editorial process. Why Ashkelon is omitted cp Judg 1[18], and Gath, is not apparent.

[45b] **M** ℌ *daughters.*—Cp 17[11] Num 21[25 32].

[47] The unpointed ℌ text reads 'and the sea was the boundary for a boundary' (cp Num 34[6M]), i e all along. Addis adopts Kautzsch's emendation 'and the boundary was the great sea all along.'

[59] (𝔊 here adds a group of eleven cities with their villages beginning with Tekoa and Ephrathah (that is Bethlehem), in the hill country. This list is unanimously recognized as genuine, for otherwise an important district would be unaccountably ignored.

[63] This verse is not homogeneous with **P**, either in matter or form; for (1) **P** locates Jerusalem in Benjamin and not in Judah 18[28], and (2) he does not use the formulae 'drive out' 'dwell with' 'unto this day.' It resembles the group of fragments named in 13[13N], its position here being due to the Compiler.

16[1] The account of the settlement of the house of Joseph in 16–17 is plainly composite, but its constituents are very curiously combined. After the elaborate survey of the inheritance of Judah at the hand of **P**, it is natural to look for a similar delineation of the lots of Ephraim and Manasseh. Elements of **P** are to be found by common consent in 16[4–8] and 17[1–10], but the scale of description is much more contracted, and no lists of cities are appended resembling that in 15[20–62] cp 18[21]. . 19[2]. . &c. If **P** ever contained such enumerations they have been removed by the Compiler, who has not here as in other cases 18[11]–19[46] adopted large and continuous sections from this source. When the remaining passages are examined, some of them such as 16[10] 17[11–13] seem at once assignable to the group indicated in 13[13N]. What is the source of the rest? In many small matters **P** reveals its dependence on **J** just as **D** does on **E**: and it may be regarded as probable that if some of the material which cannot be ascribed to **P** be identified with **J**, the rest also may be attributed to that source. Thus in 16[1–3] the detail of the border of Ephraim is quite different from that in [5–7] cp 17[7–9]. The Editor has preserved two independent versions side by side. As the passage immediately preceding 15[63] belongs to **J** as well as the next fragment distinguishable from **P** in 16[10], it is natural to regard [1–3] as an extract from the same source. Names similar in form to the Archite and Japhletite will be found in **J** Gen 10[16–18] 15[19–21]. It is in harmony with another passage assigned to **J** 17[14–18] that the 'house of Joseph' has only one lot cp 18[5], whereas **P** distinguishes Ephraim and Manasseh, describing each separately [5–8] 17[1]. . (in [5] Manasseh is named first as the firstborn 14[4] ct Gen 48[5]). Steuern, however, assigns [1–3] to **P** as the statement of the common south boundary of both tribes: the opening of [1] he restores thus 'And the lot came out for the children of Joseph [cp 19[1 17 24 32 40]. Their border began from the Jordan' &c. This ascription leads him to expel incongruous matter in [5]. as later repetition.

[2] (𝔊 joins 'to Luz' with 'to Bethel,' thus identifying them as usual cp 18[13] Judg 1[23] Gen 28[19] 35[6].

[3] This seems to be the origin of **P**'s formula cp [8] 15[4], where, however, the term 'goings out' is applied to the boundary, not as here to the 'lot.'

[4] At this point **R** incorporates a passage from **P** who designates the children of Joseph 'Manasseh and Ephraim' (instead of Ephraim and Manasseh Gen 48[20]), strictly recognizing the primogeniture of Manasseh cp 17[1]. The description of Manasseh's lot, therefore, might be expected first. **R**, however, has assimilated the order to that of his older source, and has taken out the Ephraim section of **P** that it may stand next to the corresponding section in **J**.

families was [thus]: even the border of their inheritance eastward was [f]Ataroth-addar, unto Beth-horon the upper; [6] and the border went out westward at Michmethath on the north; and the border turned about eastward unto Taanath-shiloh, and passed along it on the east of Janoah; [7] and it went down from Janoah to Ataroth, and to Naarah, and [g]reached unto Jericho, and went out at Jordan. [8] [N]From Tappuah the border went along westward to the brook of Kanah; and the [h]goings out thereof were at the sea. [c]This is the inheritance of the [d]tribe of the children of Ephraim [a]according to their families; [9] [N]*together with the cities which were* [e]*separated for the children of Ephraim in the midst of the inheritance of the children of Manasseh,* [i]*all the cities with their villages.*

. . . [10] [N]And they [j]drave not out the Canaanites that dwelt in Gezer: but the Canaanites [j]dwelt in the midst of Ephraim, [j]unto this day, and became [k]servants to do taskwork[k].

17[1] [N]And [a][this] was the lot for the [a]tribe of Manasseh; for he was the [b]firstborn of Joseph. *As for Machir the* [c]*firstborn of Manasseh, the father of Gilead, because he was a* [d]*man of war, therefore he had* [e]*Gilead and* [N]*Bashan.* [2] *And* [the lot] *was for the rest of the children of Manasseh,* [b]*according to their families; for the children of* [g]*Abiezer, and for the children of Helek, and for the children of Asriel, and for the children of Shechem, and for the children of Hepher, and for the children of Shemida: these were the male children of Manasseh the son of Joseph* [b]*according to their families.* [3] But [h]Zelophehad, the son of Hepher, the son of Gilead, the son of Machir, the son of Manasseh, had no sons, but daughters: and these are the names of his daughters, Mahlah, and Noah, Hoglah, Milcah, and Tirzah. [4] And they came near before [c]Eleazar the priest, and before Joshua the son of Nun, and before the [d]princes, saying, Yahweh commanded Moses to give us an inheritance among our brethren: therefore [e]according to the commandment of Yahweh he gave them an inheritance among the brethren of their father. [5] [N]*And there fell ten* [M]*parts to Manasseh, beside the land of* [e]*Gilead and* [N]*Bashan, which is* [f]*beyond Jordan;* [6] *because the daughters of Manasseh* [i]*had an inheritance among his sons: and the land of Gilead belonged unto the rest of the sons of Manasseh.* [7] And the border of Manasseh was from Asher to [j]Michmethath, which is [g]before Shechem; and the border went along to the right hand, unto the inhabitants of [k]En-tappuah. [8] [N]*The land of Tappuah belonged to Manasseh: but Tappuah on the border of Manasseh belonged to the children of Ephraim.* [9] And the border went down unto the brook of [k]Kanah, southward of the brook: these cities belonged to Ephraim among the cities of Manasseh: and the border of Manasseh was on the north side of the brook, and the [k]goings out thereof were at the sea: [10] southward it was

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16[8] The text seems to have been here curtailed. How did the border get to Tappuah? Cp 17[7].

[9] As no lists of cities are included in R's excerpts from P's summary of the inheritances of Manasseh and Ephraim, many critics have assigned [9] to **JE**, and supposed that the concluding formula was added by R^P. But the curious word המברלות pleads strongly for **P** cp [P]53 as against **JE**. It is true that such an addition to the formula in [8b] is not in **P**'s style. But that formula stands in 15[20] as the beginning of an enumeration of the cities of Judah, and a similar list of the cities of Ephraim might have followed here. (In other cases, however, cp 188[b], it is placed at the close of the whole section.) Wellh suggested that the omission was due to a redaction hostile to the Samaritans, and this is quoted though with doubtful assent by Kuen. Cp the awkward clause in 17[9].

[10] 𝔊 omits this clause, but adds a reference to 1 Kings 9[16].

17[1a] The style of **P** is plain in [1a 3. 7 9ac] and probably [10]. But the other passages do not seem mutually coherent. In [1b] Machir is called the firstborn of Manasseh, while [2] mentions six more sons. Yet **P** designates Machir as Manasseh's only son Num 26[29]. He is then described by the curious title 'father of the Gilead' (i e the district) as having occupied it cp Num 32[39] **J**, and he is called 'a man of war' 10[24] **J**, 5[6] 6[3] &c **D**, not used by **P**. After **J**, Bashan also is allotted to him cp Deut 3[13] Josh 13[12 30], as here. In [2] a fresh beginning is made for the rest of the children of Manasseh who are contrasted as male with the daughters of Zelophehad in [3]. These six are identical in all but one name with the six sons of Gilead in Num 26[30–32]. Their insertion here seems due to the desire to provide Manasseh with a genealogy which would enable his tribe to hold land on both sides of the Jordan, the enumeration in Num 26[30].. being preoccupied for the Eastern settlement. The familiarity of the writer with **P**'s style may be seen in the phrases 'the rest' cp 6 21[5 20 26 34 40] (the ptcp נוחר twenty-two times altogether in **P** against once in **JE** Gen 30[36]), 'according to their families,' 'these were the male children' &c.

[1b] Dillm, insisting on the priority of **P**, here ascribes Bashan to R^d cp [1aN]. On the general question cp *ante* p 317.

[5a] The sequel of [2] combined with [3].. The annotator apparently makes up ten parts for Manasseh in Canaan by adding to the five shares of the families of Abiezer Helek Asriel Shechem and Shemida five more shares for the female descendants of Hepher [3], forgetting that they were only entitled to one between them, corresponding to that of the original brothers. The fictitious arrangement is then completed by transferring the 'rest of the children of Manasseh,' i e the five clans named in [2], from the west of the Jordan to the east, so as to harmonize with Num 26. It seems impossible to identify such a piece of systematizing with the methods of **JE**.

[5b] **M** 𝔗 *lines.*

[5c] Wanting in 𝔊.

[8] The description of the course of the border is interrupted by a note (which may have been founded on some older material in **JE**) to explain the difference between the ownership of the territory round the city, and that of the city itself. Cp 16[8].

JR[d]E P[s]

Ephraim's, and northward it was Manasseh's, and the sea was his border; and they [l]reached to Asher on the north, and to Issachar on the east.

11 [N]And Manasseh had in Issachar and in Asher [m]Beth-shean and her [M]towns, and Ibleam and her towns, and the inhabitants of Dor and her towns, [N]*and the inhabitants of En-dor and her towns,* and the inhabitants of Taanach and her towns, and the inhabitants of Megiddo and her towns, even the three [N]heights. 12 Yet the children of Manasseh could not [n]drive out [the inhabitants of] those cities; but the Canaanites [o]would dwell in that land. 13 And [h]it came to pass, [h]when the children of Israel were [p]waxen strong, that they put the Canaanites to [q]taskwork, and did not utterly drive them out.

14 [N]And the children of Joseph spake unto Joshua, saying, Why hast thou given me but one lot and one [M]part for an inheritance, seeing I am a [r]great people, forasmuch as [s]hitherto Yahweh hath [i]blessed me? 15 And Joshua said unto them, If thou be a [r]great people, get thee up to the forest, and [t]cut down for thyself there [N]*in the land of the Perizzites and of the Rephaim*; since the [u]hill country of Ephraim is too [t]narrow for thee. 16 And the children of Joseph said, The hill country [N]is not enough for us: and all the Canaanites that dwell in the land of the valley have [v]chariots of iron, both they who are in [m]Beth-shean and her towns, and they who are in the valley of Jezreel. 17 And Joshua spake unto the house of Joseph, [N][even] *to Ephraim and to Manasseh,* saying, Thou art a [r]great people, and hast great power: thou shalt not have one lot only: 18 but the hill country shall be thine; for though it is a forest, thou shalt [t]cut it down, and [N]*the goings out thereof* shall be thine: for thou shalt drive out the Canaanites, though they have [v]chariots of iron, and though they be strong.

18[1] [N]And the whole [a]congregation of the children of Israel [b]assembled themselves together at [a]Shiloh, and [c]set up the tent of meeting there: and the land was [b]subdued before them.

2 [NL]*And there remained among the children of Israel seven tribes, which*

17[11a] Another of the passages cognate with 13[13]. The linguistic indications make for **J**. On the text cp Dillm, Bennett, and Steuern.

[11b] **M** ℌ *daughters.*

[11c] This clause is absent from the parallel passage Judg 1[28], and is also absent from ℌ (together with the Taanach clause). It seems to be due to the previous mention of Dor, Endor being 'about twenty-five miles east of Dor' (Bennett).

[11d] **M** See 11[2] 12[23].

[14] The source of [14–18] has been much discussed, and the literary question is here especially closely involved with the historical. At the outset it is clear that the Joseph-tribes are regarded as still undivided ('why hast thou given me') and as having only one lot. In [17] they are designated as the 'house of Joseph,' and Dillm accordingly proposed to read 'house' for 'sons' in [14a]. From this Budde (*ZATW* vii 122··, and *Richter und Sam* 32·,·) argued that the passage originally represented a stage in the tribal history when Ephraim and Manasseh were still united, and no Manassite clans had yet occupied Gilead. Pointing out that in [15] 'the forest' is discriminated from Ephraim's territory, and that in [18] 'a hill country' (ℌ does not contain 'the') is promised them, Budde suggested that the name Gilead had originally stood there, and this is accepted by Kittel, *Hist* i 265. In that case it would seem most natural to regard the passage as one document. But Kittel, while inserting Gilead in [15] and [18], follows Dillm in attributing [14.] to **E** and [16–18] to **J**, finding a new beginning in [16]; and he affirms that 'such peculiarities of form as prove **J**'s authorship are only to be found in [16.·,]' *Hist* i 266[4]. But the divine blessing in [14] is paralleled only in **J** cp [JE]10; the term 'great people' [14. 17] which Dillm claims for **E** is found 11[4] in **J**; 'hitherto' [14] cp Ex 7[16] **J**. In [15] the vbs 'cut down' 'is too narrow' are unique instances of their respective meanings, the second occurring in another sense 10[13] ('hasted') **J** cp Gen 19[15] Ex 5[13]*. There seems no need, therefore, to refuse the whole passage to **J**, though it is difficult to decide how much is now due to editorial handiwork cp Budde's textual corrections in *Richt-Sam* 36. The fivefold כי in [18] can hardly be original; and if the view of Budde and Kittel be correct (it is adopted by Addis and Bennett) [18b] must be an addition on the transfer of the passage to its present connexion, for the occupation of Gilead would not enable the Eastern settlers to drive out the Canaanites from the Vale of Jezreel. Budde further proposes to insert here Num 32[39 41.] cp 32[39N]. With the exception of various glosses attributed to **R**[p], Steuern gives [11–18] to **J**.

[14b] **M** ℌ *line.*

[15] Wanting in 𝔊; probably a late gloss, cp Moore, *Judges* (*ICC*) 17. For 'Perizzite' cp Gen 13[7], 'Rephaim' [D]5.

[16] **M** ℌ *is not found for us.*—Cp Num 11[22].

[17] Again a possible editorial annotation: the names are not found in 𝔊.

[18] The entry of this word (fem pl) after the masc sing vb seems to break the grammatical order: it is absent from 𝔊, and is specially characteristic of **P** cp [P]87. The real subject is 'the forest.'

18[1] On the original place of this verse cp 14[1N].

[2] The description of the method by which the inheritances of the remaining tribes were settled by lot at Shiloh under Joshua's supervision, does not cohere with [1] and [11]··. The representation of **P** 14[1] 19[51] puts Eleazar in the front and Joshua in the second place; here Joshua acts with independent initiative; 10[9] and 19[51] cannot proceed from the same writer. Nöldeke assigned the passage to **D**, but though the style of **R**[d] may be traced in [3 (7 10)], the relief in which these passages stand out from their context (at least in [7]) shows that they are not really essential to the piece. It is natural therefore to look for

J E R[d] J E P[s]

had not yet [c]divided their inheritance. 3 And Joshua said unto the children of Israel, [d]How long are ye [e]slack to [d]go in to possess the [e]land, which Yahweh, the [f]God of your fathers, hath given you? 4 [f]Appoint for you three men for each tribe: [g]and I will send them[g], and they shall [h]arise, and walk through the land[h], and [i]describe it, [j]according to their inheritance; and they shall come unto me. 5 And they shall [k]divide it into seven portions: Judah shall abide in his border on the south, and the [l]house of Joseph shall abide in their border on the north. 6 And ye shall describe the land into seven portions, and bring [the description] hither to me: and I will [m]cast lots for you here before Yahweh our God. 7 For the Levites have no [n]portion among you; for the [o]priesthood of Yahweh is their inheritance: and Gad and Reuben and the half [g]tribe of Manasseh have [p]received their inheritance [q]beyond Jordan eastward, which Moses the [r]servant of Yahweh gave them. 8 And the men arose, and went: and Joshua charged them that went to describe the land, saying, Go and walk through the land, and describe it, and come again to me, and I will [m]cast lots for you here before Yahweh in Shiloh. 9 And the men went and passed through the land, and described it by cities into seven portions [s]in a book, and they [N]came to Joshua [g]unto the camp at Shiloh[g]. 10 And Joshua [m]cast lots for them in Shiloh before Yahweh: [g]and there Joshua divided the land unto the children of Israel [t]according to their divisions[g].

11 [N]And the lot of the [h]tribe of the children of Benjamin [v]came up [N1]according to their families: [N]and the border of [v]their lot went out between the children of Judah and the [w]children of Joseph. 12 And their border on

c ℌ Qal 14[5] 22[8]
d Ex 16[28] Num 14[11]*
e ℌ Hithpa Prov 18[9] 24[10]†
f Deut 1[13]*
g ℌ om
h Gen 13[17]
i ℌ *write*
j Cp P 19[b]
k ℌ Hithpa†
l 17[17]
m 8 10 ℌ†
n Deut 10[9]
o Cp P 129[b]
p 12[2-6] 13[8-12]
q Cp P 2[b]
r 1[1]
s 10[13] Deut 17[18] 31[24] ℌ ot Ex 17[14]
t 11[23]
u 19[10] Lev 16[9] ℌ
v 21[20 40]
w 16[4]

d D 53
e D 69[c]
f D 1[b]
g D 112
h 165
i 65[b]

the authorship in some antecedent of R[d]. This can hardly be J, for the conception of a deputation of twenty-one persons travelling through the country and recording its natural features and its conquered cities does not fit his picture of slow progress amid many obstacles. Nor does it really seem more congruous with the scantier traces of E's view (cp *Introd* 3 2 *ante* p 308. It obviously rests upon a theory of the subjugation of the people which was so complete as to permit the perambulation of the land by a small group of tribal representatives apparently without escort. This might be the view of a generalizing editor of the older documents: and the passage is accordingly attributed in its earlier form to R[je] (with Kuenen and Bennett). There are, however, some slight incongruities as between [5a] and [6a]; and certain notable peculiarities of language, which point in the direction of the vocabulary of R[p]. Such are [4] 'according to' לפי, [7] 'priesthood' (never in Deut) and 'beyond Jordan' מעבר לירדן (for which D writes בעבר הירדן or יבר ה׳). There are traces elsewhere of revision by a late hand of this school: has this passage been touched in the same way? The older style is seen in 'arise and walk' [4], 'house of Joseph' [5]: in other respects the phraseological parallels are mostly with R[je] and D.

18[9] ⑤, with another punctuation, 'they brought it to Joshua,' omitting the remaining words. The sanctuary is located in other passages at Shiloh, e g 18[1] P cp 1 Sam 1[3] &c, but not the camp (save in the late story Judg 21[12]). Dillm regarded Shiloh as probably harmonistic, and attributed to the same influence the occurrences in [8] (separated by the whole clause from the opening 'and here I will &c') and [10]. So likewise Steuern.

11[a] The sequel to the allotment of the seven portions at the sanctuary by Joshua [10a] would naturally be found in a description of the several inheritances. Such a description is indeed provided 18[11]–19[51]. But it is soon apparent that the greater portion of this survey (to state it in the lowest terms) is from the hand of P. The word for 'tribe' [2 7] at once changes from שבט to P's מטה cp 19[1] 23. 31 39. 48 51, with other recurring P formulae, 18[11] 20. 28 19[1] 8 10 16. 23. 31. 39. 48 51 (for additional evidence see the margins). But this general ascription is not inconsistent with the incorporation of detail from other and older sources. An ancient fragment of this kind is at once recognized in 19[47]. That an earlier statement lies at the base of [49]. is guaranteed by 24[30]. Dillm (whose results are nearly all adopted by Addis, *Hex* i 230–1) finds traces of JE in a large number of passages, including the whole or part of 19[1 8a 9–10 15 17 24 25 26 27 28 30 32 35–38 40 41 47 49–50]. The criteria for this discrimination are not definitely stated; it will be noticed, however, that there is some inequality in the superscriptions. In 18[11] 19[10] the lot 'comes up'; in 19[1 17 24 32 40] it 'comes out.' But both uses are found in P; 'came up' Lev 16[9] (*RV* 'fell'), 'came out' Josh 21[4]. Though uniformity might have been expected, this does not seem a reason for dividing the text. But further, some of the superscriptions are simple 18[11a] 19[10 24 40], others are curiously duplicated, 19[1] 'for Simeon, for the tribe &c,' [17] 'for Issachar, for the children of Issachar &c,' [32] 'for the children of Naphtali' *bis* (*RV* in each case inserts 'even'). This duplication, however, is not quite fairly represented in the English order. In [17] ℌ runs 'for Issachar came out the fourth lot, for the children of Issachar according to their families'; and similarly [32]. The last case seems to present no difficulty at all, except the inversion of the order. It is not, however, the manner of P to designate the tribes as single persons. The occurrence of the names Simeon and Issachar, therefore, by themselves, awakens suspicion. It may be due to the incorporation of older material imperfectly welded with P. If these names, then, be from another source, why not much more? There seems no reason why, except the impossibility of distinguishing it. P must have had some kind of scheme on which to base his tribal arrangements. The lists of cities were probably not his own compositions. But in the setting of the present enumeration the materials and the framework seem no longer capable of separation. A question arises, however, about the numerals 19[1 10] &c. These are now related to the arrangements for the seven tribes 18[2–10]. But P 14[1] regarded all the Western tribes as receiving their inheritances by lot. If 18[11]–19[51] belongs to this scheme, the numerals must have been introduced by the Compiler, for in P's order (where Judah and Joseph 16[4] stood first) Simeon 19[2] would have been fourth. The existing sequence produced by the incorporation of 18[2–10] must therefore be redactional. Dillm, on the other hand, attributes it to JE.—The text is often defective, but where it does not bear on the literary history problems of textual criticism lie outside the scope of this work. ⑤ appears to curtail much, especially in the superscriptions.

11[b] ⑤ adds 'first,' to correspond with 19[1] &c. On the originality of this enumeration see 11[aN].

11[c] This clause is sometimes attributed to JE on the ground of tautology with 11[a]; but even if 'went (came) out' describes the issue of the lot from the urn (Dillm), the material fact of situation between the children of Judah and those of Joseph is new. 'Children of Joseph' cannot be claimed for JE on the strength of 16[1], when P has it 16[4].

JR[d]E	P[s]	
x 15[5]	the north [x]quarter was from Jordan; and the border went up to the [M]side of Jericho on the north, and went up through the hill country westward; and	
y 7[2b]	the [j]goings out thereof were at the wilderness of [y]Beth-aven. [13] And the border passed along from thence to Luz, to the [N]side of Luz (the same is [z]Beth-el), southward; and the border went down to [a′]Ataroth-addar, by the mountain that lieth on the south of Beth-horon the nether. [14] And the	j 18[7]
z Ct 16[2]		
a′ 16[5]		
b′ 15[9]	border was [b′]drawn and turned about on the west quarter southward, from the mountain that lieth before Beth-horon southward; and the [j]goings out	
c′ 15[60]	thereof were at [c′]Kiriath-baal (the same is Kiriath-jearim), a city of the children of Judah: this was the west quarter. [15] And the south quarter was from the uttermost part of Kiriath-jearim, and the border went out westward, and	
d′ 15[9]	went out to the fountain of the waters of [d′]Nephtoah: [16] and the border went	
e′ 15[8]	down to the uttermost part of the mountain that lieth before the [e′]valley of the son of Hinnom, which is in the vale of Rephaim northward; and it went down to the valley of Hinnom, to the side of the [e′]Jebusite southward,	
f′ 15[7]	and went down to [f′]En-rogel; [17] [N]and it was [b′]drawn on the north[N], and went out at [f′]En-shemesh, and went out to Geliloth, which is [k]over against the	k 12[1]
g′ 15[6]	[f′]ascent of Adummim; and it went down to the [g′]stone of Bohan the son of	
h′ 19[46] 22[11]	Reuben; [18] and it passed along to the side [h′]over against the Arabah northward, and went down [N]unto the Arabah: [19] and the border passed along to the side of [g′]Beth-hoglah northward: and the [j]goings out of the border were at the north [M]bay of the Salt Sea, at the south end of Jordan: this was the south border. [20] And Jordan was the border of it on the east [x]quarter. [l]This was the inheritance of the children of Benjamin, [m]by the borders thereof round about, [l]according to their families. [21] Now the cities of the tribe of the children of Benjamin [l]according to their families were Jericho, and Beth-hoglah, and Emek-keziz; [22] and Beth-arabah, and Zemaraim, and Beth-el; [23] and Avvim, and Parah, and Ophrah; [24] and Chephar-ammoni,	l 18[8b] m 18[8a]
i′ 15[32]	and Ophni, and Geba; twelve cities [i′]with their villages; [25] Gibeon, and Ramah, and Beeroth; [26] and Mizpeh, and Chephirah, and Mozah; [27] and Rekem, and Irpeel, and Taralah; [28] and Zelah, Eleph, and the [e′]Jebusite (the same is Jerusalem), Gibeath, [and] Kiriath; fourteen cities [i′]with their villages. [l]This is the inheritance of the children of Benjamin [l]according to their families.	
a Cp 18[11N]	**19**[1] And the [a]*second* lot came out for Simeon, [even] for the [a]tribe of the children of Simeon [b]according to their families: and their inheritance was in the midst of the inheritance of the children of Judah. [2] And they had for their inheritance [N]Beer-sheba, or Sheba, and Moladah; [3] and Hazar-shual, and Balah, and Ezem; [4] and Eltolad, and Bethul, and Hormah; [5] and Ziklag, and Beth-marcaboth, and Hazar-susah; [6] and Beth-lebaoth, and	a 16[5] b 6[5b]
b Cp 15[32]	Sharuhen; [b]thirteen cities with their villages: [7] [N]Ain, Rimmon, and Ether, and Ashan, [b]four cities with their villages: [8] [N]and all the villages that were round about these cities to Baalath-beer, Ramah of the South. [c]This is the inheritance of the [a]tribe of the children of Simeon [b]according to their families. [9] [N]Out of the [M]part of the children of Judah was the inheritance of the	c 18[8b]
c 17[15] Num 16[3 7]	children of Simeon: for the portion of the children of Judah was [c]too much for them: therefore the children of Simeon [d]had inheritance in the midst of their inheritance.	d 9[6a]

18[12 13] **M** ℌ *shoulder.*—Cp 15[8].

18 𝔊 curtails here and in 19.

19[2] With this list cp 15[26–32]. It is exposed to the difficulty that thirteen cities are reckoned in the first group [6], but fourteen are named. This is disguised in [2] by the rendering 'or' for ℌ 'and' (𝔊 reads καὶ Σαμαά as in 15[26]), but the error may possibly lie in some accidental repetition. Other divergences are due in Dillmann's view partly to copyists' errors on one side or other, partly to possible variations in the names of the cities, and partly to more extensive employment of JE by R.

[7] In 15[32] Ain and Rimmon seem to form a compound name 'Rimmon's Well': similarly 𝔊 here. Another name, therefore, is needed to make up the four; 𝔊 supplies Θαλχά cp 1 Chron 4[32] *Tochen.*

17 𝔊 omits.

19 **M** ℌ *tongue.*

[8] This statement is not in P's form, who has already noted the villages in his usual mode. It is perhaps incorporated by R, but perhaps also by the Priestly Compiler himself. Cp 9[N].

[9a] Some of the phraseology of this verse is said to recall older sources e g 'line' cp 17[14], but it also appears in P 17[5]. רב is denied by Dillm to P in the sense of 'too much,' but occurs in Num 16[3 7]. The conclusion is almost certainly P's; for נחל without object cp [P]96[a], and for נת ן with 'inheritance' see 16[9] 17[4ab 6] 19[1] cp 17[9] 21[41] [P]22. There is therefore no reason of style for refusing the verse to P; and it enhances the explanation in [1] with a new fact. It may, however, be an editorial supplement cp 16[9].

[9b] **M** ℌ *line.*

J R[d] E P[s]

[10] And the *third* lot [d]came up for the children of Zebulun [b]according to their families: and the [e]border of their inheritance[e] was unto Sarid: [11] and their border went up westward, even to Maralah, and [f]reached to Dabbesheth; and it reached to the brook that is [e]before Jokneam; [12] and it turned from Sarid [f]eastward toward the sunrising unto the border of Chisloth-tabor; and it went out to Daberath, and went up to Japhia; [13] and from thence it passed along eastward to Gath-hepher, to Ethkazin; and it went out at Rimmon which [g]stretcheth unto Neah; [14] and the border [g]turned about it on the north to Hannathon: and the [h]goings out thereof were at the valley of Iphtah-el; [15] [N]and Kattath, and Nahalal, and Shimron, and Idalah, and Bethlehem: [b]twelve cities with their villages. [16] [c]This is the inheritance of the children of Zebulun [b]according to their families, these cities with their villages.

[17] The *fourth* lot came out [a]for Issachar, [even] for the children of Issachar [b]according to their families. [18] And their border was unto Jezreel, and Chesulloth and Shunem; [19] and Hapharaim, and Shion, and Anaharath; [20] and Rabbith, and Kishion, and Ebez; [21] and Remeth, and En-gannim, and En-haddah, and Beth-pazzez; [22] and the border [f]reached to Tabor, and Shahazumah, and Beth-shemesh; and the [h]goings out of their border were at Jordan: [b]sixteen cities with their villages. [23] [c]This is the inheritance of the [a]tribe of the children of Issachar [b]according to their families, the cities with their villages.

[24] And the *fifth* lot came out for the [a]tribe of the children of Asher [b]according to their families. [25] And [N]their border was Helkath, and Hali, and Beten, and Achshaph; [26] and Allammelech, and Amad, and Mishal; and it [f]reached to Carmel westward, and to Shihor-libnath; [27] and it [g]turned toward the sunrising to Beth-dagon, and [f]reached to Zebulun, and to the valley of Iphtah-el northward to Beth-emek and Neiel; and it went out to Cabul on the left hand, [28] and Ebron, and Rehob, and Hammon, and Kanah, even unto great Zidon; [29] and the border [g]turned to Ramah, and to [M]the fenced city of Tyre; and the border turned to Hosah; and the [h]goings out thereof were at the sea [M]by the region of Achzib: [30] Ummah also, and Aphek, and Rehob: [b]twenty and two cities with their villages. [31] [c]This is the inheritance of the tribe of the children of Asher [b]according to their families, these cities with their villages.

[32] The *sixth* lot came out [a]for the children of Naphtali, [even] for the children of Naphtali, according to their families. [33] And their border was from Heleph, from the [M]oak in Zaanannim, and Adaminekeb, and Jabneel, unto Lakkum; and the goings out thereof were at Jordan: [34] and the border [g]turned westward to Aznoth-tabor, and went out from thence to Hukkok; and it [f]reached to Zebulun on the south, and reached to Asher on the west, and to Judah at Jordan toward the sunrising. [35] And the [N]fenced cities were Ziddin, Zer, and Hammath, Rakkath, and Chinnereth; [36] and Adamah, and Ramah, and Hazor; [37] and Kedesh, and Edrei, and En-hazor; [38] and Iron, and Migdal-el, Horem, and Beth-anath, and Beth-shemesh; [b]nineteen cities with their villages. [39] [c]This is the inheritance of the [a]tribe of the children of Naphtali [b]according to their families, the cities with their villages.

[40] The *seventh* lot came out for the [a]tribe of the children of Dan [b]according to

d 18[11]
e 16[5]
f 16[7]
g 15[9]
e 64
f 56
g 186
h 187

19[15] Another incongruity, only five cities out of twelve being named. Where are the seven? Dillm supposes that at the time of the editorial compilation many of the northern cities were in ruins, and R troubled himself little about their fate. An accidental omission seems a less cumbrous hypothesis (the junction of [14] and [15] being very imperfect) cp 15[59N]. On the other hand (𝔊) omits the summary, as in 22 30 38; are these later additions?

[25] The description in [25–30] is curiously confused, the cities being enumerated in the process of tracing the border, and the enumeration being again inconsistent with the concluding number. These peculiarities doubtless point either to awkwardness of compilation, or to subsequent corruption of the text: but they do not seem available for analytical purposes.

[29a] **M** Or, *the city of Mibzar Zor*, that is, the fortress of Tyre.—Cp [35].

[29b] **M** Or, *from Hebel to Achzib.*

[33] **M** Or, *oak* (or *terebinth*) *of Bezaanannim.*

[35] The introduction of this term into the list is unexpected, and has been thought to point to the incorporation of material from another source. Its use is rare cp 10[20] Num 32[17 36*]. But it does not seem possible to decide categorically in favour of **E** (Dillm). **J** Num 13[28] and **D** (which often rests upon **E**) 1[28] 3[5] &c Josh 14[12], use a different form.

JR[d]E | P[s]

their families. [41] [N]And the [e]border of their inheritance was Zorah, and Eshtaol, and Ir-shemesh; [42] and Shaalabbin, and Aijalon, and Ithlah; [43] and Elon, and Timnah, and Ekron; [44] and Eltekeh, and Gibbethon, and Baalath; [45] and Jehud, and Bene-berak, and Gath-rimmon; [46] and Me-jarkon, and Rakkon, with the border over against [M]Joppa.

...[47] [N]And the border of the children of Dan went out [M]beyond them: [h]for the children of Dan went up and [i]fought against [M]Leshem, and [i]took it, and smote it with the [j]edge of the sword, and possessed it, and dwelt therein, and [j]called Leshem, Dan, after the name of Dan their father.

h ℌ=*and*
i Num 21[32]
j Cp Num 32[41].

i 156
j 150

[48] [c]This is the inheritance of the [a]tribe of the children of Dan [b]according to their families, these cities with their villages. [49] [NL]So they [k]made an end of [N]distributing the land for inheritance [k]by the borders thereof; and the children of Israel gave an [l]inheritance to Joshua the son of Nun in the [l]midst of them, [50] [l]according to the commandment of Yahweh they gave him the city which he asked, even [m]Timnath-serah in the hill country of Ephraim: and he built the city, and dwelt therein.

[51] [m]These are the inheritances, which [n]Eleazar the priest, and Joshua the son of Nun, and the heads of the fathers' [houses] of the tribes of the children of Israel, [n]distributed for inheritance by lot in [o]Shiloh before Yahweh, at the [o]door of the tent of meeting. So they [p]made an end of dividing the land.

49 *L4u*[b]
k Gen 17[22] *al* cp 51
l Cp 9[aN]
m 24[30]
n 14[1]
o 18[1]
p Ex 34[33] ℌ

k 18[a]
l 19[c]
m 188[a]
n 96[b]
o 111[b]

20[1] [N]And Yahweh [a]spake unto Joshua, saying, [2] [b]Speak to the children of Israel, saying, Assign you the cities of [c]refuge, [d]whereof I spake unto you by the [d]hand of Moses: [3] that the [b]manslayer that killeth any [e]person [M]unwittingly [and] [N]*unawares* may flee thither: and they shall be unto you [f]for a refuge from the [g]avenger of blood. [4] *And he shall [c]flee unto one of those cities, and shall stand at the [d]entering of the gate of the city, and declare his cause in the ears of the [e]elders of that city; and they shall [M]take him into the city unto them, and give him a place, that he may dwell among them.* [5] *And if the avenger of blood [f]pursue after him, then they shall not [g]deliver up the manslayer into his hand; because he [h]smote his neighbour unawares, and hated him not beforetime[h].* [6] *And he shall dwell in that city,* [N][i]until he stand before the [h]congregation for judgement, *until the [j]death of the high priest [k]that shall be in those days: then shall the manslayer [l]return, and come unto his own city, and unto his own house, unto the city from whence he fled.* [7] And they [M]set apart [m]Kedesh in [M]Galilee in the hill country of Naphtali, and [n]Shechem in the hill country of Ephraim, and [i]Kiriath-arba (the same is

a Num 35[10..]
b Num 35[11]
c Deut 19[5]
d 8[29]
e Deut 19[12] 21[3] 22[15] 25[7]
f Deut 19[6]
g Deut 23[15]
h ℌ *smote=killed beforetime =in time past* ℌ Deut 19[4]
i Num 35[12]
j Num 35[25]
k Deut 17[9] 19[17] 26[3†]
l Num 35[28]
m 21[32]
n 21[21]

b 185[b]
c 133
d 180[c]
e 146[a]
f 27
g 132[b]
h 46[a]
i 3

19[41] The description of Dan's lot seems to have been curtailed. The boundary is not traced, and the usual enumeration of cities and villages is lacking.

[46] M ℌ *Japho.*

[47a] This verse obviously interrupts the sequence of [46] [48] which (𝔊) renders in continuity. On the other hand, (𝔊) follows with a statement partly identical with Judg 1[34], to which [47] is then attached. On the text cp Dillm and Budde *RS* 28··; the latter restores the original thus 88 (cp Addis)—'But the Amorites forced the children of Dan into the hill country, for they would not suffer them to come down to the valley, and they made their territory too narrow for them. So the children of Dan went up and fought against Lesham and took it, and smote it with the edge of the sword, and possessed it and dwelt therein, and called Lesham Dan, after the name of Dan their father. But the Amorites [originally *Canaanites* cp Budde, *RS* 16·, and Moore, *Judges* (*ICC*) 53] contrived to dwell in Mount Heres and Aijalon and Shaalbim; yet the hand of the house of Joseph prevailed, so that they became tributary.' Cp Kittel, *Hist* i 270.

[47b] M Or, *from them: and &c.*

[47c] M In Judg 18[29] *Laish.*—Wellh proposes Lēshâm, a lengthened form cp Ait and Etam, Ain and Enam, *De Gentibus et Fam Jud* 37.

[49a] The statement that Timnath-serah was given to Joshua evidently rests on a source kindred with 24[30] i e E. But it may be doubted whether [49·] is correctly assigned by many critics straight to E. The passage in its present form shows too many parallels with P to refer the whole of it to that collection. Unlike [47] which has been thrust into its place by R, this is a case where the Priestly Compiler has done his own editing.

[49b] Probably to be read as Piel [51].

20[1] The account of the allotment of the cities of refuge presents some rather complicated phenomena. The opening [2] clearly depends on Num 35[10··], though the juxtaposition of the word 'unawares' (Deut 19[4] 4[42]) beside P's formula 'unwittingly' excites surprise. But [4·] and in part [6] are full of the phrases of D, derived not only from the Deuteronomic version of the same law Deut 19, but from other parts of the Deuteronomic code, e g [4] 'take,' [5] 'deliver up,' [6] 'that shall be in those days.' Has R[d], then, dealt with P as he has so often dealt with JE? That would of course imply that R[d], at any rate, is later than P. For this view, however, no adequate evidence is forthcoming (cp *Introd ante* p 317), and such expansion of P by R[d] has no sufficient analogy elsewhere. The clue to the explanation is found in (𝔊), where precisely those passages which show the Deuteronomic tincture are lacking, viz [3] 'unawares,' [4·] and [6] except the words 'until he stand before the congregation for judgement.' As there seems no reason why (𝔊) should deliberately select the Deuteronomic elements for omission, it appears more natural to regard them as late additions to the text by a scribe who desired to incorporate references to D. But these additions were not always made with understanding; the time-determination [6] 'until the death of the high priest' is not identical with that in the preceding clause. The juxtaposition of the two seems caused by a confusion of Num 35[24] and [25].

[3a 9] M Or, *through error.*—[P]168.

[3b] Deut 19[4] 4[42]. (𝔊) omits cp [1N].

[4] M ℌ *gather.*—Cp Deut 22[2] (ℌ = *bring*).

[6] Num 35[12] shows that this clause belongs to [3].

[7a] M ℌ *sanctified.*—[P]86[d].

[7b] M ℌ *Galil.*

JR[d]E P[s]

o 21[13] p 21[36] Deut 4[43] q 21[38] r 21[27] s ℌ†

[o]Hebron) in the hill country of Judah. [8] And [j]beyond the Jordan [N]at Jericho eastward, they assigned [p]Bezer in the wilderness in the [M]plain out of the [k]tribe of Reuben, and [q]Ramoth in Gilead out of the tribe of Gad, and [r]Golan in Bashan out of the tribe of Manasseh. [9] [l]These were the [s]appointed cities for all the children of Israel, and for the [m]stranger that sojourneth among them, that whosoever killeth any [e]person [M]unwittingly might flee thither, and not die by the hand of the [g]avenger of blood, [i]until he stood before the [h]congregation.

j 2[b] k 165 l 188 m 145[b]

a 19[51]

21[1] [N]Then came near the [a]heads of fathers' [houses] of the Levites unto [a]Eleazar the priest, and unto Joshua the son of Nun, and unto the heads of fathers' [houses] of the [b]tribes of the children of Israel; [2] and they [c]spake unto them at [b]Shiloh in the [d]land of Canaan, saying, Yahweh [e]commanded by the hand of Moses to give us [c]cities to dwell in, with the [M]suburbs thereof for our cattle. [3] And the children of Israel gave unto the Levites out of their inheritance [f]according to the commandment of Yahweh, these cities with their suburbs.

a 84[1] b 165 c 185[a] d 4 e 180[1] f 19[d]

b 18[1] c Num 35[1-8]

d 19[1 17 24 32 40] e Num 3[17..]

[4] And the [d]lot came out for the [g]families of the [e]Kohathites: and the [h]children of Aaron [N]the priest, which were of the Levites, had by lot out of the tribe of Judah, and out of the tribe of the Simeonites, and out of the tribe of Benjamin, thirteen cities.

g 65 h 130[b]

f 20 26 34 40 17[2]

[5] And the [f]rest of the children of Kohath had by lot out of the families of the tribe of Ephraim, and out of the tribe of Dan, and out of the half tribe of Manasseh, ten cities.

[6] And the children of [e]Gershon had by lot out of the families of the tribe of Issachar, and out of the tribe of Asher, and out of the tribe of Naphtali, and out of the half tribe of Manasseh in Bashan, thirteen cities.

[7] The children of [e]Merari according to their families had out of the tribe of Reuben, and out of the tribe of Gad, and out of the tribe of Zebulun, twelve cities.

[8] And the children of Israel gave by lot unto the Levites these cities with their suburbs, as Yahweh [e]commanded by the hand of Moses. [9] And they gave out of the tribe of the children of Judah, and out of the tribe of the children of Simeon, these cities [N]which are [here] mentioned by name: [10] and they were for the children of Aaron, of the families of the Kohathites, who were of the children of Levi: for theirs was the first lot. [11] [N]*And they gave them Kiriath-arba,* [which Arba was] *the father of* [M]*Anak,* (*the same is Hebron,*) *in the hill country of Judah, with the suburbs thereof round about it.* [12] *But the fields of the city, and the villages thereof, gave they to Caleb the son of Jephunneh for his* [i]*possession.*

i 127[b]

[13] And unto the [h]children of Aaron [N]the priest they gave Hebron with her suburbs, the [g]city of refuge for the manslayer, and Libnah with her suburbs; [14] and Jattir with her suburbs, and Eshtemoa with her suburbs; [15] and Holon with her suburbs, and Debir with her suburbs; [16] and [N]Ain with her suburbs, and Juttah with her suburbs, [and] Beth-shemesh with her suburbs; nine cities [N]*out of those* [h]*two tribes.* [17] And out of the tribe of Benjamin, [i]Gibeon with her suburbs, [i]Geba with her suburbs; [18] [j]Anathoth with her suburbs, and [k]Almon with her suburbs; four cities. [19] [l]All the cities of the children of Aaron, the priests, were thirteen cities with their suburbs.

g 20[7] h 4 cp 15[42..] 19[2..] i 18[24.] j Jer 1[1] k Cp 1 Chron 6[60] l Cp 26 33 40..

[20] And the families of the children of Kohath, the Levites, even the [f]rest

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20[8a] These words are not appropriate here; 𝔊 does not contain them; and they seem due rather to a copyist's reminiscence of passages like 13[32] || Num 34[15]. 8[b] **M** Or, *table land.*

21[1] The allotment of the Levitical cities carries out the arrangements prepared in Num 35[1-8], and belongs therefore to **P**[s]. 2 **M** Or, *pasture lands.*—Cp 13.. [P]156.

4 𝔊 'the priests' cp 19 and **130**[a].

9 The awkwardness of this phrase leads Steuernagel to suspect a corruption of the text; he conjectures 'with their suburbs.'

11[a] The double record of the gift of Hebron, 11. and 13, awakens suspicion, and the contents of 11. show that the passage is an attempt to reconcile the view of Hebron as a priestly city with the tradition which ascribed its capture and occupation to Caleb 15[13..]. In the older records Caleb held too firm a place to be dislodged: he is here accordingly permitted to retain the city-lands and its dependent villages 12, though the 'pasture lands' and the city itself are handed over to the priests. The precise determination of the editorial words is uncertain; Dillm and Addis allot 'and they gave them' 11 to **P** cp 21, and claim the opening words of 13 (to 'gave') for **R**. With 13, however, cp 27 34; it seems simpler, therefore, with Bennett to limit the interpolation to 11.. The final word באחותו is not usual in this phrase in **P**, which commonly employs 'to give as an inheritance' בנחלה cp 96[c].

11[b] **M** ℌ *Anok.* 13 Wanting in 𝔊.

16[a] 𝔊 'Ασά, 1 Chron 6[14] *Ashan,* cp 15[42] 19[7], generally adopted.

16[b] Probably a remark of **R**; *tribe* = שבט instead of מטה 1 9 20 23 &c. Cp 22[9..] Num 32[33] 36[3].

JR[d]E P[s]

of the children of Kohath, they had the cities of their lot out of the tribe of
m 20[7] Ephraim. [21] And they gave them [m]Shechem with her suburbs [n]in the hill
n Ct 16[10] country of Ephraim, the city of refuge for the manslayer, and [n]Gezer with
her suburbs; [22] and Kibzaim with her suburbs, and Beth-horon with her
o 19[42-45] suburbs; four cities. [23] And out of the tribe of [o]Dan, Elteke with her
suburbs, Gibbethon with her suburbs; [24] Aijalon with her suburbs, Gath-
rimmon with her suburbs; four cities. [25] And out of the half tribe of
p Ct 17[11] Manasseh, [p]Taanach with her suburbs, and [n]Gath-rimmon with her suburbs;
two cities. [26] [l]All the cities of the families of the [f]rest of the children of
Kohath were ten with their suburbs.

[27] And unto the children of Gershon, of the families of the Levites, out of
q 20[8] the half tribe of Manasseh [they gave] [q]Golan in Bashan with her suburbs,
the city of refuge for the manslayer; and [n]Be-eshterah with her suburbs; two
r 19[18..] cities. [28] And out of the tribe of [r]Issachar, Kishion with her suburbs,
Daberath with her suburbs; [29] Jarmuth with her suburbs, En-gannim with
s 19[25..] her suburbs; four cities. [30] And out of the tribe of [s]Asher, Mishal with her
suburbs, Abdon with her suburbs; [31] Helkath with her suburbs, and Rehob
t 20[7] 19[3[illegible]..] with her suburbs; four cities. [32] And out of the tribe of Naphtali, [t]Kedesh
in Galilee with her suburbs, the city of refuge for the manslayer, and
Hammoth-dor with her suburbs, and Kartan with her suburbs; three cities.
[33] [l]All the cities of the Gershonites according to their families were thirteen
cities with their suburbs.

[34] And unto the families of the children of Merari, the [f]rest of the Levites,
u 19[11..] out of the tribe of [u]Zebulun, Jokneam with her suburbs, and Kartah with her
suburbs, [35] [n]Dimnah with her suburbs, Nahalal with her suburbs; four
v 20[8] cities. [36] [v]And out of the tribe of Reuben, [v]Bezer with her suburbs, and
w 13[18] [w]Jahaz with her suburbs, [37] Kedemoth with her suburbs, and Mephaath with
her suburbs; four cities. [38] And out of the tribe of Gad, [v]Ramoth in Gilead
x 13[25.] with her suburbs, the city of refuge for the manslayer, and [x]Mahanaim with
her suburbs; [39] Heshbon with her suburbs, Jazer with her suburbs; four
cities in all. [40] [l]All [these were] the cities of the children of Merari according
to their families, even the [f]rest of the families of the Levites; and their lot
was twelve cities. [41] [l]All the cities of the Levites in the midst of the
[i]possession of the children of Israel were forty and eight cities with their
suburbs. [42] These cities were every one with their suburbs round about
them: thus it was with all these cities.

[43] [n]So Yahweh gave unto Israel all the land which he [j]sware to give unto their
fathers; and they [k]possessed it, and dwelt therein. [44] And Yahweh [l]gave
them rest round about, according to all that he [j]sware unto their fathers: and
y 10[8] there [y]stood not a man of all their enemies before them; Yahweh [m]delivered
z Ḫ *fell* 23[14] 2 Kings 10[10] all their enemies into their hand. [45] There [z]failed not aught of any good thing
a' 23[14*] which Yahweh had spoken unto the [n]*house* of Israel; [a']all came to pass[a'].

a 12[6] 22[1] [n]Then Joshua called the [a]Reubenites, and the Gadites, and the half *tribe*
b 1[1] of Manasseh, and said unto them, [2] Ye have [a]kept all that Moses the [b]servant
c Cp 58[a] of Yahweh commanded you, and have [c]hearkened unto my voice in all that
d 11[18] I commanded you: [3] ye have not left your brethren these [d]many days [b]unto this
e Deut 11[1] day, but have [e]kept the charge of the commandment of Yahweh [c]your God.
f 21[44] [4] And now Yahweh [c]your God hath [f]given rest unto your brethren, as he [d]spake
g Deut 1[7] unto them: therefore now [g]turn ye, and get you unto your [h]tents, unto the
h 6[8] Deut 16[7] land *of your possession*, which Moses the [b]servant of Yahweh [i]gave you [e]beyond
i 13[8] Deut 3[12] Jordan. [5] [f]Only take [j]diligent [g]heed to do the [h]commandment and the law,
j Deut 24 4[9] 15 24[8] which Moses the [b]servant of Yahweh commanded you, to [i]love Yahweh [c]your
God, and to [j]walk in all his ways, and to [a]keep his commandments, and to

j 107[a]
k 88[c]
l 98
m 52
a 82[c]
b 33[b]
c 1[a]
d 91
e 21
f 84
g 82[a]
h 29[1]
i 74[b]
j 115[a]

21[21] Wanting in 𝔊.

25 Apparently repeated accidentally from 24. 𝔊 Ἰεβαθά, 1 Chron 6[55] *Bileam*, which suggests the reading Ibleam 17[11].

27 1 Chron 6[71] *Ashtaroth* cp 13[31]. **T** perhaps an abbreviation of בית ע'.

35 Wanting in 𝔊: 1 Chron 6[77] *Rimmono*, cp 'Rimmon' 19[13].

36 **M** Verses 36. are not in the Massoretic text, but are found in very many MSS and in the ancient versions. See also 1 Chron 6[78].

43 The sequel according to **R**[d] of 18[10b].

45 𝔊 *children of Israel.* For 'house of Israel' cp [P]11[b].

22[1] The dismissal of the Reubenites and Gadites and the half tribe of Manasseh 1-6 depends on 1[12-15]. Its Deuteronomic affinities are indicated by the margins, but either editor or copyist has touched the words 'tribe' 1 [P]16[5] ct [P]11[2], 'possession' 4 [P]12[7b] ct [P]8[8d], while the unique phrase 'kept the charge of the commandment' seems to rest on a combination of P's 'keep the charge' [P]3[9b], and D's frequent references to the 'commandment of Yahweh' [D]2[9d].

J R[d] E P[s]

[k]cleave unto him, and to [l]serve him with [m]all your heart and with all your soul. [6] So Joshua blessed them, and sent them away: and they went unto their [h]tents.

[7a] [N]Now to the one half [n]tribe of Manasseh Moses had given [inheritance] in Bashan: but unto the other half gave Joshua among their brethren [o]beyond Jordan westward.

[7b] [N]*Moreover when Joshua sent them away unto their tents, he blessed them,* [8] *and spake unto them, saying, Return with much* [k]*wealth unto your tents, and with very much cattle, with silver, and with gold, and with brass, and with iron, and with very much raiment: divide the spoil of your enemies with your brethren.*

[9] [N]And the [l]children of Reuben and the children of Gad *and the half tribe of Manasseh* returned, and departed from the children of Israel out of [m]Shiloh, which is in the land of [o]Canaan, to go unto the land of Gilead, to the land of their [p]possession, whereof they were [p]possessed, [q]according to the commandment of Yahweh by the [r]hand of Moses. [10] And when they came unto the [N]region about Jordan, that is in the land of Canaan, the children of Reuben and the children of Gad *and the half tribe of Manasseh* [n]built there an altar by Jordan, a great altar to see to. [11] And the children of Israel heard say, Behold, the children of Reuben and the children of Gad *and the half tribe of Manasseh* have built an altar in the forefront of the land of Canaan, in the region about Jordan, on the side that pertaineth to the children of Israel. [12] And when the children of Israel heard of it, the whole [s]congregation of the children of Israel [t]gathered themselves together at Shiloh, to go up against them to [u]war.

[13] And the children of Israel sent unto the children of Reuben, and to the children of Gad, *and to the half tribe of Manasseh*, into the land of Gilead, [v]Phinehas the son of Eleazar the priest; [14] and with him ten [w]princes, one prince of a [x]fathers' house for each of the [y]tribes of Israel; and they were every one of them [z]head of their fathers' houses among the [M]thousands of Israel. [15] And they came unto the children of Reuben, and to the children of Gad, *and to the half tribe of Manasseh*, unto the land of Gilead, and they [a']spake with them, saying, [16] [o]Thus saith the whole [s]congregation of Yahweh, What [b']trespass is this that ye have committed against the [P]God of Israel, to turn away this day from following Yahweh, in that ye have [n]builded you an altar, to [q]rebel this day against Yahweh? [17] Is the iniquity of [r]Peor too [s]little for us, from which we have not [c']cleansed ourselves unto this day, although there came a [t]plague upon the congregation of Yahweh, [18] that ye must turn away this day from following Yahweh? and it will be, seeing ye [q]rebel to-day against Yahweh, that to-morrow he will be [d']wroth with the whole congregation of Israel. [19] Howbeit, if the land of your [p]possession be [e']unclean, then pass ye over unto the land of the possession of Yahweh, wherein Yahweh's [T]Dwelling [l']dwelleth, and [p]take possession [g']among us: but [q]rebel not against Yahweh, nor rebel against us, in building you an altar [w]besides the [v]altar of Yahweh our God. [20] Did not [w]Achan the son of Zerah [b']commit a trespass in the devoted thing, and [d']wrath fell upon all the congregation of Israel? and that man [h']perished [N]not alone in his iniquity.

[21] Then the children of Reuben and the children of Gad *and the half tribe of Manasseh* answered, and spake unto the [z]heads of the [M]thousands of Israel, [22] [b]Yahweh, the [z]God of gods, Yahweh, the God of gods, he knoweth, and Israel he shall know; if it be in

k 2 Chron 1[11]. Ezr 6[8] 7[26] Eccl 5[18] 6[2]†
l Ct 1 cp 13[15] 24
m 19[51]
n Cp [JE]137
o Cp [JE]222[b]
p Num 16[9] cp [JE]120
q 18. 29 Num 14[9] Gen 14[4]*
r Num 25[6]. . 18
s Num 16[9]
t Cp Num 25[8] [P]125
u Num 5[20]*
v 28. cp [D]16
w 7[1]
x Ps 50[1]† ct Deut 10[17] ℌ

k 27
l 23[c]
m 59
n 112
o 4
p 127
q 19[c]
r 180[b]
s 45[a]
t 24[a]
u 92[b]
v 12[e]
w 131
x 66
y 165
z 84
a′ 185[ae]
b′ 164
c′ 42
d′ 178
e′ 167
f′ 54
g′ 22
h′ 51

22[7a] 'Now' = ℌ *and*. Apparently a supplemental note explaining [4b], and preparing the way for the next section [9–34]. Cp 12[6] 13[8]. .

[7b] Apparently an addition to [1–6] introduced by the frequent connecting-link of such supplements 'moreover,' = 'and also' cp Ex 3[9b]. 𝔊 𝔏, however, omit the opening words of [8], and convert the rest into narrative 'and with much wealth did they return' &c. Some critics have preferred this reading, and suppose the passage to rest on an older basis. The compiler then altered the statement into a command, as an introduction to the recital in [9–34]. But the long enumeration of the tribal riches lacks the simplicity of earlier style, and the late word for 'wealth' is surprising.

[9] The narrative in [9–34] offers many perplexities. Its language, as the references show, is almost a cento of P's phrases; its story assumes P's institutions, the congregation, the heads of fathers' houses, and the Dwelling; and it makes homiletic references to specifically P forms of previous incidents [17 20]. Further, it is noteworthy that 'Phinehas the priest' [30]. . who has already succeeded Eleazar, acts without Joshua: the secular power has no longer a military head. These characteristics suggest its place in the later group designated as P[s], where it forms a sequel to Num 32. But though among the most recent additions to P in its present form, it may be founded on some earlier account which it has superseded, cp Judg 20, Driver *LOT*[6] 168. The opening verses seem designed to explain the rumour [11] with which the original story may have begun. (The first words of [11] and [12] are alike in ℌ, and in [12] they are omitted by 𝔊 𝔏.) Traces of such a narrative have been found in the seemingly incongruous geographical elements combined in [11], where Dillm and Oettli translate *'el mûl* (*RV* 'in the forefront') 'over against,' and *'el 'ébher* (*RV* 'on the side that pertaineth') 'on the other side of,' 𝔊 *ἐν τῷ πέραν*. This interpretation would place the altar on the east side of the Jordan, while [10] undoubtedly located it on the west. The prepositions in this combination are not common, but their use in P shows that they chiefly express the situation of something on the surface or front or edge of an object to which it is attached (*'el mûl* Ex 26[9] 28[25 37] 39[18] Lev 8[9] Num 8[2 3] P, cp Ex 34[3] Josh 8[33] 9[1]*; *'el 'ébher* Ex 25[37] 28[26] 39[19] P, cp Deut 30[13]*). In this view the rendering of *RV* is justified (cp W A Wright, *Journ of Philol* xiii 117. .); the altar stood close to the river frontier, but on the western side, and there seems no ground of geographical discrepancy for distributing the present narrative between two or more sources. In other respects the literary usage of the story (like other portions of P[s]) displays a wider vocabulary than is usual with P, approximating more to JE and D, cp 'build an altar' [10], 'altar of Yahweh our God' [19], 'now' (enclitic נא) [26]. Most curious, perhaps, is the repeated intrusion of the 'half tribe of Manasseh' [9–11 13 15 21] (cp [30]. 'children of Manasseh'). From [25 32 34] it may be inferred that the original story did not mention them: the addition employs the terminology of D, שבט [D]112, for מטה [14] [P]165, and the name Manasseh with the article, Deut 3[13] 29[8] Josh 1[12] 4[12] &c. For similar indications of manipulation of a P section by the addition of material from D cp 20[1N].

[10] ℌ *gᵉlîloth* cp 13[2] 18[17] Ezek 47[8] Joel 3[4]†. But 𝔊 reads 'Gilgal' in [10] and 'Gilead' in [11]; 𝔏 *tumulos* in both. Perhaps some element of an older story may linger in these readings, which suggest that it was partly designed to explain the origin of some ancient monument.

[14 21] M Or, *families*.

[19] So ℌ cp Ex 25[9]. T *tabernacle*.

[20] Absent from 𝔊.

[22] M Or, *God*, even *God*, *Yahweh*, ℌ *El Elohim Yahweh*.—Cp Ps 50[1]†.

JR[d]E | P[s]

[y] Ḫ† cp [18]
[z] Cp [JE]10

[a'] Cp 1 Sam 20[16]
[b'] Jer 49[23] Ezek 4[16] 12[18. 19] Prov 12[25]†
[c'] Cp 4[6] 21
[d'] Cp 1 Sam 18[29] Ḫ†
[e'] Cp [JE]186[a]

[f'] Num 15[8]

[g'] Ex 25[9]

[h'] Gen 18[25]

[i'] 9[26]

[j'] 14[7]

[a] 22[3]
[b] 22[4]
[c] Deut 12[10]
[d] 13[1]

[e] Gen 18[11] 1 Sam 12[2] Ḫ cp [P]63
[f] Deut 29[2]
[g] 2[11]
[h] 13[6]
[i] Deut 7[20]
[j] 11[21] Deut 12[29]
[k] 14
[l] Deut 6[19]
[m] 1[15] Deut 3[20] *at*
[n] Ḫ=*strong* 106[b]
[o] Ex 23[13]
[p] Cp Jer 5[7] Deut 6[13]

[q] 10[8]
[r] Cp Deut 32[30]

[s] Deut 7[3]
[t] Gen 15[13]
[u] Is 8[14]
[v] Ḫ=*snare* Ex 23[33]
[w] Ḫ†
[x] Num 33[55]
[y] 1 Kings 2[2]

[v]rebellion, or if in [w]trespass against Yahweh, (save thou us not this day,) [23] that we have built us an altar to turn away from following Yahweh; or if to [z]offer thereon [i']burnt offering or [j']meal offering, or if to [j']offer [i']sacrifices of peace offerings thereon, let Yahweh himself [a']require it; [24] and if we have not [rather] out of [b']carefulness done this, [and] of purpose, saying, [c']In time to come your children might speak unto our children, saying, What have ye to do with Yahweh, [p]the God of Israel? [25] for Yahweh hath made Jordan a border between us and you, ye children of Reuben and children of Gad; ye have no portion in Yahweh: so shall your children make our children cease from [d']fearing Yahweh. [26] Therefore we said, Let us [e']now [x]prepare to build us an altar, not for burnt offering, nor for sacrifice: [27] but it shall be a witness between us and you, and between our [k']generations after us, that we may [l']do the service of Yahweh before him with our burnt offerings, and with our [f']sacrifices, and with our [f']peace offerings; that your children may not say to our children in time to come, Ye have no portion in Yahweh. [28] Therefore said we, It shall be, when they so say to us or to our [k']generations in time to come, that we shall say, Behold the [g']pattern of the [v]altar of Yahweh, which our fathers made, not for burnt offering, nor for sacrifice; but it is a witness between us and you. [29] [h']God forbid that we should [q]rebel against Yahweh, and turn away this day from following Yahweh, to build an altar for burnt offering, for meal offering, or for sacrifice, besides the [v]altar of Yahweh our God that is before his Dwelling.

[30] And when [y]Phinehas the priest, and the [w]princes of the congregation, even the [z]heads of the thousands of Israel which were with him, heard the words that the children of Reuben and the children of Gad *and the children of Manasseh* spake, it pleased them well. [31] And Phinehas [x]*the son of Eleazar* the priest said unto the children of Reuben, and to the children of Gad, *and to the children of Manasseh*, This day we know that Yahweh is in the [s']midst of us, because ye have not committed this trespass against Yahweh: now have ye [i']delivered the children of Israel out of the hand of Yahweh. [32] And Phinehas [x]*the son of Eleazar* the priest, and the princes, returned from the children of Reuben, and from the children of Gad, out of the land of Gilead, unto the land of Canaan, to the children of Israel, and [j']brought them word again. [33] And the thing pleased the children of Israel; and the children of Israel blessed God, and spake no more of going up against them to [u]war, to destroy the land wherein the children of Reuben and the children of Gad dwelt. [34] And the children of Reuben and the children of Gad called the altar [M][Ed]: For, [said they], it is a witness between us that Yahweh is God.

23[1] [x]And it came to pass after [a]many days, when Yahweh had given [b]rest unto Israel [c]from all their enemies round about, and Joshua was [d]old and well stricken in years; [2] that Joshua called for [a]all Israel, for their [b]elders and for their [c]heads, and for their [d]judges and for their [e]officers, and said unto them, [e]I am old and well stricken in years: [3] and [f]ye have seen [f]all that Yahweh [g]your God hath done unto all these nations [g]because of you; for Yahweh your God, he it is that hath [h]fought for you. [4] [i]Behold, I have [h]allotted unto you these nations that [i]remain, to be an inheritance for your [j]tribes, from Jordan, with all the nations that I have [j]cut off, even [k]unto the great sea toward the going down of the sun. [5] And Yahweh your God, he shall [l]thrust them out from before you, and [k]drive them from out of your [s]ight; and ye shall [m]possess their land, as Yahweh your God [l]spake unto you. [6] Therefore be ye very [n]courageous to [m]keep and to do all that is [r]written in the book of the law of Moses, that ye [o]turn not aside therefrom to the right hand or to the left; [7] that ye come not among these nations, these that [i]remain among you; neither [o]make mention of the name of their gods, [N]nor cause to [P]swear [by them], neither [P]serve them, nor [P]bow down yourselves unto them: [8] but [q]cleave unto Yahweh your God, as ye have done [r]unto this day. [9] For Yahweh hath [k]driven out from before you [s]great nations and strong: but as for you, no man hath [q]stood before you [r]unto this day. [10] [y]One man of you [M]shall chase a thousand: for Yahweh your God, he it is that [b]fighteth for you, as he [l]spake unto you. [11] [t]Take good heed therefore unto yourselves, that ye [u]love Yahweh your God. [12] Else if ye do in any wise go back, and cleave unto the remnant of these nations, even these that [i]remain among you, and [s]make marriages with them, and go in unto them, and they to you: [13] [t]know for a certainty that Yahweh your God will no more [k]drive these nations from out of your sight; but they shall be a [u]snare and a [v]trap unto you, and a [w]scourge in your sides, and [x]thorns in your eyes, until ye [r]perish from off this [w]good land which Yahweh your God hath given you. [14] And, behold, this day [x]I am going the [y]way of all the earth: and ye know in all your [y]hearts and in all your souls, that

[i']	118
[j']	117
[k']	76
[l']	140[b]
a	2[a]
b	42[b]
c	57
d	67
e	83
f	12
g	1
h	45
i	99
j	112[a]
k	39
l	91
m	82[b]
n	120
o	114[b]
p	23[a]
q	27
r	33[b]
s	55[b]
t	108[b]
u	74[b]
v	86[c]
w	69[bc]
x	63
y	59

22[26] Ḫ=*make* or *do* (Ⓖ adds 'thus'), as though originally followed by some object which was intended to serve as the monument, but was editorially suppressed in favour of the altar (so Dillm). Others join the vb as an auxiliary to 'build' (so *RV* Steuern cp Ges-Kautzsch § 114 *m*).

[31 32] Probably a gloss; wanting in Ⓖ, the words are needless and are not attached to the name in [30].

[34] **M** That is, Witness.—In Ⓖ the name is given by Joshua; but in both texts the actual name has disappeared. Ⓢ and several Ḫ MSS supply *Ed.* Most modern critics accept the conjecture 'Gilead' cp Gen 31[47].

23[1] A Deuteronomic exhortation, after the manner of the homilies in **D**. In [3 6 10 15] are parallels with Deut 28 29 31 32, which suggest a late date for this discourse.

[7] 'Nor cause to swear,' not in Ⓖ.

[10] **M** Or, *hath chased.*

J	E	R^d	J	E	P^s	
z 21[45]		not one thing hath [z]failed of all the good things which Yahweh your God spake concerning you; [z]all are come to pass unto you, not one thing hath failed thereof. [15] And it shall come to pass, that as all the good things are come upon you of which Yahweh your God spake unto you, so shall Yahweh [a']bring upon you all the evil things, until he have [z]destroyed you [b']from off this [w]good land which Yahweh your God hath given you. [16] When ye [c']transgress the covenant of Yahweh your God, which he commanded you, and go and [p]serve other gods, and [p]bow down yourselves to them[N]; then shall the [d']anger of Yahweh be kindled against you, and ye shall [v]perish [d']quickly from off the [w]good land which he hath given unto you.			z	34[a]
a Num 11[16] *b* 23[2] *c* Num 11[16] Deut 31[14] *d* 7[13] *e* Gen 6[4] *f* Gen 11[26]		**24**[1] [N]And Joshua [a]gathered all the tribes of Israel to Shechem, and [b]called for the elders of Israel, and for their heads, and for their judges, and for their officers; and they [c]presented themselves before God. [2] And Joshua said unto all the people, [d]Thus saith Yahweh, the God of Israel[d], Your fathers dwelt [e]of old time beyond the [a]River, [N][even] [f]*Terah, the father of Abraham, and the father of Nahor:* [N]and they served other gods. [3] And I took your father Abraham from beyond the [a]River, and led him throughout all the land [N]of Canaan, and [g]multiplied his seed, and gave him Isaac. [4] And I gave unto Isaac Jacob and Esau: and I gave unto Esau [h]mount Seir, [i]to possess it; and Jacob and his children went down into Egypt[N]. [5] And I sent Moses and Aaron, and I [j]plagued Egypt, [N]according to that which I did in the midst thereof: and afterward I brought you out. [6] [N]And I brought your fathers out of Egypt: and ye came unto the sea; and the Egyptians [k]pursued after your fathers with chariots and with horsemen [N]unto the Red Sea. [7] And when [N]they [l]cried out unto Yahweh, he put [m]darkness between you and the Egyptians, and brought the sea upon them, and covered them; and your [n]eyes saw what I did in Egypt: and ye dwelt in the wilderness [c]many days. [8] And I brought you into the [p]land of the Amorites, which dwelt beyond Jordan; [N]and they fought with you: and I [q]gave them into your hand, and ye [r]possessed their land; [N]and I destroyed them from before you. [9] Then [s]Balak the son of Zippor, king of Moab, arose [N]and fought against Israel; and he sent and called Balaam [N]the son of Beor to [t]curse you: [10] [N]but I [u]would not hearken unto Balaam; therefore he blessed you still: so I delivered you out of his hand. [11] And ye went over Jordan, and came unto Jericho: and the [b]men of Jericho fought against you, [N]the Amorite, and the Perizzite, and the Canaanite, and the Hittite, and the Girgashite, the Hivite, and the Jebusite; and I [c]delivered them into your hand. [12] And I sent the [v]hornet before			a	11[5]
g cp **20**4 *h* Ct Gen 32[3] 36[8] cp Deut 2[5] *i* Cp [D]88[a] *j* 𝔊=*smite* Ex 8[2] 12[23] 27 cp 32[35] *k* Cp Ex 14[9]. *l* Ex 14[10] *m* 𝔊† cp Ex 10[22] *n* Cp [D]43[d] *o* Cp Deut 1[46] Num 20[15] *p* Num 21[21]. *q* [11] cp [D]52 *r* Num 21[24] *s* Num 22[2]. *t* Ct Num 22[12] 𝔊 *u* Cp Deut 23[5] *v* Ex 23[28]					b	10[7]

23[16] (𝔊 concludes here, connecting [16a] with [15].

24[1] The account of the national assembly at Shechem and the final address of Joshua are attributed to **E** with practical unanimity among modern critics. In contrast with the representations of **P** Joshua acts alone, instead of taking the second place after Eleazar: the scene is laid at Shechem in the centre of Ephraim: and some of the homiletic references to the ancestral traditions depend on **E** cp [14] [20], 'Amorites' [15] [18], while further phraseological parallels will be found in [12] [19] [25] [29]. In the sequel the burial of Joseph's bones [32] carries out the plan of Gen 50[25] Ex 13[19]. But Joshua's exhortation belongs to the later type of prophetic passages in **JE**, and supplies an interesting illustration of the approach of the more advanced style (ct [27]) to the religious language of a great prophetic collection such as **D**; one or two phrases, such as 'forsake Yahweh' [16], 'incline your heart' [23], only find parallels in the later literature. Numerous additions (some of them absent from 𝔊) seem due to editorial activity, [1]. [4] [6]. [8] [11] [13] [17]. [26] [31]. Some of the allusions, e g to the idolatries of Israel in Egypt [14] or Balak's attack on Israel [9], apparently rest on elements of tradition no longer preserved. It may be noticed that the person occasionally changes in the narration, e g [3–5] 'I,' [7] 'he,' [8–13] 'I.' 𝔊 has the third person in [6–13].

[2a] The introduction of Terah at the end of the clause, explanatory of 'your fathers,' seems a scribal gloss.

[2b] The language shows the style of **D** (whether by anticipation or sequence), though cp [14]. [D]23; in Gen 35[2 4] the phraseology is different.

[3] Lacking in 𝔊.

[4] 𝔊 adds expansively 'and there they became a great and numerous and mighty nation, and the Egyptians evil entreated them,' but omits [5a] 'and I sent Moses and Aaron.'

[5] (𝔊[A] *by the signs which.* So Dillm and Oettli (with reserve) and Addis. Bennett following Ex 3[20] (where 𝔊 however has *θαυμασίοις*) reads בנפלאות 'by the wonders.'

[6a] An awkward addition after 'brought you out,' probably due to a corrector more distinctly conscious of the later view that the generation which marched out of Egypt died in the wilderness cp Deut 2[14]. 𝔊 joins [5b] and [6a] 'and afterwards he brought our fathers out of Egypt,' with a characteristic confusion of persons.

[6b] Perhaps a marginal gloss, Steuern.

[7] 𝔊 'we': the address in [6]. suggests 'you.'

[8a] 𝔊 omits this clause. Cp Num 21[23].

[8b] Probably an addition of **R^d** as the word 'destroyed' indicates [D]34[a].

[9a] This clause does not correspond to anything in **JE**, and the introduction of the name Israel seems to betray an annotator's hand (cp Steuern).

[9b] The description is lacking in 𝔊.

[10] Hollenberg (*Stud und Krit* 1874 487) regarded [9]. as dependent on Deut 23[5]. The parallel seems, however, rather explicable by **D**'s use of **E**. 𝔊, however, has 'But Yahweh thy God would not destroy thee.'

[11] An obvious intrusion into the account of the capture of Jericho, as it can hardly be supposed that representatives of the 'seven nations' were all assembled in the city. Cp Ex 3[8N]. The allusion to the 'lords' i e citizens of Jericho is not supported by any extant passage of **E**. Cp Judg 9[2 6] **E** (Moore in Haupt's *SBOT*) 1 Sam 23[11]. **J** (Budde *ibid*).

J	E	R[d]	J	E	P[s]

you, which [v]drove them out from before you, [even] the [N]two kings of the [c]Amorites; not [w]with thy sword, nor with thy bow. c 96
[13] And I gave you a land whereon thou hadst not laboured, and [x]cities which ye built not, and ye dwell therein; of [x]vineyards and oliveyards which ye planted not do ye eat.
[14] Now therefore [N]fear Yahweh, and serve him in [N]sincerity and in truth: and [y]put away the gods which your fathers served beyond the [a]River, and in Egypt; and serve ye Yahweh. [15] And if it [z]seem evil unto you to serve Yahweh, choose you this day whom ye will serve; whether the gods which your fathers served that were beyond the [a]River, or the gods of the [c]Amorites, in whose land ye dwell: but as for me and my house, we will serve Yahweh. [16] And the people answered and said, [a']God forbid that we should [b']forsake Yahweh, to serve other gods; [17] for Yahweh our God, he it is that [d]brought us [N]and our fathers d 136
up out of the land of Egypt, *from the house of* [M]*bondage*, [N]*and that did those great* [c']*signs in our* [d']*sight*, and [e']preserved us in all the way wherein we went, and among all the peoples through the midst of whom we passed: [18] and Yahweh [f']drove out from before us [N]all the peoples, even the Amorites which dwelt in the land: [therefore] we also will serve Yahweh; for he is our God. [19] And Joshua said unto the people, Ye cannot serve Yahweh; for he is an [N]holy God; he is a jealous God; he will not [g']forgive your transgression nor your sins. [20] If ye [b']forsake Yahweh, and serve [h']strange gods, then he will turn and do you evil, and [i']consume you, after that he hath done you good. [21] And the people said unto Joshua, Nay; but we will serve Yahweh. [22] And Joshua said unto the people, Ye are witnesses against yourselves that ye have chosen you Yahweh, to serve him. [N]And they said, We are witnesses.
[23] Now therefore put away, [said he], the [h']strange gods which are among you, and [j']incline your heart unto Yahweh, the [k']God of Israel. [24] And the people said unto Joshua, Yahweh our God will we serve, and unto his voice will we hearken. [25] So Joshua made a covenant with the people that day, and [l']set them a statute and an ordinance[l'] in Shechem.
[26] [N]*And Joshua wrote these words in the book of the law of God;* and he took a great stone, and set it up there under the [m']oak that was [M]by the [n']sanctuary of Yahweh. [27] And Joshua said unto all the people, Behold, this stone shall be a [o']witness against us; for it hath heard all the [p']words of Yahweh which he spake unto us: it shall be therefore a witness against

a' Gen 18[25]
b' 20 Deut 31[16]
c' Deut 6[22] 7[19] 29[3]
d' Cp [D]43[a]
e' ℌ=*kept* Gen 28[20] Ex 23[20]
f' cp Ex 23[29]. [JE]148
g' Gen 50[17] Ex 23[21] 34[7]
h' Gen 35[2] Deut 31[16]
i' Ex 32[10] 33[3 5]
j' Prov 2[2] cp 1 Kings 11[2 4]
k' 7[13]
l' ℌ=*made* Ex 15[25]
m' Gen 35[4]
n' Ct [F]91
o' Gen 21[30] cp 31[45]..
p' Num 24[4]
v Gen 48[22]
x Deut 6[10].
y Gen 35[2]
z Gen 21[11] ℌ

24[12] Elsewhere only of Sihon and Og [D]3[c], and here, therefore, quite inappropriate. 𝔊 *twelve*, a reading widely accepted, 'two' being probably an awkward correction in view of the later lists 12[7]‥ &c. But the appositional form of the clause suggests that it may be a later editorial note. On the other hand, the whole verse seems made up of fragments, and can hardly be original in its present form. Ex 23[28] shows that the phrase 'drove them' really refers to the peoples enumerated in [11]; its introduction here may have suggested their insertion to justify it. To what, then, do the words 'not with thy sword' &c belong? They find a parallel in **E**'s language Gen 48[22], but they lack connexion here, and seem introduced by way of editorial reminiscence.

[14a] For ℌ cp 1 Sam 12[24] **E** (Budde in Haupt's *SBOT*).

[14b] Cp ℌ Judg 9[16 19] **E** (Moore in Haupt's *SBOT*).

[17a] Perhaps a correction (Steuern); not in 𝔖.

[17b] **M** ℌ *bondmen*.—The use of this phrase by **D** cp [D]61 makes it probable that this is an addition, probably (as 𝔊 does not contain it) by a late copyist.

[17c] Another clause absent from 𝔊 and strongly marked by **D**'s phraseology cp [D]101.

[18] ℌ *all the peoples and*: 𝔊 *the Amorite and all the peoples*. The diversity of order seems to indicate that the reference to 'the peoples' is (like their enumeration in [11]) due to later insertion, the words finding different location in different copies. **E** only recognizes Amorites.

[19] On the pl adj here cp *Introd* XII **3** i 115. Elsewhere in *OT* literature cp 'living God' Deut 5[23] 1 Sam 17[26 36] Jer 10[10] 23[36]†. On the other hand, 'jealous' is sing cp Nah 1[2]† (and, slightly different, Ex 34[14]).

[22] This clause is wanting in 𝔊, and seems additional. It interrupts Joshua's address, and is needless in view of [24].

[26a] The origin of the clause ascribing a written record to Joshua has been much debated. Kuenen (*Hex* § 8[16] p 156) attributed it to **E** (cp Elohim [1]) with 'reference to some other book of law than the one we know.' But it may be doubted if the statement was really part of the original story. If a solemn account had been preserved in a sacred book, what need was there for the testimony of the stone? The record would be a much better witness, for though the stone might have 'heard the words,' it was powerless to reproduce or confirm them. This incident seems to belong to a more primitive order of conceptions, with which the writing is not homogeneous. In spite of Hollenberg's dissent, Dillm agrees with Nöldeke in assigning the clause to R[d] (for 'book of the law' cp [D]70[b]), and supposes that the interpolator included the homily of 23 with the address and covenant of 24. Wellh (*Comp*[2] 135) regards the addition as probably later still, but gives no reasons. The nearest parallels of language occur in Neh 8[8 18] 10[29], ct 'law of Moses' Josh 8[31]. 23[6]. Bennett allots the words to R[p]. It may be doubted whether the interpolator meant to include more in 'these words' than the Covenant with its associated 'statute and ordinance.' Holzinger, *Hex* 179, Staerk, *Deut* 106 ff, Steuern, *Josh* 242, think this may have been the original place of the Judgement-book Ex 21[1]‥, cp Ex 20[22aN].

[26b] **M** Or, *in*.

	J E	R[d]	J E	P[s]	
	you, lest ye deny your God. [28] [N]So Joshua sent the people away, every man unto his inheritance.				
q' 1[1]	[29] And it came to pass [e]after these things, that Joshua the q'son of Nun,				e 95
r' Gen 50[26] ct P93 s' 19[50]	the q'servant of Yahweh, died, being an r'hundred and ten years old. [30] And they buried him in the border of his inheritance in s'Timnath-serah, which is in the hill country of Ephraim, on the north of the mountain of Gaash.				
t' Cp D13 u' Cp D68 v' Deut 11[7] w' Cp D12 x' Gen 50[25] y' Ex 13[19]	[31] And Israel served Yahweh t'all the days of Joshua, and all the days of the elders that [f]outlived Joshua, and had u'known all the v'work of Yahweh, w'that he had wrought for Israel.				f 72[b]
	[32] [N]And the x'bones of Joseph, which the children of Israel y'brought up out of Egypt, buried they in Shechem, in the parcel of ground [M]which Jacob bought of the sons of Hamor the father of Shechem for an hundred pieces of money: [N]and they became the inheritance of the children of Joseph. [33] [N]And Eleazar the son of Aaron died; and they buried him in [M]the hill of Phinehas his son, which was given him in the hill country of Ephraim.				

24[28] With [28–31] cp Judg 2[6–9]. Moore, *Judges* (*ICC*) 4 and 65, supposes the passage in *Judges* to be the original, which was reproduced here 'perhaps in connexion with the division into books.'

[32a] This passage seems plainly to belong to **E**, but it can hardly be in its natural place. The house of Joseph would not have waited to bury their ancestor till after the funeral of Joshua, when they had been settled round Shechem for years.

[32b] **M** See Gen 33[19].

[32c] The awkwardness of this clause and its absence from 𝔊 throw suspicion on it. The plural subject must include Shechem and the land, but this combination is unexpected: an addition to 𝔊[B] runs 'and he gave it to Joseph for an inheritance,' cp 𝔊[L] which is preferred by Kuen and Dillm. Steuern proposes 'and it became the inheritance of Joseph.'

[33a] This statement was ascribed by some of the older critics to **P**. But the description of Eleazar lacks the distinctive term 'the priest' cp P12[b]'. Moreover, 'Gibeah of Phinehas' is not included among the cities of the Aaronite inheritance 21[10–18]. There seems no reason for separating the verse from its context cp [30]. Eleazar was recognized in **E** cp Deut 10[6]; and it was not unnatural to supplement the obituary notice of Joshua by that of another famous man of his time. For additions concerning the ark and the first apostasy of Israel see 𝔊.

[33b] **M** Or, *Gibeah of Phinehas.*

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